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INDIAN CULTURE

(Journal of the Indian Research Institute)

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THE HISTORY OF 'ISMĀ'EL 'ĀDIL SHĀH OF BIJAPUR

(FROM BUSATIN-US-SĀLĀTIN)

By K. K. BASU

Before he passed away, Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh nominated 'Ismā'el, aged ten or eleven years (also, said to be twenty-three years old) his heir-apparent and consigned him the affairs of the kingdom. He further committed the reins of administration and the duties of vicegerency to the charge of Kamāl Khān Dakhinī,[1] known as *Dārāb-i-jardi*, or the protector of the throne. Faithful and intelligent, Kamāl was an old retainer of the court. In return for their trustworthy services the other amirs and pillars of the court were well-provided. As expediency demanded, the position of Ismā'el 'Ādil Shāh was kept out of the meshes.

On the demise of Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh, Kamāl Khān made preparations for the funeral rite of the late Sultan. The bier was taken to Gogi with due pomp and grandeur. At an auspicious moment prognosticated by the astronomers, Kamāl placed 'Ismā'el on the throne of Bijapur; the crown was placed on the new Sultan, and the imperial umbrella was unfurled over his head.

To win the heart of the people Kamāl taxed his energies. In the cause of imperial service he inspired zeal and fidelity among his equals. To each chief of the neighbouring countries, such as, Amir Barid, Nizām Shāh Qutb-ul-Mulk and 'Imād Shāh, he showed courtesy and bore goodwill and thereby put an end to all discord and hostility. Thus, it was due to the skill and sagacity of Kamāl that, the splendour and elegance of the 'Ādil Shāhi dynasty reached their crowning point. Within a short time lands were cultivated and populated, and the country presented a pleasing aspect.

Kamāl belonged to the Sunni School. During the previous reign, in keeping with his subordinate position, Kamāl could show no zeal in his creed. Now, when he got the upper hand, he gave an impetus to his own faith. In conformity to the old usage, he had the *Khutba* read in the name of the immaculate Khalifs.

In view of the fact that the Christians had created a mess in the port of Goa, Kamāl seized it : but, ultimately he met them half-

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[1] Kamāl Khān was, originally, a noble of the court of Mahmud Shāh Bahmani II. He joined, afterwards, Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur, and rendered him conspicuous service.

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way. On a surety that, they would not any further foment trouble nor would become unfriendly with the Muslims, Goa was restored to the Christians. Since then Goa remained in their hands.

In this world of construction and destruction to be uniformly in one condition and in one state is of the many or all improbabilities. The revolution of the Heavens, which always adopts a crooked path display feats of jugglery everyday. The stragglers all round bring about such occurrences in this world on account of their evil soul as destroy religion and state, and thereby they make a bad name in this world and are ruined in the next. In fact, when Kamāl began managing the state-affairs, he made his best endeavour to augment his power and strengthen his position. He laid his hands on the assignments and jagirs and bestowed them upon his own partisans. The offices and dignities were, likewise, taken away on some pretext or other from the old occupants and given to his own people. Thus, at the end, there remained no such rival whom Kamāl would be afraid of. Gradually, much against the principles of fidelity, there entered into his head the idea of seizing the imperial dignity. Kamāl now desired to put 'Ismā'el 'Ādil Shāh, the legal heir, in prison and acquire the throne for his own use. He, therefore, sought the counsel of his coadjutor Amir Barid who gave a hearty support to his perverse ideas. A covenant was effected between the two on terms that, one would help the other in his attempt at self-aggrandisement and in the task of appropriating for himself the citadels and of enlarging his territories.

Accordingly, on the strength of the recent alliance with Barid, Kamāl Khān put 'Ismā'el and the ladies of the royal harem in close confinement and engaged confidential agents for keeping watch over them. Then, with an army and other resources of war, Kamāl came out of Bijapur for the purpose of seizing the country. At first, he laid siege to the fort of Sholāpur, and after an investment lasting for three months, he conquered it with no small effort on his part and loss of men on his side.[1]

Barid, likewise, left Bidar [2] and marched out with an army against Gulburgah, and having taken possession of some parts of the country he returned to his capital.

Being relieved of the siege of Sholāpur, Kamāl, too, returned to his capital. He ordered the astrologers [3] to find out an auspicious day on which his coronation could be held. Although, the astrologers

[1] Zāin Khān, the Governor, delivered Sholāpur together with five and a half districts into the hands of 'Ismā'el 'Ādil.

[2] Bidar was the capital of Bidarbha, modern Berar, Khandesh, part of the Nizam's territory and part of the Central Provinces.

[3] The date given in Ferishta, 1st Safar, 917 H.; Apr. 29, A.D. 1511.

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did not like the idea (coronation of Kamāl), they perforce, gave their opinion on ascertaining the position of the stars. 'The situation', they all urged, 'of the fifteen heavenly bodies forbade evil. For about a fortnight you must remain inactive. On the sixteenth day, however, whatever you do shall be blessed.'

Considering that it was easy to avert the evil influence of the stars, Kamāl, after all, remained alert, and he brought under his control all those places that he deemed impregnable and safe. He then found refuge in one of such retreats. The affairs of the state he conferred on Safdar, his son, and also on some officers of the empire.

When the evil designs of Kamāl became known to the public and the ladies of the royal harem became also cognizant of it, they (ladies) were engulfed in the whirlpool of perplexity, and in perfect helplessness remained in hourly expectation of the benevolence of the All-Powerful God. At last, they came upon a remedy. About two or three days had still remained for the completion of the appointed period (which, according to the astrologers, augured evil for Kamāl), when Bunji Khātun,[1] the mother of 'Ismā'el and Dilshād Āgā, his paternal aunt, both an intelligent woman, thought of extirpating the unfaithful wretch (Kamāl). They summoned before them an old and faithful slave,[2] said to be an old servant of 'Ismā'el and reminded him about his obligations for the benefits that he had received in the past. 'Every living creature', the ladies began addressing him, 'is mortal. But, he who dies having redeemed his obligation secures eternal wealth; not only does he acquire good name in this world, but he also secures fame in the next! Down upon the traitor, if you want to do your duty. If you are successful in your attempt you shall enjoy happiness like the other nobles of the court: but, if you lose your life, you shall rejoice over it, for, you shall obtain renown for your good actions and faithfulness in this world, and shall gain reward in the next!!'

Thereupon, Kākā, for that was the name of the slave, buckled on his armour and replied, 'Good heavens! how do you speak of one life? I am prepared to sacrifice hundreds for the sake of Ismā'el!' 'Although', said Bunji Khātun in assurance, 'the harem we live in is inaccessible even to our intimate friends and confidante, I shall, somehow or other make it accessible for you, and when you once get in, it will be your turn.'

Khātun won over, by adulation and fawning, the chambermaid who was appointed by Kamāl to furnish him with the news of

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[1] Ferishta calls him Bubuji Khānum.
[2] Ferishta calls him Yusuf Turk.

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the harem. The said abigail led Kākā to the inner apartments of Kamāl by representing that, as the slave was to go out on a pilgrimage to Mecca, he needed the requisite permission and a betel from him. Kamāl, whose death drew near, had no misgiving. When Kākā approached Kamāl for the betel, he (Kākā) unsheathed the dagger that he kept concealed in his person and stabbed the traitor on the chest and abdomen. Kamāl's wife noticed the whole incident; she cleverly came out of her seclusion and maintained perfect self-composure; she neither cried out for help nor allowed any one else to do it! At her orders the servants killed the assassin beating him with stones and sticks and wounding him with knife and dagger.

Kamāl's wife [1] then ordered Safdar Khān, her son, to get near her. She, then, informed him of the whole incident and forbade him to make any uproar. 'Strengthen your nerves', she commanded, 'and wreak your vengeance on 'Ismā'el and his mother. If you are perfunctory revenge shall be mine, and from me there shall be destruction'. Whenever Safdar became cowardly and discomfitted, his mother goaded and assured him in various ways.

Having thus nerved himself, Safdar, at last, ordered his men to plunder the imperial palace and imprison 'Ismā'el and his mother. He further ordered them to recruit soldiers and provide themselves with war materials.

In the meantime, Bunji Khātun ('Ismā'el's mother) who made Kākā accompany the parlour-maid to Kamāl's chamber, was passing her time in great suspense. Having received no information about Kākā's mission, she thought that his enterprise was unsuccessful; Kākā had failed to do anything and was in trouble! She realized that a dire calamity was upon them! Now, she became more careful and vigilant, and having infused courage in 'Ismā'el advised him to make himself ready for an encounter with the enemies. To the Mughals, the Deccanis and the Habshis (Abyssinians) and those royal servants who looked after the imperial palace, she sent the following note. 'If you are faithful, be desperate', she wrote, 'With the welfare of 'Ismā'el 'Ādil Shāh lies your welfare. The day is come when self-sacrifice is necessary. Fulfill your obligations, and prove by your conduct that you are the custodians of the imperial dignity and the keeper of the royal honour.'

Some of the devoted and faithful Mughal and Deccani officers got themselves in readiness and having proceeded to the royal palace fortified and strengthened it. On the other hand, Safdar mustered his men, provided them with war materials and made them proceed to the royal palace.

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[1] In Ferishta, she is the 'mother' and not the 'wife' of Kamāl.

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Safdar's men broke open the first two doors of the royal palace when arrows and muskets were discharged from the top of the citadel. Bunji Khātun and Dilshād Āgā put on the male attire and having armed themselves with daggers and shields, stimulated and encouraged the soldiery. 'Ismā'el 'Ādil Shāh, too, engaged himself heart and soul in the battle. Suddenly, an arrow from the top of the castle struck Safdar on his forehead. The wound was not so serious, but on account of his debility Safdar leaned against the wall. When the soldiers, who had stationed themselves on the citadel, received the information that Safdar was inclining on the wall, they hurled stones at him. One of such heavy stones struck Safdar and killed him outright. On the death of their leader Safdar's men slackened their effort and made a precipitate retreat. 'Ismā'el's men now descended from the palace and pursued the retreating party, imprisoning and killing them.

Thus, with the divine favour on his side and befriended by fortune and destiny, 'Ismā'el 'Ādil became joyous and delighted. In agreement with the earnest desire of his partisans, 'Ismā'el now ascended the throne. Money was thrown amongst the people assembled and *nazars* or presents were offered to 'Ismā'el. Suitable gifts were bestowed on the faithful officers of the crown. Khusru Āqā Lārī, belonging to the royal body-guard, received the title of Asad Khān and the presentation of lands and jagirs in return for the conspicuous and devoted service that he had rendered in the imperial cause.[1] But the Deccani and Habshi (Abyssinian) officers were dismissed from their posts, and those bastard Mughals who had any affinity with the Dakhinis were likewise removed from their offices. Subsequently, having bestowed his entire thought on the matter of effecting an improvement in the condition of the Mughals, 'Ismā'el 'Ādil Shāh recruited them in his army and within a short time Mughal archers and spearsmen were collected for the protection of the Sultan. At some later date, on account of the supplications of the Mughals, the discharged hybrid soldiers were re-appointed, but the Habshis and the Dakhinis were not reinstated.[2]

With the increase of power and authority 'Ismā'el 'Ādil Shāh changed the *Khutba* according to the Shiā faith and showed greater zeal for this creed than his father. Order was promulgated for the

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[1] Ferishta calls him Khusru Turk. Khusru received Belgaum in Jaigīr.

[2] Ferishta writes, 'During his confinement, the king had vowed not to enlist any Deccanis or Abyssinians in his service . . . at length at their request, he permitted the children of foreigners born in India, to be received into the army, and afterwards, consented to enrol Afghans and Rajputs, provided they were not natives of the Deccan; a practice which was adhered to at the Adil Shāhi court, till the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah II'.

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use of red caps or *Dawāzdah Turki* (scarlet caps with twelve points) amongst the people. No respect was shown to those who did not wear such caps. Persons not using these headdresses had no free movements in the city. Punishment was meted out to those who violated the order for the use of red caps. This state of things lasted till the end of 'Ismā'el 'Ādil Shāh's rule.

When 'Ismā'el 'Ādil permanently obtained repose from internal troubles, he made up his mind to liberate the country of his forefathers, which during the troublesome period had passed into the control of others. At first, he marched against Barid, and took away those portions that had gone to him. Amir Barid was worried for this and he began taking offensive measures. He sent epistles to the leading ruling houses of the Deccan and called for auxiliaries, so that, Burhan Nizām Shāh, Sultan Qulī Qutb Shāh and 'Alā'-ud-din 'Imād-ul-Mulk having drawn up their forces marched to Bidar. Having instigated Sultan Maḥmud to join him and in conjunction with the forces of the ruling dynasties in the Deccan, Barid marched against 'Ismā'el Shāh.[1] On its way, the army of Barid laid waste and plundered the country and reached the vicinity of Bijapur but met with no opposition. The invading army pitched their camps at a distance of three *kuroh* from Bijapur.

To guard against Sultan Maḥmud, 'Ismā'el 'Ādil Shāh, on the other hand, placed himself in the centre of his army and made no forward movement. Rumour now spread in the army of Barid that 'Ismā'el 'Ādil's inactivity was chiefly due to his cowardice. Then, all on a sudden, with 12,000 cavalry mostly Mughals, 'Ismā'el 'Ādil rushed upon Barid and put to the sword a large number of his soldiers. Thus vanquished, Barid fled to Bidar and Sultan Maḥmud, on account of a calamity that had befallen him in the engagement, got down from his horse and being wounded became a prisoner in the hands of 'Ismā'el 'Ādil. Maḥmud's son, Sultan Aḥmad Shāh was also one of the captives. Without any further opposition and loss of strength Maḥmud Shāh's army marched back to their country.

'Ismā'el 'Ādil Shāh showed proper courtesy and respect to the vanquished compeer, and having made him rest awhile, administered medical relief to his wounds. He further entertained Maḥmud with a presentation in cash and jewels. Maḥmud gradually recovered from his wounds.

'Ismā'el 'Ādil Shāh then issued a mandate for holding a social entertainment and a festivity. At 'Ismā'el's orders, his sister Bibi Satī,[2] who had been betrothed to Prince Aḥmad Shāh, was also

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[1] The date given in Ferishta, A.H. 920, A.D. 1514.

[2] In Ferishta, Bibi Masetī.

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present in the said social gathering. The Sultan of Bijapur made proper arrangements for the marriage ceremony and that incomparable jewel of the empire (the princess) was united in marriage [1] to the prominent star of the Khelafat (Aḥmad Shāh) in accordance with the rules of the *Shari'at*.[2] A magnificent festival was held on the occasion. In compliance with the marriage regulations, the groom obtained leave after an expiry of two months. When the marriage ceremony was over, Sultan Maḥmud received valuable presents in cash and kind, and then escorted by 5,000 Mughal cavalry he marched to his capital Bidar.[3]

Asad Khān, gradually, gave evidence of his faithfulness and competency in the management of state affairs. Consequently, 'Ismā'el 'Ādil Shāh conferred on him the post of *Sipāh Sālār* (commander-in-chief), which was the highest rank in the empire. Asad's dignity now reached its acme. He wished to cultivate friendship with Burhan Niẓām Shāh, and having thus established an amity with him he proposed to march against Timrāj, the Hindu ruler of Vijayanagar, who had raised his head of arrogance to the skies and had allowed his cauldron of self-worship to boil and ferment. Asad wanted to obtain eminence in the holy war (against the said Rāi), which was obligatory on every true believer and pillar of the Faith. He despatched Sayid Aḥmad Harwī, a man of experience and great wisdom, with a friendly letter and royal presents to Ahmadnagar. Reaching his destination Harwī made necessary arrangements for the royal interview. In the conference it was decided that, the Sultans of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar should both come out of their capitals and meet each other at Sholāpur, and that the tie of friendship should be further strengthened by the matrimony of the Bijapur princess [4] ('Ismā'el 'Ādil Shāh's sister) with Burhān Niẓām Shāh.[5]

Subsequently, in agreement with the settlement thus made, 'Ādil Shāh issued from his capital with due pomp and grandeur and reached Sholāpur. Niẓām Shāh also reached the place. The two

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[1] The marriage was held at Kulburga.

[2] The supplementary laws given by Muhammad, the Prophet.

[3] Ferishta narrates that 'Ismā'el 'Ādil once secured the release of the Persian ambassador from Bidar and honoured him with rich presents. In return for this service, Shah 'Ismā'el Safvy, the Persian monarch deputed in the year A.H. 925, A.D. 1519, an officer of high rank with presents to the court of Bijapur. The Bijapur Sultan offered him a befitting reception and commanded the officers in his army to wear scarlet caps having ten points—the head-dress worn by the followers of Sheikh Sufi.

[4] Ferishta calls her 'Mariyam'.

[5] In Ferishta the date is Rajab, A.H. 930, May, A.D. 1524.

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sovereigns met together and derived supreme pleasure from the interview. There was the usual display of affability and complacency from both the parties. On account of the alliance and relationship there grew up an intimate friendship and concord between the two sovereigns. The two parties now arranged for the wedding, and in a short time arrangements were commenced for the marriage festivity, so that, in the course of a month, everything was complete. That secret jewel of the imperial casket (Bijapur princess) was united to the highest luminary (Burhān Niẓām Shāh) in marriage. The marriage dowry consisted of jewels, cash, victuals and the forts of Bijapur and Panj Pitha.[1] When the festivities were over, the two Sultans in a transport of delight left Sholāpur and marched to their capitals.

Subsequently, 'Ādil Shāh broke his promise and held forth various excuses in matters relating to the cession of the Sholāpur fortress. There, thus, grew up discord and bitterness between the two kings. For this reason, next year, Burhān Niẓām Shāh having allied himself with Niẓām-ul-Mulk marched his army against Sholāpur. On receipt of this information, 'Ādil Shāh lost no time in raising ten or twelve thousand cavalry. The total number of combatants on both sides amounted to no less than 40,000. By the grace of God, 'Ādil Shāh with his own army marched out and met the opposing forces. The Bijapuris ranged themselves in battle order and displayed bravery. Though the army of Berar and Ahmadnagar put pressure on their adversaries and made their best exertions, victory went to 'Ādil Shāh. The Berar forces retired from the battle-field and ran away to the country. Asad Khān made a hot pursuit of the enemies to Parenda. 'Ādil Shāh laid his hands on forty elephants and other spoils of war. In commemoration of the recent victory, the Bijapur Sultan made a presentation of eleven elephants to *Sipah Sālār* Asad Khān ; the other courtiers and nobles were, likewise, offered gifts in proportion to their ranks.

Next year,[2] Burhān Niẓām Shāh, who was much humiliated on account of the defeat, having co-operated with Amir Barīd despatched an army against 'Ādil Shāh. The latter, too, made himself ready for an opposition. When the two forces faced each other, a severe conflict followed in which both sides fought tooth and nail, but ultimately, on account of the gallantry of 'Ādil Shāhi

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[1] Busátin-us-Sālātin reads : قلعهٔ شولا پور با پنج پیڑهه هم مقرر شده بود Ferishta writes, ' the fort of Sholāpur with its five and a half districts. . . .'

[2] In Ferishta the date is A.H. 935, A.D. 1528.

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forces, Niẓām Shāh's army met with their defeat. With twenty elephants and other paraphernalias of war Khwājā Jehān Dakhīnī became a prisoner in the hands of Asad Khān.

Having won the victory, 'Ādil Shāh returned to his capital. He, at first, offered thanksgiving to God for his recent success and then gave presentations to his officers and courtiers. The Sultan offered to Asad Khān [1] all the elephants captured in war excepting one which he kept for his own use. The elephant in question was named Allah Buksh and it was formerly in the personal use of Burhān Niẓām Shāh.

After the foregoing incident, Asad Khān who was noted for his skill, sagacity, bravery and valour thought that, the discord and disagreement between 'Ādil Shāh and 'Imād-ul-Mulk, the Sultan of Berar, which produced evil consequences in the affairs of Bijapur, should be removed, and that a cordial relation be established instead between the two sovereigns. With this end in view, Asad, with great skill, sought an opportunity for making the two Sultans meet, so that, their differences might be removed and a cordiality established between the parties. Asad's attempt was rewarded with success, and 'Imād-ul-Mulk paid his homage to 'Ādil Shāh. Further, with a view to strengthening the alliance, Khādijāh Sultān, the sister of 'Ādil Shāh was expoused to 'Alā'-ud-dīn 'Imād-ul-Mulk.[2]

Asad, likewise, tried to effect a settlement between 'Ādil Shāh and Amir Barid, the Sultan of Bidar, but in spite of his best efforts he became unsuccessful. Thus, it so happened that, whenever a compromise was effected between the two Sultans through Asad's exertion, there was a fresh cause for hostilities on account of the aggressive measures adopted by 'Imād-ul-Mulk and 'Ādil Shāh. On one of such occasions, two nobles, both famous for their valour and among whom one was the brother-in-law (wife's brother) of Barid, marched an army against 'Ādil Shāh when the latter met them in battle.

Asad and the other nobles of the court tried to prevent 'Ādil Shāh from personally going to the battle-field, but to no purpose. Without paying any heed to their counsel, the Bijapur Sultan galloped his horse straight into the cock-pit and displayed wonderful bravery. Being an adept in hand-to-hand fighting—an encounter much popular in the Deccan in those days—' Ādil scored a success against his two aforesaid antagonists, and having made the two drink the beverage of death, made his successful return to the capital. In commemoration of this victory, all the faithful servants of the court

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[1] Ferishta says that Asad was further honoured with the title of *Farzund* (or son).

[2] The nuptial was celebrated at Ursingy.

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flocked near him and performed *Nisar* (scattering of wealth). The poor and the needy received alms. Having kissed the imperial stirrups, Asad extended his hands of welcome to the victorious Sultan.

The fraud and deception of Amir Barid having exceeded all limit, and on his co-operating with Qutb Shāh and the Hindu ruler of Vijayanagar and thereby fomenting trouble, the Bijapur Sultan marched against Bidar with an army of ten thousand horse. On the receipt of this information, Barid made necessary preparations for the coming contest.[1] He fortified his capital, secured ample provisions and sought help from Qutb Shāh. Reaching Bidar, 'Ādil Shāh besieged the fortress and there took place between the contestants sanguinary conflicts. In the meantime Qutb-ul-Mulk arrived at the scene in the help of Amir Barid. Having employed only half of his forces to carry on the siege, the Sultan of Bijapur, sent Asad Khān with the other half against Qutb Shāh. Like a flash of lightning, Asad came upon Qutb and scattered his forces; he then returned to the work of the siege. On account of this victory over the enemies, 'Ādil Shāh rewarded Asad with many valuable presents. The besiegers carried on the siege and put all stop to the ingress and egress to and from the fortress. Being thus hard pressed, Amir Barid applied to 'Imād-ul-Mulk requesting him to interfere and establish peace between him (Barid) and 'Ādil Shāh.

With a view to effecting harmony, 'Imād-ul-Mulk encamped himself at a distance of one *farsakh* from 'Ādil Shāh, and then having sought an interview with the latter narrated to him the purpose of his visit and craved for granting pardon to Barid for the faults that he had committed. 'The delinquencies of Barid', the Bijapur Sultan said, 'are beyond all measure. There cannot be any talk for peace so long I do not pay him back in his own coins.' Finding that it was quite useless to pursue the matter any further 'Imād-ul-Mulk gave up all attempt for establishing amity. Amir Barid, on the other hand, finding that 'Imād had failed in his object, went to his camp and raised lamentations. 'I hold', Barid groaned, 'your skirts for help and intervention. In whatever way possible, please try to bring about a peace, and thus save me and my family from the siege'. 'This desire of thine', 'Imād in reply said, 'cannot be fulfilled until you make your surrender and hand over the fortress to the Bijapur ruler'.

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[1] But Ferishta writes that on the approach of the Bijapur Sultan, Amir Barid, by the advice of Hemājī, his brahmin minister, committed Bidar to the charge of his eldest son and himself retired to Udgir.

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Dis-spirited and broken-hearted, Barid now retired. He pitched up his tent outside the fortress, and in front of and at a distance of one *farsakh* from 'Imād-ul-Mulk's camp. Having no longer entertained any fear of the enemy, Barid now engaged himself in pleasure and merry-making. On the other hand, the contestants, on account of 'Imād-ul-Mulk's intervention, refrained themselves from all active hostilities. Old Barid, aged more than eighty, drank deep like a fish. Owing to 'Imād-ul-Mulk's intercession Barid now became so careless, that one night he held a drinking entertainment in which all the ladies of his harem were present. Every one was dead drunk excepting the two torch-bearers, but they, too, remained sober for an hour or two. The whole party fell into a deep sleep, and it seemed, as if, the members of the assembly being dead tired slept round the dead body (of Barid). This information was conveyed to Asad while he was on patrol duty. Accompanied by a few brave warriors, the brave and skilful Asad rode to the camp of Barid, and then having put on a disguise and in company of five or six men, he passed imperceptibly amid the Bacchanalian group. The two torch-bearers were instantly put to death at Asad's orders and a shawl spread over Barid. Barid's movables and effects were left untouched. Then, four persons dexterously raised up the ornamented bed-sted on which Barid was lying blind drunk, and having taken it out of the camp began to carry it like a coffin with a muttering of *Qalmā Shahādat*[1] on their lips. Reaching their own camp the party loudly recited the formula of *tashahhud* (a profession which testifies the unity of God and the apostleship of Muhammad). On account of all these noise and the movement of his bed-sted, the old Barid returned to his senses. He thought that he was being carried away by the evil spirits. He got up on his bed in a perplexing mood, uttered *lā ḥaul*[2] and then began to offer his prayers to God. 'Oh, old sinner', Asad sarcastically said to Barid, 'I am not an evil spirit that I would take to flight at your *lā-haul*. My name is Asad Khān.' 'How strange', he continued, 'at this stage of your life, and when you are surrounded by your enemies, you are immersed in sin and have lost all your prudence? How could you have lost your worldly wisdom under the misfortune?' Barid was now much perturbed. He made solicitations and entreaties so that his life might be saved. Asad offered him consolations and

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[1] While carrying a dead body this formula is being read. It means, 'There is only one God, and Muhammad is the apostle of God'.

[2] *Lā ḥaula wa lā qūwata illā bi'llāh*: There is no power nor strength except in God, an explanation uttered to drive away evil spirits and also on any sudden emergency.

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to encourage him said, ' I shall, so far as it lies in my power, try to save your life and redeem your prestige '. At last, Barid was taken to 'Ismā'el 'Ādil Shāh, who addressing a few words to the prisoner turned to Asad Khān saying, ' Remove the captive now and produce him to the court to-morrow '.

Next day, when the sun, that imparts warmth to the world, peeped out of the eastern window and shed lustre to the universe, 'Ādil Shāh ordered the old culprit to be produced to the court. With his both hands chained Barid was placed before the royal throne. The Sultan was much displeased with Barid's actions so he took no notice of his presence and remained engaged in the affairs of State. Standing directly under the heat of the sun, bereft of his shoes and head-dress, Barid meditated upon the unusual episode. All the adversity, thought he, was due to his sinful acts and misfortunes : he was the master of a host of officers and faithful soldiers ; he had issued coins and read the *Khutba* in his name, but how ludicrously he was taken out of his bed-room ! Oh, how disgraceful !! Had he not been paid back in his own coins !!!

While Barid was thus lost in thought, 'Ismā'el 'Ādil flew into an ecstasy of rage and ordered, ' Smite the malevolent with the sword '. Like the veritable death, the executioners rushed at the victim with their drawn swords. In fulfilment of the pledge made to Barid, Asad Khān now intervened and prayed for mercy. Barid entreated, ' I do confess my guilt and admit that I amply deserve capital punishment. But if my life be saved I promise to cede the fortress of Ahmedabad Bidar and all the treasures buried underground '. At the request of Asad Khān, it was, however, decided that in testimony to the saying in the Hadis, viz., ' The Zakat of victory is pardon ', Barid should be pardoned.

Amir Barid now enjoined on his sons to vacate the fortress and hand it over to the Bijapur officials. They all said, ' Oh, grey-headed unfortunate fool ! your enemies took advantage of your indiscretion and made you their prisoner. You now want to purchase your freedom by sacrificing the honour and dignity of your sons ! ' Ali Barid, the eldest, secretly sent the following note to his father, ' You have, some day or other, to leave this ephemeral resting-place. What worry then ? Be patient, and endure the misfortunes that you have yourself created. Take your chance ! ' The sons, however, engaged a faithful agent and advised him to devise means for securing the freedom of old Barid without making any promise to the enemies for the cessation of the fortress, but if the release could not be obtained without the transference of the fortress he should agree to it. The messenger was particularly ordered to see that no trouble befell the senior Barid.

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'Ādil Shāh, on the other hand, observing that Barid's sons were intending opposition and that the cession of the fort was unlikely, ordered that, the prisoners' hands and feet be tied and that he be trampled upon by the elephant in front of the citadel. Upon this Barid's sons instructed their representative to approach Asad Khān for informing him about his principal's willingness in the matter of surrendering the fortress on condition that Amir Barid be set free, and that at the time of the cession, the dignity and honour of the family be not injured. Ultimately, it was decided that the ladies should evacuate the fortress with the clothes and ornaments that they had worn, and that they should not take with them anything else. When the fortress was vacated, 'Ādil Shāh made a state-entry into it, and having at first offered his thanks-giving to God, ascended the throne of the Bahmanis. 'Imād-ul-Mulk was invited inside the fort. Pointing his fingers at the heap of treasures consisting of jewels, pearls, gold and silver utensils, precious garments, furniture and cash, the victorious Bijapur Sultan addressed 'Imād-ul-Mulk, saying, ' Please yourself with as much as you like ', and he personally made the start by accepting with his hands an ornamented casket filled with amber. The Sultan, now, turned to Asad Khān and said, ' out of this treasure allot three lacs of huns for the payment to 'Imād-ul-Mulk's suite ; distribute one lac to the princes, such as, Malo Khān, Alo Khān, Ibrāhim and 'Abdullah ; keep one lac for your own use ; an equal amount you send to Mecca, Medina, the sepulchres of the Imāms and other holy places for pilgrimage : the balance you spend among the scholars, the poor, the needy, the honest, the court and other poets of Bijapur.' Having accepted no other present excepting the aforesaid casket for holding amber, 'Ādil Shāh left the durbar. 'Imād-ul-Mulk now prayed for pardon on behalf of Amir Barid and solicited that he be included among the officials of the court. At the advice of Asad Khān, the fort of Bidar was entrusted to Mustāfā Khān Shirāzī. For a few days the Sultan of Bijapur indulged himself in amusements and merry-makings.

When Timraj [1] passed away the officials of Vijayanagar stirred up dissension. Finding that his hour was come, 'Ādil Shāh joined his hands with 'Imād-ul-Mulk and marched against the fortresses of Mudkul and Raichur which were in the hands of the infidels. Having crossed the Krishna, the Sultan of Bijapur laid siege to Mudkul and pressed it hard. Finding that no help reached them, the garrison laid down their arms. 'Ādil Shāh next, turned his

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[1] In Ferishta, Hemraj.

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steps towards Raichur and before he made the assault, the picket for want of outside relief, hauled down colours and handed over the keys of the citadel to the victor. Having thus won his object, 'Ādil Shāh held a banquet and took his pleasure. 'Imād-ul-Mulk was also present on the occasion. Asad Khān was allowed the prerogative of taking his seat in the presence of the Sultan of Bijapur, and he was, further, honoured with the presentation of three cups of wine by the Sultan himself. 'Imād-ul-Mulk and Asad Khān, then, put up a prayer to the Sultan. ' May it please your Majesty ', they both appealed, ' It would be an act of immense forbearance if Amir Barid be also allowed to take part in the festivities and to have his round of pleasures '. The Sultan agreed. When Amir Barid entered the assembly-room and took his seat, 'Ādil Shāh, while referring to Barid, quoted the following passage from the Qur'ān—' the fourth among them is the dog '.[1] 'Imād-ul-Mulk and Asad, both understood the significance of the quotation and laughed in their sleeves. Barid also understood the hint and he coloured up. He durst not show his face and tears came out of his eyes. Upon this, 'Ādil Shāh felt sorry for him and to remove his awkwardness he addressed, ' If God wills it, on my return to Bijapur I shall reward you with Bidar '. Amir Barid, then, read out the following couplet :

VERSE

It matters little if I perish after this happy message,
To me the tiding is a source of pleasure !

'Ādil Shāh became amazed at this unexpected reply. ' Good gracious ', he exclaimed in great surprise, ' What an apt couplet from that man of straw (i.e. Barid) ' !

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[1] The reference is to the Qur'ān, Part XV, Chap. XVIII, Sec. III, Verse XXII, in which the story of *Ashāb-i-Kahaf* or the Dwellers of the cave is described. Those dwellers of the cave are said to be a band of early believers in Christianity, who fearing the persecutions of the Emperor Dacius of Rome, took shelter in the catacombs outside the city walls (of Rome). They are supposed to be three in number and are accompanied by their faithful dog. In some accounts they are four, in some five, and in some six or seven in number. The popular belief about them is that, they kept sleeping for nearly three-hundred years and they came out only to find that the conditions of the country had entirely changed : they went back to their caves and they are supposed now to be yet sleeping and that they will rise at the blow of the horn on the Judgment Day.

Here Amir Barid, who formed the fourth of the party the other three being the Sultan, 'Imād-ul-Mulk and Asad Khan, has been compared to the ' dog ' of the ' Dwellers of the cave '.

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To sum up, after having passed a month in relaxation and merriment,[1] 'Ādil Shāh turned his way in triumph to the capital. On his return to Bijapur, the Sultan in fulfilment of his promise presented Amir Barid with a special robe of honour, elephants, horses and jewels and despatched him to Ahmedabad Bidar. The Sultan kept for himself Kandāhār and Kaliyān and bestowed Bidar and its suburbs on Barid.

VERSE

For this benignity the earth is delighted,
The Sultan of the Deccan is so merciful !

Some time after,[2] Niẓām Shāh, who had been humiliated at his defeat in the hands of 'Ādil Shāh joined Amir Barid and marched against the Bijapur Sultan with twenty-five thousand cavalry and a strong artillery. With two thousand *tājposh* cavalry 'Ādil took his stand. The Bijapuri forces under Asad drew up in battle order and met the enemies. A sanguinary conflict, which surpassed all previous records, now ensued and 'Ādil gained the day.[3] Khurshīd Khān, one of the greatest nobles of the Niẓām's court fell in the battle, upon which the Niẓām in despair and perplexity fled towards Ahmadnagar, leaving his elephants, artillery and all the paraphernalia of sovereignty in the hands of the victors. From that moment there was no further conflict between 'Ādil Shāh and Burhān Niẓām Shāh for the reason that, the amirs and the courtiers on both sides effected a meeting of the two Sultans on the frontier and established peace between them, on condition that, 'Ādil Shāh and Niẓām would attack Qutb Shāh and 'Imād-ul-Mulk respectively.

At a subsequent period, 'Ismā'el 'Ādil Shāh, having abandoned all pleasures and amusements, determined to engage himself in wars in the cause of Islam, and thereby secure many fortresses. In alliance with Amir Barid, the powerful Bijapuri forces marched against Telingana,[4] which was in possession of the infidels. The said country was full of fortresses and high mansions. At the outset, the army of Islam besieged the fort of Kowilkundā, which was one of the famous fortresses of Telingānā, and carried on the siege for sometime. Thus, for sometime, the Muslims and the Hindus fought with each other,

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[1] In commemoration of these rejoicings a poem consisting of a thousand verses descriptive of them was composed by one Maulā Ibrāhim Isferāhi.

[2] The date as given by Ferishta is A.H. 938, A.D. 1531.

[3] The battle is called the victory of the Foreign Boys, by whose exertion it was principally won '. Ferishta.

[4] The event took place in A.H. 940, A.D. 1533.

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and many persons were slain on both sides. At each encounter victory rested on Asad and the other champions of Islam, so that, the infidels were at last hard pressed and they were at their wits' end. The garrison were on the point of surrendering and were engaged in mutual consultation on the subject, when suddenly, according to the will of God and on account of the climate the health of 'Ādil Shāh was thrown out of gear. There was a manifestation of gathering clouds round the impregnable fort of His Majesty's person which finally led to the disruption of the four elements of which the body was composed. The physicians tried their very best, but as the cup (of life) was full, there was no good turn. It was, at last, decided that the Sultān should return to his capital, but the journey led to the aggravation of the disease. The party reached Sāgar or the town of Sakkarar on the morning of Wednesday, the 16th Safar, 941 H.[1] (Aug., 1534 A.D.) when the Sultan breathed his last.[2] Having kept the news of the Sultan's death in secret, Asad Khān sent, for the burial, the last remains of 'Ādil in a covered litter to the mausoleum of his father at Gogi.

The diseased Sultan laid the foundation of the city named Chandāpur in 926 H. (1520 A.D.) and an edifice named Champā Mahal in 927 H. (1521 A.D.). His army numbered one lac and forty thousand ; and the royal elephants amounted to one hundred and sixteen.

In agreement to the behest of the deceased Sultan, Asad placed Malo Khān on the throne. The character of the new Sultan proving repugnant to him, Asad Khān in disgust appointed Bunji Khātun, mother of late 'Ismā'el 'Ādil Shāh, for keeping a watch on Malo and himself retired to Belgaum. Malo carried the administration for seven months. He had no capacity for administration and he deviated from the path of virtue. The subject-people of the city and its vicinity were plunged into distress. Bunji Khātun was, likewise, disquieted, and she made up her mind to dethrone Malo and place Ibrāhim instead. Having secretly despatched an agent to Asad Khān, she sought his advise. 'It is', Asad in reply

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[1] 16th Safar falls on Thursday and not Wednesday, Indian Ephemeris, L. D. S. Pillai, Vol. V, p. 271.

[2] In corroboration of the statement made by Sa'iyid Aḥmad Harwī, Ferishta writes that, 'Ismā'el 'Ādil Shāh was noted for his justice, prudence, patience, liberality and sense of humour. As a *connoisseur* of the fine arts, such as, painting, music and poetry, and a master hand in the arts of varnishing and making arrows, he had almost no equal. Being kept from the company of the Deccanies since his early days, he developed a strong fascination for the Turkish and Persian manners and customs and even their language.

The Sultan ruled for 24 years, from 1510–1534 A.D.

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wrote, ' for the very reason that I left Bijapur and am now leading a retired life. For the good of the empire Malo need be dethroned and Ibrāhim anointed king. The time is now up.' He also wrote to Yusuf Turk, ' whatever the Bilqis' of the age instructs, you carry into execution '. Yusuf Turk, one of the faithful *tāj-posh* omrahs of the court dethroned Malo and blinded him, and then placed Ibrāhim on the throne of Bijapur.

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THE THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY OF BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM

VI

THE PRĪTI-SAṂDARBHA

By S. K. De

The object of this Saṃdarbha is to establish that Prīti or Prema-bhakti, which as devotional love for the Bhagavat is the highest type of Bhakti, is the *summum bonum* of human life. In the first four Saṃdarbhas, the ultimate reality or the Parama-tattva has been explained and identified with the Saṃbandha-tattva of the Śāstra, viz. the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa as the highest and most exclusive object of worship (Upāsya). In the fifth Saṃdarbha his worship (Upāsanā) has been declared as the Abhidheya or subject-matter of the Śāstra. In the present Saṃdarbha the Prīti for the Bhagavat is considered as the highest end or Prayojana. It has been declared by philosophers that the highest Prayojana or the highest good of man is the discontinuance of the miseries of existence (*duḥkha-nivṛtti*) and the attainment of happiness (*sukha-prāpti*). An attempt is made now to demonstrate that the Bhagavat-prīti brings happiness which is unalloyed and imperishable, and consequently causes the absolute and permanent cessation of misery. It is shown that by this intense feeling of devotional love, which can be relished by the devotee as a blissful supersensuous sentiment (Rasa), the Bhagavat can be realized in his true character, for in it the Bhagavat himself realizes his own nature of perfect bliss and reveals himself in his self-surrendering grace.

In the scriptures the ultimate reality is established as the real (*sat*), eternal (*ananta*), absolute (*kevala*) and perfect (*parama*) bliss. This bliss is distinguished from every other kind of bliss, for it is pure and abundant, being placed beyond the sphere of the Māyā-śakti, and is therefore unlike the phenomenal pleasure which is mixed with sorrow and therefore transient and insufficient. It has been already explained in the *Paramātma-saṃdarbha* that, although the Jīva belongs to the Bhagavat (*tadīyo'pi*), its knowledge of the Bhagavat is defeated by the external Māyā-śakti; and as this results in a loss of self-knowledge and in an absorption in the phenomenal conditions (Upādhi) fashioned by the Māyā-śakti, the Jīva is tied to the misery of rebirth (Saṃsāra). The Jīva's want of knowledge

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of the Bhagavat is declared to be an instance of Prāg-abhāva (non-existence previous to production), i.e. it exists from the beginning but can be removed by divine grace ; it is not a case of Dhvaṃsābhāva (non-existence due to total destruction) or Atyantābhāva (absolute non-existence) ; for in these cases the attainment of knowledge would have been entirely impossible. In other words, the Jīva's knowledge of the Bhagavat may be temporarily non-existent, but the Jīva possesses, through divine grace, the inherent capacity of attaining it. This knowledge of the Bhagavat, which is equivalent to the direct realization of the ultimate reality, consists of the attainment of the highest bliss ; and this is declared to be the highest human good or the Parama-puruṣārtha. As soon as the radical cause, viz. the want of knowledge, is removed, the Jīva's loss of self-knowledge automatically disappears ; for the knowledge of self consists entirely of the knowledge of the self-manifesting divine self, of which the individual self is only a part. The cessation of misery follows as a natural result from this blissful realization ; and, being destroyed eternally (*dhvaṃsābhāvāt*), the cessation becomes absolute and perpetual. As it is preceded by the removal of the fetters of the Māyā-śakti or the bondage of Saṃsāra by an appearance of the Svarūpa-śakti in the shape of Prema-bhakti, it is called Mukti or emancipation. The Mukti has, therefore, been described in the *Bhāgavata* (ii, 10, 6) as the attainment of the Jīva's natural state and function by relinquishing its otherwise imposed state and function (*muktir hitvānyathā-rūpaṃ svarūpeṇa vyavasthitiḥ*). It has been already shown that the view that the Jīva and the Bhagavat are identical is wrong ; the Jīva, as a part (Aṃśa), attains the whole (Aṃśin), which, according to the capacity and mode of worship, may be either the Brahma or the Bhagavat. Of these two modes of attainment, the first consists merely of the appearance of the knowledge of the impersonal Brahma on the destruction of that function of the Māyā-śakti which is known as the Avidyā, and of the merger of the Jīva in Brahma ; but the second, which is higher, consists of the attainment of the Bhagavat in his fullest and truest self in his own paradise, where the Jīva in its essential character is brought in direct contact with the personal god. The attainment of the Brahma, much less of the Bhagavat, must not be understood to imply that the individual attains sameness or identity, but it means that the individual merely posits its own intrinsic similarity to the divine reality, the similarity consisting in the inherent possession, even in infinitesimal proportion, of the divine Svarūpa-śakti of bliss, which for the time being was suppressed by the Māyā-śakti. This Mukti can be attained during lifetime (Jīvad-daśā) as well as after leaving the gross and the subtle bodies after death (Utkrānta-daśā). In the

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latter state, both kinds of body being destroyed, the Jīva is no longer subject to the bondage of Karma and consequently to the phenomenal pleasure and pain; it thus becomes fit to receive the highest bliss which reveals itself and destroys misery for ever. The Śāstra speaks of this type of Mukti as the highest Prayojana or Puruṣārtha.

It has been already made clear that the divine reality can be attained either in the indistinct and indiscrete form (*aspaṣṭa-viśeṣa-rūpa*) of Brahma or in the distinct and proper form of the Bhagavat; and that of these, the direct revelation or Sākṣātkāra of the Bhagavat is much superior to the mere consciousness or Jñāna of the Brahma. This theme is further elucidated here from a different point of view. Of all the attributes or energies of the divine self, the highest is its special attribute of belovedness (*priyatva-lakṣaṇa-dharma-viśeṣa*), which implies both the state of loving and being loved and which is one of the highest functions of its energy of bliss or Hlādinī Śakti. One may possess a series of good qualities, but without Prīti or love such qualities have hardly any significance; on the other hand, the value of the qualities can be properly realized only when such a person is regarded with Prīti or love. It follows, therefore, that the divine attributes are fully realized only when the attribute of Prīti is realized, i.e. only when the divine person is realized not only as an object of love but also as himself capable of love. In all divine revelation or Sākṣātkāra, therefore, the element of Prīti must predominate; and the degree of the revelation depends upon the degree of the Prīti involved in it. It follows from what has been said above that (i) the attainment of the highest happiness and the consequent cessation of misery, which constitute Mukti, are attainable by divine Sākṣātkāra alone, (ii) without Prīti there can be no Sākṣātkāra or revelation of the divine self or of his intrinsic attributes, (iii) this Sākṣātkāra consists of the apprehension of the ultimate divine reality in its truest and fullest character of the Bhagavat as a personal god in his own paradise, (iv) by Prīti or intense devotional love alone for the god, there is certainty of such apprehension, (v) upon the quality and extent of the Prīti depends the character and degree of the apprehension, and (vi) the Bhagavat-prīti alone is thus the only *summum bonum* of man.

That the Prīti is the highest good can also be established by the ways of the world (*loka-vyavahāra*). All beings are naturally inclined towards Prīti or love, for it is seen that life itself is sacrificed for the beloved object. A man seeks different objects of love in his childhood, youth and old age, but his search is never fully satisfied; for everyone desires to love that object which brings the highest and the most enduring bliss, and such an object is unavailable in the

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phenomenal world. The Bhagavat alone as the source of such bliss is the highest object of love. Thus, through cycles of birth the Jīva never realizes the proper and fully sufficient object of love until it reaches the Bhagavat in whom all his Prīti finally rests. One who is full of Prīti towards the Bhagavat can have no love for any other object; even emancipation as such is insignificant to him. In saying, therefore, that the Prīti is the highest good, one can only mean the Prīti towards the Bhagavat.

Those who maintain that there is no feeling of bliss in Mukti fail to demonstrate that it is the highest good. The existence of bliss is useless unless it can be felt; for no one desires that he will become bliss itself, but he desires to feel the bliss. Hence if there is no feeling of bliss in the state of release, then it would be a futile objective for which no effort would be undertaken and no desire entertained. Those who maintain, therefore, that in Mukti there is no consciousness of feeling and consequently no experience of bliss, prescribe a *summum bonum* which can hardly stimulate any desire or effort for attainment. That there is such an experience (*anubhava*) of bliss even in emancipation is established in the Śruti. Even when the Jīva attains the state of identity with Brahma, it can never, as we have seen, become the Brahma itself because of the relation of difference in non-difference, and there is some bliss even in the realization of Brahma; but since in the higher manifestation of the Bhagavat there is a full display of the intrinsic divine energies, the bliss in this case springs from the perfect divine self and is of a varied and wonderful character (*ānanda-vaicitrya*). This Bhagavat-sākṣātkāra alone, in which there is an experience of infinite bliss, is entitled to the designation of Mukti.

The Sākṣātkāra or revelation of the Bhagavat may occur either by the inward (*antar*) or the outward (*bahis*) appearance of the deity to the devotee; in other words, the Bhagavat may either reveal himself inwardly to the contemplative mind, or he may do so outwardly to the mind and the different organs of senses. The outward vision, however, is regarded as superior to the inward, for the actual sight of the deity as a person is a higher realization than the mere comprehension through mental meditation. Purity of the mind and body is a necessary qualification, but such purity itself is the result of the self-manifesting energy of the divine will discovered by the particular mode of Bhakti. The Bhakti, being a special function of the divine Svarūpa-śakti, can never be produced but appears of itself through divine grace; and the human mind and senses being affected by this self-manifested energy of the divine self, become possessed of the conceit that they are themselves the means of divine manifestation. If it is objected that this conclusion

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would dispense with the very necessity of mental and bodily purity, it is replied that such purity is nevertheless necessary for reflecting, as in a mirror, the divine energy. The removal of the gross consciousness induced by the Māyā-śakti abolishes the phenomenal self; and the true self, standing out in its essential purity and tranquillity, becomes a sort of supersensuous medium for the appearance of the divine being.

It must not be supposed that during divine descent as Avatāras, even impure minds obtained a direct vision. What they obtained was merely a semblance (Ābhāsa) of the vision, which does not deserve the designation of Mukti (*tasya sākṣātkārābhāsasya na muktisaṁjñatvam*). A reference to the *Bhāgavata* shows that during the Prakaṭa Līlā, beings like Indra and Śiśupāla could not have obtained the same vision as the Gopa-Gopīs, although Kṛṣṇa appeared before them all. It is because of the defective mentality of these beings that their vision was defective as an Ābhāsa only, Kṛṣṇa having never revealed himself in his true character before them; for the Lord has declared in the *Gītā* (vii, 25) that he is not manifest to all, being hidden by his own Yoga-māyā (*nāhaṃ prakāśaḥ sarvasya yogamāyāsamāvṛtaḥ*). Such impure minds devoid of Prīti are of two kinds, viz. those which are indifferent or averse to the Bhagavat (*vahirmukha*), and those which are hostile (*vidveṣin*). The former, again, fall into two classes, viz. (i) those who having obtained a sight of the deity are still absorbed in phenomenal objects (*labdhe taddarśane'pi viṣayādyabhiniveśavantaḥ*), e.g. the ordinary men and gods at the time of Kṛṣṇa's appearance, and (ii) those who having obtained a sight of the deity directly disregard him (*avajñātāraḥ*), e.g. Indra who spoke of Kṛṣṇa with disrespect. In this connexion it must not be supposed that the Gopa-Gopīs who are the favoured Parikaras of Kṛṣṇa, were still absorbed in the objects of senses, for their absorption was not for their own sake but for the sake of accomplishing the pleasure of Kṛṣṇa. In other words, their absorption was not real but apparent; it was only a semblance (*ābhāsa*) of absorption, imposed for the purpose of fostering the particular Līlā. The Parikaras of the Bhagavat are all non-phenomenal beings, and can therefore be never affected by such expressions of phenomenal attributes as jealousy, anger, etc.; where incidents, involving such passions or attributes, are described in the *Bhāgavata*, e.g. in the cases of Balarāma, Arjuna and Nārada in the Syamantaka-upākhyāna (x, 57), Mahākālapura-upākhyāna (x, 89) and the Mausala-upākhyāna (xi, 1) respectively, they must be taken as instances of the Ābhāsa or semblance of such passions or attributes. Those who are hostile to the Bhagavat also fall into two classes, viz. (i) those who are receptive of the graceful charm of the Bhagavat but are incapable

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of appreciating its sweetness through disrelish (*aruci*) and are therefore positively ill-disposed, e.g. Kālayavana, and (ii) those who have an unnatural and contrary perception (*vaikṛtya*) which regards the sweetness as bitterness, and are therefore vindictive, e.g. the Mallas of Kaṃsa. All these four kinds of impurity in their fine distinctions are likened to the different degrees of sensibility of a person, possessing a bilious and defective tongue, with regard to the taste of a lump of sugar. In the first place, he is incapable, through the radical defect, of realizing the true taste of sugar, but seeing others like it, he may not despise it; secondly, he may despise it through self-conceit; thirdly, being fond of things possessing sour or bitter taste, he may be hostile to the sweet taste; or lastly, through his depraved and contrary sense, its sweetness may taste as bitterness. Just as a person possessing one or other of this fourfold defect of taste can never have the true taste of sugar but only the semblance of a taste, the mind possessing one or other of the four kinds of impurity mentioned above can never have a direct realization of the true divine self, but only the semblance of such realization. But the true realization may ultimately come through divine grace, just in the same way as the true relish of the sugar may appear through constant practice and habit. The averseness of the impure, who seeing the deity see him not, can be removed by the manifestation of Prema-bhakti, which results in the real Sākṣātkāra and not in its semblance only.

The Mukti or divine revelation occurring after death may be of five kinds, and they are (i) Sālokya, attainment of the same Loka or place of divine habitation with the deity, (ii) Sārṣṭi, attainment of similar divine powers, (iii) Sārūpya, attainment of similar divine form, (iv) Sāmīpya, attainment of proximity or nearness to the divine being, and (v) Sāyujya, entrance into or merger in the divine self. Of these the Sāmīpya alone partakes of the character of what is called Bahiḥ-sākṣātkāra or outward vision above, the other four being inferior to it as Antaḥ-sākṣātkāra. All the five kinds of Mukti, however, are beyond the sphere of phenomenal Guṇas, and there is no return from them into rebirth. In the case of Sārṣṭi and Sārūpya, it must not be understood that the emancipated being attains all the divine powers in their perfection or in the same perfect divine form; they attain not the same but similar power and form only in a partial proportion (*prāptir aṃśenaiva jñeyā*); for the Jīva, however perfected or emancipated, is still inferior to the Bhagavat. The Sāyujya Mukti usually occurs in the attainment of the Brahma (*brahma-kaivalya*), but Sāyujya with the Bhagavat is sometimes spoken of. Although the Jīva never becomes perfectly identical with the Bhagavat, the chief characteristic of

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the Sāyujya Mukti is complete immersion in the divine bliss (*bhagavallakṣaṇānanda-nimagnatā*); and consequently the capacity of experiencing the Bhagavat in all his intrinsic energies and supersensuous sports becomes lost in the state of immersion. In this respect the Sāyujya Mukti differs from the other four forms of emancipation, in which the separate existence and the consequent opportunity for worship and service of the emancipated being still continue. For this reason the Sāyujya Mukti is regarded as inferior and is never desired by the real Bhakta; and in the *Bhāgavata*, the purport of which is to inculcate the continuous service and adoration of the Lord, there is no explicit example given of the Sāyujya Mukti, which is thus not directly approved of in the highest scripture of Vaiṣṇavism. It is clear that since in the Sāyujya Mukti the individual personality and capacity for service of the emancipated being vanish, it is inconsistent with the fundamental devotional principles of dualistic Vaiṣṇavism, and is therefore denied a place of importance in its devotional scheme. Its lesser importance is illustrated by the fact that in some cases (as in the example of Śiśupāla, who is said to have obtained the Sāyujya Mukti), the Bhagavat in his Līlā takes the individual bodily out of his own divine self and sets him up as a Pārṣada, thus relieving him of the powerless state of merger and making him capable of enjoying the divine Līlā as an associate.

From what has been said above it is clear that the characteristics of Mukti, as properly understood from the Vaiṣṇava point of view, are: (i) removal of the bondage of the Māyā-śakti and realization of the Jīva's true self through that function of the Svarūpa-śakti, which is called Bhakti and of which the highest blissful expression is Prīti, (ii) the consequent attainment of a state which is beyond the sphere of the phenomenal Guṇas induced by the Māyā-śakti, and the relinquishment, after death, of the subtle as well as the gross body, (iii) cessation of all absorption in phenomenal acts (Karma) but not of devotional acts, and the consequent abolition of all doubt and pain, (iv) abolition of Saṃsāra or rebirth, (v) a direct intuition or sight of the deity (Sākṣātkāra), resulting in the regaining of the Jīva's proper state of bliss or beatitude, and (vi) persistence of the separate existence and personality of the emancipated being in perpetual worship and service of the deity, which consist chiefly of the tasting of the different sentiments (Rasas) involved, as aspects of Prīti, in the beatific sports displayed in the divine place of habitation. The most essential of these characteristics is the Sākṣātkāra or direct revelation of the deity, the others following it as a matter of course.

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The five kinds of Mukti described by the current schools of thought are thus accepted and interpreted in its own light by the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism, but in this interpretation prominence is given to the service and love of the Bhagavat, which alone in its view is important as the highest of all human ends. The Mukti which gives no such scope to Prīti or devotional love is rejected; for it is laid down that the Prīti, which alone results in the clearest revelation, is much higher than even the five kinds of Mukti, which follow as an inevitable concomitant of the attainment of Prīti. There cannot indeed be any true Mukti without Prīti towards the Bhagavat, but the individuals desirous of Mukti have often other objectives than the Bhagavat himself and do not desire him exclusively. The word Kaivalya, however, implies pure Bhakti, consisting of unalloyed Prīti; and even the desire for Mukti, if it is not synonymous with Bhagavat-Prīti, must be regarded as deceit (Kaitava) in the religion of the Bhāgavatas (*bhagavad-dharme mokṣābhisaṃdhir api kaitavam*). Even those who have attained Mukti are known to have desired Prīti thereafter; for rightly understood, Prīti is the only highest form of Mukti. This is the whole purport of the *Bhāgavata*, which directly disapproves of Mukti in many a passage. Except in so far as the powers and privileges conferred by the five forms of Mukti become useful as a means for serving the deity, the true Bhakta, who is Prītimat, never desires Mukti even if it is granted freely to him, but only seeks to realize his devotional love by contributing exclusively to the pleasure of the Bhagavat.

If the Bhakta is sometimes seen to pray for other boons, this must be understood to be an aspect of his Prīti, for such prayer is never meant for selfish ends but for serving the deity. The Ekāntin or exclusively devoted Bhakta may be either Jāta-prīti or Ajāta-prīti, according as his love for the deity is fully developed or not. For the latter, the only desirable good is the growth of devotional love. But the former may be (i) the Śānta-bhakta whose only desire is an experience of the deity (*tadīyānubhava-mātra-niṣṭhaḥ*), (ii) the divine Parikara of the Lord who possesses the Rāgātmikā Bhakti, and (iii) the Bhakta who possesses the Rāgānugā Bhakti, and, with the conceit of a particular Parikara (*parikara-viśeṣābhimānin*), desires to experience the different sentiments (Rasas) of Dāsya, Sakhya, etc. by means of service and worship. Each of these seeks such favour as suits his capacity and inclination. The Śānta Bhakta, for instance, does not seek to serve but desires merely to obtain a sight or consciousness of the deity; but the third type of devotee mentioned above may desire the rights of proximity, etc., in order that he may better serve his deity. If they are sometimes

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seen to desire Śārṣṭi, Sāmīpya, etc., the object is not to obtain any benefit for personal enjoyment but to attain the privileges and powers of these forms of Mukti for the purpose of serving the deity with greater magnificence. But Bhagavat-prīti alone is the boon which the true Bhakta really seeks.

The word Prīti involves the elements of Sukha (pleasure) and Priyatā (attribute of fondness). By Sukha is meant such degrees of pleasure or happiness as are indicated by the words Mut, Pramoda, Harṣa and Ānanda ; by Priyatā is understood the feeling of attachment indicated by words like Bhāva (affection), Hārda (cordiality) and Sauhṛda (friendliness). Both the words Sukha and Priyatā imply emotion but there is a difference. The Sukha is a particular consciousness which consists of delight consequent upon some kind of personal satisfaction; but the Priyatā, also a consciousness consisting entirely of delight, involves (i) an agreeableness (*ānukulya*) towards the object of love, which seeks the welfare of the beloved, irrespective of any consideration of personal satisfaction, (ii) a longing (*spṛhā*) for the beloved object which is based upon this agreeable disposition (*tad-ānukulyānugata*), and (iii) a consciousness of delight resulting from these two factors. It is true that whatever causes the pleasure of the beloved also causes the pleasure of the person loving him, but the latter pleasure is not the conscious object of desire but follows as an inevitable concomitant. Thus, the Priyatā, even if it has a significance for self, is not self-centred like Sukha, which results from the realization of some kind of personal interest. The Priyatā involves indeed an element of Sukha but it is not synonymous with Sukha; for the delight in Priyatā is different from the mere consciousness of personal pleasure which is the essence of Sukha, and consists entirely in contributing to the pleasure of the beloved object. Thus, Sukha inheres in self as the ground (*āśraya*) of the emotion, but since it does not involve the desire of causing the pleasure of anyone else, it has no object (*viṣaya*) to which it may be directed ; but Priyatā or love as a sentiment has both a ground and an object in the self and in the not-self respectively.

Since the chief characteristic of Priyatā, involved in Prīti, is the selfless disposition to seek the happiness of the beloved, it transcends the element of Sukha and ignores, even if it necessarily involves all considerations of one's own happiness. The fact that the beloved is being made happy may cause, as a matter of course, one's own happiness ; but even such happiness of one's self may sometimes be an obstacle if it impedes the act of contributing to the happiness of the beloved object. It is for this reason that Prīti or love does not even desire to obtain the beloved object for itself,

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if such a desire hinders in any way the happiness of the beloved object. But even in such a case, the deprivation does not cause pain, for the thought that the beloved is happy causes a peculiar happiness in one's self. When, on the other hand, there is attainment consistent with the happiness of the beloved object, the happiness in one's self is still not personal but consists of the thought that it is bringing happiness to the beloved object. Thus, love may not always mean happiness in the narrow sense but happiness in the higher sense is always present in it. Both in separation and union, there is happiness in Prīti caused by the happiness of the beloved, even though it is devoid of all conscious desire for one's personal happiness. The Prīti or love in this sense consists simply of selfless service to the beloved and is known as Sevā.

In the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra, this Prīti or love directed towards the Bhagavat is designated by the term Prema-bhakti, and as such it is regarded as an expression of the intrinsic divine energy. This is the essential characteristic (*svarūpa-lakṣaṇa*) of Prīti. In theological language, the Sukha is a function of the attribute of goodness of the Māyā-śakti, while the Priyatā is an aspect of the highest Hlādinī or blissful Svarūpa-śakti of the divine being. As it springs from the inherent quality of the object of desire, the Prīti is described as natural or Svābhāvikī; and as it has no other motive but agreeableness to the pleasure of the beloved object, it is called Animitta or Akiñcana. Even Sādhana-bhakti and Bhāva-bhakti possess these characteristics because of their direct relation to Prema-bhakti; and though both these appear as means of accomplishment (Sādhana), they should not be regarded as impermanent (*vinaśvara*) or worldly (*aparamārtha*) expedients, because Bhakti, in whatever form it appears, can never be properly taken as a means but should be considered as an end in itself, being an expression of the divine attribute of blissful love. Viewed from this standpoint, it follows that in the blissful love of the devotee the divine being eternally realizes his own intrinsic potency of blissful love, which forms the essence of his divine self. It is thus a form of self-realization not only of the devotee, who regains his natural blissful state, but also of the divine person whose very self consists primarily of blissful love. It is therefore declared in the Śruti that the Prīti of his Bhakta causes a wonderful delight to the Bhagavat himself (*bhagovato'pyānanda-camatkāritā tasya bhakteḥ śrūyate*), by which the divine being becomes, according to the *Bhāgavata* (ix, 4, 63) full of infinite Prīti and entirely subservient to the Bhakta. The bliss of the Bhagavat is of two kinds, springing respectively from his Svarūpa or intrinsic self, and from his Svarūpa-śakti or intrinsic energy. The latter kind of bliss may again be (i) Mānasānanda or mental

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bliss, arising from the display of such attributes as compassion, friendliness, etc., and (ii) Āiśvaryānanda, or bliss arising from the display of such power and magnificence as his Dhāma, Parikara, Līlā, etc. The bliss caused by the Prema-bhakti or Prīti of the devotee, which entirely subjugates (*paravaśīkaroti*) and intoxicates (*mādayati*) the deity, is to be comprehended as a special expression of the divine Mānasānanda. This divine bliss cannot be likened to the bliss of the Sāṃkhya, arising from the Sattva-guṇa, for the Bhagavat is eternally untouched by the Guṇas brought into existence by the Māyā-śakti; nor is it like the Brahmānanda of the Nirviśeṣa-vādins, for it would then be nothing more than Svarūpānanda; nor is it like the Ānanda of the Jīva, which is only atomic; but it is the peculiar bliss of the highest Hlādinī Svarūpa-śakti by which the Bhagavat himself enjoys and makes other enjoy. This divine bliss, which surpasses every other kind of bliss, being placed in the Bhakta, becomes Bhagavat-prīti (*bhakta-vṛndeṣveva nikṣipyamāṇa bhagavat-prītyākhyayā vartate*), the experience of which makes both the deity and the devotee completely engrossed in each other (*parasparā-veśatvam*). Thus, a direct channel of contact is established between them, but there is never complete identity and the relationship continues for ever. The process is illustrated by the analogy of the heating of the iron by the fire, in which the iron is possessed by the attributes of the fire and becomes fiery, but its character as iron remains unchanged.

The incidental characteristic (*tāṭasthya-lakṣaṇa*) of Bhagavat-prīti consists of such outward expressions of the sentiment as melting of the mind (*dravatā*), thrill of pleasure (*roma-harṣa*) and shedding of tears (*aśru-pāta*), etc.; and they signify that the relish of the sentiment is one of sweetness (Mādhurya). As the Viṣaya or Ālaṃbana of the Prīti is the Bhagavat, it is, like the Bhagavat himself, one and indivisible; but, like the Bhagavat again, it is capable of making its appearance in various degrees or stages (Krama), in accordance with the various degrees of the capacity of particular devotees. In relation to the particular Svarūpa in which the deity manifests himself, either perfectly or imperfectly, the Prīti also makes its perfect or imperfect appearance. In the *Kṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha* it has been demonstrated that Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat himself in the most perfect manifestation of the divine principle. It would follow from this that it is only in relation to Kṛṣṇa, and to no other deity, that there is the most perfect display of Prīti; and that in the devotees of Kṛṣṇa alone there is the perfection of the devotional sentiment of love. In the Parikaras of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa, who are the best type of the devotees, the Prīti is eternally self-established, but in the other devotees it is awakened and

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gradually becomes fully developed. In the first stage there appears a feeling of non-attachment to the gross body and the objects of the senses, as well as a feeling of attachment to everything relating to the Bhagavat; but when the Prīti makes its full appearance, there is a complete absorption in the Bhagavat, which is unchangeable in all conditions and situations, as well as the perfection of bliss and the power of bringing bliss to others by contact or association.

The appearance of Prīti operates in two different ways on the devotee: (i) it cultivates and prepares the mind (*bhakta-citta-saṃskriyā-viśeṣa*) by giving rise to succeedingly higher grades of the devotional feelings, and (ii) it produces various kinds of conceit or distinctive consciousness (*abhimāna-viśeṣa*), such as the conceit of being a servant, a friend or the beloved of the deity. From the first of these points of view, the successive stages in the growth of the devotional feeling are: (1) Rati, producing delight in the mind (*ullāsayati*), (2) Prema, causing a sense of attachment which regards the deity as one's own (*mamatayā yojayati*), (3) Praṇaya, generating confidence (*viśrambhayati*), (4) Māna, producing, through excess of affection, a sensitiveness which gives rise to a diversity of feelings (*priyatvātiśayenābhimānayati*), (5) Sneha, causing a softening and melting of the heart (*drāvayati*), (6) Rāga, exciting an excess of eager longing for its object of desire (*sva-viṣayaṃ pratyabhilāṣātiśayena yojayati*), (7) Anurāga, making the beloved appear ever and ever new (*pratikṣaṇam eva sva-viṣayaṃ nava-navatvenānubhāvayati*), and (8) Mahābhāva, maddening by the wonder of unsurpassed ecstasy (*asamordhva-camatkāreṇonmādayati*). The characteristics of these stages of Prīti have already been described by Rūpa Gosvāmin, and summarized by us[1] elsewhere. As Jīva Gosvāmin follows this treatment without going into detailed analysis, it is not necessary for our purpose to dilate further on the subject. The Prīti also produces different kinds of conceit in the devotee; and the cause of this is the manifestation of a particular character or Svabhāva of the deity (e.g. as a Friend, Son, Lord or Beloved), inspiring a corresponding sentiment in the devotee (e.g. Friendship, Parent Sentiment, Servitude or Love). The conceit may thus take various forms, but it has been classified broadly into four chief forms: (i) the conceit that one is being favoured by the deity (Anugrāhyābhimāna), (ii) the conceit that one is favouring the deity (Anugrāhakābhimāna), (iii) the conceit that one is a friend of the deity (Mitrābhimāna), and (iv) the conceit that one is a beloved of the deity (Priyābhimāna). As already explained more than once above, this theory implies that the practice of Prīti in Bengal

[1] *IHQ*, 1932, pp. 682–6.

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Vaiṣṇavism is based upon the distinctive consciousness of one or other of such personal relationship of an emotional character with the deity. This relationship is supersensuous in essence, but it bears similarity to those actually obtaining among men in the sensuous world. In its impersonal and transcendental character, the Prīti towards Kṛṣṇa may take the form of the feeling between the mother and the child, between the master and the servant, between two friends, or between the husband and the wife.

Jīva Gosvāmin now proceeds to describe the characteristics of these forms of the devotional consciousness. As the favour of the deity may be in the form of compassion (Anukampā) or furtherance (Poṣaṇa), the devotee who possesses the conceit of being favoured (Anugrāhyābhimānin) may be of two kinds; but each of these may also be with or without an intimate feeling of affectionate regard (Mamatā) to the divine being. Those who are without such feeling of Mamatā conceive the deity from a distance as the Brahma or the Paramātman, and they are the Jñānin-bhaktas like Sanaka and others. Since the moon has the attribute of gladdening, one can feel pleasure by merely looking at it without feeling any sense of attachment; the devotee of this type feels a similar pleasure at the vision of his object of devotion. This attitude of Bhakti mixed with Jñāna can proceed no further than the state of Rati described above, and such a devotee is known in the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra as the Śānta-bhakta. The Śānta-rati, which they feel, is typified by the sentiment expressed in the well-known verse, often attributed to Śaṃkarācārya :

satyapi bhedāpagame nātha tavāhaṃ na māmakīnas tvam |
sāmudro hi taraṅgaḥ kvacana samudro na tāraṅgaḥ ||

Even when the difference disappears, O Lord, I am thine, but you are not mine; the wave belongs to the sea, but the sea does not belong to the wave.

On the other hand, those devotees who possess the feeling of attachment (Mamatā) conceive the deity as the Protector (Pālaka), Master (Prabhu) or Superior (Lālaka), and themselves as his Subject (Pālya), Servant (Dāsa) or as standing in inferior relationship (Lālya) to him. This feeling may go up to the state of Rāga described above.

In the same way, the Parental Affection may be conceived towards the deity, apprehended as the son, by the devotee who possesses the conceit of favouring the deity (Anugrāh-kābhimānin). This feeling is called Vatsala, and the characteristics of Rāga are abundant in it. Those who have the attitude of friendliness (Mitrābhimānin) conceive the deity as a friend, and the feeling is called Maitrya, in

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which also there is an abundance of Rāga. The climax is reached in those devotees who apprehend the deity as the lover, and their feeling is called Kānta-bhāva or Madhurā Rati, to which Rūpa Gosvāmin gives also the name of Priyatā. This feeling can reach to the highest state of Mahābhāva described above, which is always attained by Rādhā. In this connexion it is stated that the love of Kṛṣṇa's Paṭṭa-mahiṣīs go up to the Anurāga stage, but that of the Gopīs can reach much higher to the stage of Mahābhāva. No doubt, the excellence of the feeling is due to Kṛṣṇa's attitude towards the Gopīs; but it also depends upon the quality of the recipient, on the analogy of the water of the Svātī Nakṣatra falling into the pearl-shell and producing the pearl. Jīva Gosvāmin points out that in the secular (Laukika) Rasa-śāstra the Madhurā alone is regarded as Rati, its corresponding Rasa being Śṛṇgāra; while through its resemblance to the sexual passion, it is often designated Kāma or sensual enjoyment. But Jīva Gosvāmin never misses an opportunity of emphasizing that the ordinary sexual desire is different from this feeling of devotional love, which the Gopīs entertained towards Kṛṣṇa. Although in both there is an element of desire and the outward movements (Ceṣṭā) are similar, yet the supersensuous Madhura-bhāva of the Gopīs is different from sensuous Kāma in the fact that the significance of the former consists entirely in contributing to the pleasure of its divine object, while the latter, as a mundane feeling, aims primarily at one's own pleasure. Hence the word Prīti should be applied primarily to the transcendental Kānta-bhāva of the Gopīs, and only secondarily to the ordinary sexual desire (Prākṛta Kāma) of human heroes and heroines. Since the desire of the Kubjā had the divine Kṛṣṇa as its object, it has been praised as Aprākṛta Kāma, but since it was meant solely for self-satisfaction it has been deprecated still as Kāma in comparison with the selfless and self-surrendering desire of the Gopīs, which consisted of supersensuous love.

The feelings of Śānta, Dāsya, Maitrya, Vatsala and Madhura described above form five basic aspects of Bhagavat-prīti, and each succeeding one of these indicates a higher stage of realization than the preceding. Sometimes they appear mixed up with one another, e.g. in Yudhiṣṭhira there is a mixture of Sauhṛda-Maitrya and Dāsya, in Baladeva a mixture of Vātsalya and Sakhya-Maitrya, and in the Paṭṭa-mahiṣīs a mixture of Dāsya and Madhura-bhāva. The Prīti in which these distinctive feelings are absent is known as general or Sāmānyā Prīti, which is of a still inferior kind. Of these different types of the devotees, however, the Śānta and the Sāmanya are called Taṭastha Bhakta, because they are devoid of Mamatā or sense of intimate personal attachment to the deity, and their feeling

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never progresses beyond the preliminary stage of Rati. But the remaining kinds of devotee, viz. Dāsa, Mitra, Vatsala and Kānta, who are the Parikaras of the Bhagavat, possess that Prīti which is called Mamatā-bhakti on account of the abundance of the feeling of attachment. As the two types of the Taṭastha and the Parikara devotee have for their objective the Brahma and the Bhagavat appearances of the deity respectively, the former is inferior to the latter. Generally speaking, the excellence of the deity may appear, as already indicated above, either in the form of unsurpassed Aiśvarya or in the form of unsurpassed Mādhurya. The Aiśvarya indicates power or mastery (Prabhutā), but Mādhurya means loveliness of conduct, quality, beauty, youth, sport and emotional intimacy of relationship. Ordinary experience tells us that the Aiśvarya of a person produces fear, confusion and respect, but Mādhurya is the source of love in its sweet and melting quality. The devotees naturally fall into two classes, according as they prefer to experience the divine Aiśvarya or Mādhurya. It has been already stated that everyone cannot experience all the infinite aspects of the divine principle, but that each resorts only to that aspect which suits his capacity and inclination; this is what is called Guṇopāsanā implied in the *Vedānta-sūtra* (iii, 3). Those who realize the excellent Mādhurya aspect of Kṛṣṇa, which is principally displayed in the Vṛndāvana-līlā, are superior to those who, like the Śānta and Sāmanya devotees, experience only the Aiśvarya aspect. Those who desire and cultivate this sweetness of personal emotional relationship with the divine being are the best type of his Parikaras. In this connexion Jīva Gosvāmin proceeds to exemplify elaborately the excellence of the emotional attitude of the Gopa-Gopīs at Vṛndāvana, and attempts to show that all the stages of Dāsya, Maitrya, Vātsalya and Kāntatva are realized by the different sets of Kṛṣṇa's Parikaras, of whom the Gopīs experience the highest stage of Prīti by their Kānta-bhāva. This stage, going up to the most intoxicating Mahābhāva, is desired even by the emancipated sages, by all the gods and even by Lakṣmī.

The five kinds of devotional feeling mentioned above, viz. Śānta, Dāsya, Maitrya, Vātsalya and Mādhurya, are called Sthāyi-bhāvas in the Rasa-śāstra; and, as such, each of them is known as a Rati in relation to Kṛṣṇa. Through such objects and circumstances as appear to be cause (Vibhāva) and effect (Anubhāva), as well as through auxiliary feelings (Vyabhicāri-bhāvas) which have the power of strengthening them, these five Sthāyi-bhāvas are raised, like the secular (laukika) Rati in a Kāvya, to the corresponding states of relish, called Rasas, of the same designation; and these are similar to the states of impersonal aesthetic relish in the secular

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Kāvya. These are the five primary Bhakti-rasas of devotional sentiments in the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra, sublimated from the five basic feelings, and in their totality they are called Prema-bhakti or Prīti. There are also seven other Rasas, viz. Hāsya, Karuṇa, Bhayānaka, Bībhatsa, Raudra, Vīra and Adbhuta, recognized also by the secular rhetoricians; but they are regarded as secondary (Gauṇa) in the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra in relation to the five primary (Mukhya) Rasas mentioned above. They are called secondary because they become devotional Rasas only when they involve Kṛṣṇa-rati, i.e. only when they have Kṛṣṇa or his Bhakta as the substantial excitant (Ālambana Vibhāva), as the object and the ground of the basic feeling respectively. The rest of the present Saṃdarbha proceeds to a detailed analysis and exposition of these various stages or types of the devotional sentiment in relation to their respective causes, effects and auxiliaries, and they are profusely illustrated by examples drawn from the *Bhāgavata*. As Jīva Gosvāmin departs very little in his general treatment of the theme from Rūpa Gosvāmin's authoritative exposition, it is not necessary for us to repeat what has been already dealt with in our previous article on the Rasa-śāstra[1]; but we shall refer here to a few interesting items in which Jīva Gosvāmin appears to refine further upon the treatment of his predecessor, to whose works however he makes full acknowledgment of his indebtedness.

At the outset Jīva Gosvāmin raises a fundamental question which has been overlooked by Rūpa Gosvāmin, namely, whether Bhakti can at any stage be regarded as a Rasa. He vigorously repudiates the view of orthodox poetics that Bhakti, being devotion to a deity (*devādi-viṣayā*), is merely a Bhāva or devotional emotion which cannot be raised to the state of impersonalized relish of a devotional sentiment, corresponding to the aesthetic sentiment of Rasa in a Kāvya. The discussion is more or less academic, but since Bhakti is erected into a Rasa of the rhetorical type, it is an important fundamental proposition in the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-śāstra. Jīva Gosvāmin maintains that the Bhagavat-prīti can be rightly regarded as a Sthāyi-bhāva, because as Prīti, it has Bhāvatva, and it has also all the characteristics of a Sthāyi-bhāva mentioned by secular poetics. The secular theorists on Rasa, dealing with the ordinary Kāvya, allege that on account of the lack of the necessary ingredients, Bhakti cannot become a Rasa, inasmuch as devotion to a deity cannot become the basis of a relishable sentiment in the same way as the affectionate relationship of human beings standing on a level of equality. But this objection, in Jīva Gosvāmin's

[1] *IHQ*, 1932, 656f.

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opinion, applies to the case of ordinary deities (*prākṛta-devādi-viṣaya*) and not to the case of the supreme deity Kṛṣṇa. The ingredients spoken of above refer to the intrinsic propriety of the feeling itself (*svarūpa-yogyatā*), as well as the propriety of the causes and effects (*parikara-yogyatā*) and of the subject of the feeling (*puruṣa-yogyatā*). It can be easily shown that in Kṛṣṇa-rati these ingredients are present to the fullest extent. As to the intrinsic propriety of the feeling, it has been already said above that all the characteristics of the Sthāyi-bhāva can be found in Kṛṣṇa-rati, for it is the dominant feeling which cannot be set aside by other contradictory or consistent feelings, and like the salty ocean it reduces everything which comes into it to its own state (*viruddhair aviruddhair vā bhāvair vicchidyate na yaḥ | ātma-bhāvaṃ nayatyanyān sa sthāyī lavaṇākaraḥ || iti rasa-śāstrīya-lakṣaṇa-vyāpteḥ*). The relish caused by the *alaukika* Kṛṣṇa-rati is higher than the relish of Brahma, the likeness to which is emphasized by rhetoricians in the ordinary *laukikī* Rati. As to the propriety of the causes and effects of Kṛṣṇa-rati, the Vibhāvas, etc. which raised it to the state of relish can alone, by their very relation to the divine object, be called *alaukika*. The *laukika* Vibhāvas, etc., on the other hand, which the secular rhetoricians deal with, being confined to the ordinary *laukikī* Rati and to the ordinary hero and heroines, are defective and cannot be properly termed *alaukika*; they only appear as such through the extraordinary skill of poetic presentation. The *laukikī* Prīti is a modification of the Prākṛta Sattva-guṇa created by the Māyā-śakti and can therefore never consist of the highest bliss of the Svarūpa-śakti which the devotee realizes in the Bhagavat-prīti, and which is made up, not of Prākṛta, but of Aprākṛta Sattva. Hence the pleasure involved in the *laukikī* Rati is slight and transient and, rightly understood, resolves into pain; but the *alaukikī* Kṛṣṇa-rati always brings pure and permanent pleasure. It is unbelievable, therefore, that the *laukika* Vibhāvas, etc. can really awaken Rasa; if they do so, then the only Rasa they are capable of awakening is the Bībhatsa or the Disgustful Sentiment, inasmuch as the phenomenal objects, properly apprehended, can only produce an attitude of disgust or non-attachment. As to the propriety of the subject of the feeling mentioned above, there can hardly be any doubt about the fitness of such devotees as Prahlāda, who are the subjects of Kṛṣṇa-rati. It would follow, therefore, that all the requirements regarding the Sthāyi-bhāva, Vibhāva, etc., laid down by the orthodox rhetorician, are fulfilled in the highest degree by Kṛṣṇa-rati, which alone can bring about the highest Rasa. It is also pointed out that some orthodox rhetoricians like Bhoja admit Preyas and Vātsalya as Rasas, while others like Sudeva expressly include Bhakti also as a Rasa. We have also the

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testimony of the *Bhāgavata* itself (i, 1, 3), which at the very outset speaks of Bhakti as the Bhagavad-rasa and the Bhakta as the Rasika; and the Śruti has already established that the Bhagavat himself is Rasa.

Regarding the question of the locus of Rasa in a literary composition, Jīva Gosvāmin refers to four different views,[1] viz. that Rasa exists (i) in the original hero and heroine (Anukārya) who are imitated by the actor, (ii) in the actor who imitates (Anukartṛ), (iii) the audience (Sāmājika) who is a man of taste (Sahṛdaya), or (iv) if the actor also is a man of taste himself, in the actor and the audience. In the opinion of the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra, however, the Bhagavat-prīti as a Rasa exists in all the three, viz. the Anukārya, the Anukartṛ and the Sāmājika, because by virtue of the *alaukika* nature of the Rasa itself, they are all divested of *laukika* characteristics. But the awakening of the Rasa in the Anukārya, who as hero is the Parikara of Bhagavat, is primary, because the sentiment which arises from direct perception is superior. The Anukartṛ as well as the Sāmājika in this case is the Bhakta, inasmuch as no one else has the capacity of realizing the Rasa properly.

With regard to the Ālambana Vibhāva or substantial excitant of the Kṛṣṇa-rati, it is pointed out that the real Ālambana is Kṛṣṇa himself as the object of the feeling, but the beloved ones of Kṛṣṇa are counted also as Ālambana, not directly in themselves (*na tu sva-saṃbandhena*) but indirectly as the support or ground of the feeling (*tat-prityādhāratvena*).

The Uddīpana Vibhāvas of Kṛṣṇa-rati are classified elaborately as referring respectively to the Guṇa (quality), Jāti (characteristics belonging to a class or species), Kriyā (action), Dravya (substance) and Kāla (time) in relation to Kṛṣṇa. An enumeration is made, after *Bhāgavata* (i, 16, 27), of a total of 85 (68+17) divine qualities of Kṛṣṇa, which are really further refinements on the 64 qualities mentioned by Rūpa Gosvāmin. The Guṇas may be physical (Kāyika), mental (Mānasika) and verbal (Vācika), but they are also classified into three groups, according as they belong exclusively to the Bhagavat, or exist in both the Bhagavat and the Bhakta, or are shared also by the Avatāras and special manifestations like Viṣṇu, Vāsudeva or Nārāyaṇa.

The Guṇas enumerated are: Satya (truth), Śauca (purity), Dayā (compassion), Saraṇāgata-pālakatva (protection of people seeking refuge), Bhakta-suhṛttva (friendliness to the devotee), Kṣānti (forbearance), Tyāga (liberality), Santoṣa (self-contentedness), Ārjava (straightforwardness), Sarva-śubhaṃkaratva (beneficence to

[1] See my *Sanskrit Poetics*, ii, p. 147f.

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all), Śama (control of the mind), Suḍṛḍha-vratatva (resoluteness), Dama (control of the senses), Tapas (devotion to various duties at the time of Avatāra), Sāmya (impartiality), Titikṣā (tendency to endure offence done to self), Uparati (indifference to gain or success), Śruta (proficiency in the Śāstras); fivefold Jñāna (knowledge), viz. Buddhimattva (intelligence), Kṛtajñatā (gratefulness), Deśa-kāla-pātrajñatva (discrimination of fit time, place and object), Sarvajñatva (omniscience), and Ātmajñatva (possession of self-knowledge); Virakti (repugnance to evil things), Aiśvarya (capacity for control), Śaurya (enthusiasm for fighting), Tejas (power), Pratāpa (reputation for power), Bala (dexterity for accomplishing difficult deeds), Dhṛti (placidity, but if the reading of the text is Smṛti, deliberation regarding duties), Svātantrya (independence); threefold Kauśala (skill), viz. Kriyā-nipuṇatā (skill in acts), Cāturī (cleverness in accomplishing several things simultaneously) and Vaidagdhya (proficiency in the arts and sports); fourfold Kānti (charm), viz. of the body (avayavasya), of touch, taste, colour, fragrance and sound (varṇa-rasa-gandha-sparśa-śabdānām), of youth (vayas), resulting in Nārī-gaṇa-manohāritva (capacity to charm women); Dhairya (steadiness), Mārdava (the quality of softness or melting with love), Prema-vaśyatva (submissiveness to love), Prāgalbhya (abundance of audacity), Vāvadūkatva (skill in words), Praśraya (humility), Hrīmattva (modesty), Māna-dātṛtva (capacity to do honour to all), Priyaṃvadatva (capacity for pleasant speech), Śīla (good conduct), Sādhu-samāśrayatva (partiality to the good), Sahas (dexterity of the mind), Ojas (dexterity of the intellect), Bala (dexterity of the sense-organs); threefold Bhaga, viz. Bhogāspadatva (capacity for enjoyment), Sukhitva (capacity for happiness) and Sarva-samṛddhimattva (possession of all prosperity); Gāmbhīrya (profundity of intention or motive), Sthairya (steadfastness), Āstikya (= Śāstra-cakṣustva, conformity to the dictates of the Śāstra), Kīrti (fame for good qualities), Rakta-lokatva (popularity), Māna (worthiness for honour), Anahaṃkṛti (want of pride), Brahmaṇyatva (holiness or piety), Sarva-siddhi-niṣevitva (possession of all the supernatural powers), Saccidānandaghana-vigrahatva (possession of a form consisting of Sat, Cit and Ānanda), Varīyastva (pre-eminence), and Sadā Svarūpa-samprāptatva (the attribute of being always unconditioned). These 68 Guṇas, with the exception of the last, are present in the fullest degree in the Bhagavat, but they may also exist in some degree in the Bhakta. There are also two Guṇas which exist in the all Āvirbhāvas or Avatāras, viz. Satya-saṃkalpatva (fixity of true resolve) and Vaśīkṛtācintya-māyatva (capacity for subjugating the incomprehensible Māyā-śakti); but in special Avatāras there are in addition: Akhaṇḍa-sattva-guṇasya Kevala-svayam-avalambanatva

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(the exclusive self-support of the indivisible Sattva-guṇa), Jagat-pālakatva (protection of the world), Hatāri-svarga-dātṛtva (power to grant Svarga to enemies killed), Brahma-rudrādi-sevitatva (the attribute of being worshipped by gods like Brahmā and Rudra), Paramācintya-śaktitva (possession of the highest and most incomprehensible energy) and Nitya-nūtanatva (capacity for appearing ever new). In the Puruṣa-Avatāra we have also Māyā-niyantṛtva (subjugation and regulation of the Māyā-śakti), Jagat-sṛṣṭyādi-kartṛtva (agency regarding the creation, etc. of the world), Guṇāvatārādi-bījatva (the attribute of being the germ of the Guṇāvatāras, etc.), and Ananta-brahmāṇḍāśraya-roma-vivaratva (capacity for retaining infinite worlds in the pore of the skin). In the manifestations Vāsudeva and Nārāyaṇa, we have also Svarūpabhūta-paramācintyākhila-mahā-śaktimattva (possession of the infinite, pre-eminent, incomprehensibly great energy which consists of his own divine self). In Kṛṣṇa, who is the Bhagavat himself, there are also : Hatāri-mukti-bhakti-dāyakatva (power to grant both Mukti and Bhakti to enemies killed), Svasyāpi viṣmāpaka-rūpādi-mādhuryādivatta (sweetness consisting of beauty, etc. which causes wonder even of himself), Anindriya-cetana-paryantāśeṣa-sukha-dātṛ-svasāṃnidhyatva (the attribute of carrying infinitely pleasurable presence to all creatures even including the inanimate beings, who are devoid of sense-organs), etc. This enumeration, however, does not exhaust all the divine qualities which are indeed infinite.

If some traits opposed to some of the above Guṇas are displayed in the Bhagavat, these must not be taken as faults, for the supreme being has been declared faultless in the scripture. The reverse of compassion for those who are not his Bhaktas, for instance, has already been explained in the *Paramātma-saṃdarbha* as the result of the fact that the Bhagavat is untouched by phenomenal sorrow. The reverse of friendliness, again, which the Bhagavat sometimes shows to his Bhakta by sending him sorrow and separation is due to the object of fostering the Bhakti of the particular devotee or the particular sentiment of the Līlā concerned. The Kāma displayed in the case of Gopīs, as already explained more than once, is in reality blissful Prema, which is similar to but not the same as the amorous feeling of human beings. The childish pranks of Kṛṣṇa, though opposed to the quality of Sthairya (steadiness), should not be taken as a fault, but they become a Guṇa in the child Kṛṣṇa. These and similar contradictory qualities must be interpreted not as constituting a real fault but as the semblance of a fault assumed for a particular divine purpose.

The Jāti which comprehends attributes peculiar to a class, as the Uddīpana Vibhāva of Kṛṣṇa-rati, is of two kinds, viz.

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attributes relating to Kṛṣṇa (e.g. characteristics of a Gopa or a Kṣatriya, as well as adolescence, dark colour, etc.) and those connected with his favourites (e.g. the attributes of Go, Gopa, etc.). The Kriyā or action consists of his Līlā, which is again of two kinds, viz. sport of his intrinsic energy (Svarūpa-śakti) or of his extrinsic energy (Māyā-śakti), each of which has already been described. But the former of these, again, may be such as display his Aiśvarya or manifest his Mādhurya ; and of these the Mādhuryamayī Līlā is the best. This is also called the Līlā-śakti of the divine being, which can bring about what is impossible (*durghaṭa*) as well as what is possible (*sughaṭa*). The Dravya or substance, as the Uddīpana Vibhāva, refers to Kṛṣṇa's adornments (parikara, ornaments, flowers, etc.), his musical instruments (*vāditra*), his weapons (*astra*), his abodes (*sthāna*), his retinue (*parivāra*), his devotee (*bhakta*), etc. The Kāla or time implies the auspicious days or festivals sacred to Kṛṣṇa (e.g. the Janmāṣṭamī). Jīva Gosvāmin adds that those of the Uddīpana Vibhāvas which are concerned with the Vṛndāvana-līlā are the best in relation to Kṛṣṇa-rati.

The Anubhāvas of Kṛṣṇa-rati, which as effects consist of outward expressions of the inward feeling, are classified into Ubdhāsvaras and Sāttvikas. The distinction, however, is not very clearly made out. The Udbhāsvaras are defined as those which originate, no doubt, from internal feeling (*bhāvajā api*) but which express themselves chiefly in external acts (*bahiśceṣṭā-prāya-sādhyāḥ*), e.g. dancing, singing, rolling on the ground, crying, etc. The Sāttvikas spring from Sattva, which in this case implies the mind entirely seized by feeling towards Kṛṣṇa, and are direct involuntary expressions of that internal virtue, e.g. trembling, tears, fainting, etc.

The thirty-three orthodox Vyabhicārins are accepted and exemplified in relation to Kṛṣṇa-rati.

The conception of Rasābhāsa (semblance of a Rasa) is peculiar, and is comprehensive enough to include what would be strictly called Rasa-virodha (opposition of incongruous Rasas) in orthodox poetics. Between the five primary and the seven secondary Rasas there is the relation of antagonism, indifference or congruity, according as the character of the particular Rasa is inherently hostile to, or unaffected, or supported by the character of the other Rasa or Rasas involved. In a literary composition concerned with Kṛṣṇa, there is Rasābhāsa when the relish of the dominant sentiment, which may be either primary or secondary, is obstructed by the association of an incongruous sentiment, which may also be either primary or secondary (*kṛṣṇa-saṃbandhiṣu kāvyeṣu ca rasasyāyogya-rasāntarādi-saṃgatyā bādhyamānāsvādyatvam ābhāsatvam*). The Rasābhāsa may also occur when there is a conflict or incongruity by the association

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of the dominant Rasa with an improper Bhāva, or with an improper Vibhāva, Anubhāva and Vyabhicārin. In including Rasa-virodha in Rasābhāsa proper, Jīva Gosvāmin's treatment differs from that of Rūpa Gosvāmin, whose view appears to be more in consonance with that of orthodox poetics. Jīva Gosvāmin also shows elaborately that there can never occur any real instance of Rasābhāsa in the *Bhāgavata*, implying thereby that the Rasābhāsa is a defect, which cannot find place in the great scripture where there is Rasollāsa only.

In the classification of the five primary Rasas, the devotional sentiment of faithfulness, which is termed Prīta and classified into Saṃbhrama-prīta (=Dāsya) and Gaurava-prīta by Rūpa Gosvāmin, is however further refined by Jīva Gosvāmin into three aspects or shades of the sentiment, respectively called Āśraya-bhakti, Dāsya-bhakti, and Praśraya-bhakti, in which Kṛṣṇa appears respectively as the Pālaka (Protector), Prabhu (Master) and Lālaka (Superior Relative), and his devotee respectively as Pālya (Subject), Dāsa (Servant) and Lālya (Inferior Relative). The Sthāyi-bhāva of Śānta Rasa is given as Jñāna-bhakti, and it is regarded as the lowest in the scale of primary Rasas. The Preyas of Rūpa Gosvāmin is called Maitrīmaya Rasa; and the Mitra or friend, who is the Ālambana Vibhāva of this Rasa, may be either Suhṛt (well-wisher) or Sakhi (companion), the Sakhi again being finely distinguished as Sakhi, Priya-sakhi (dear companion), and Priya-narma-sakhi (dear companion and confidant) according to the degree of intimacy of the friendly feeling involved.

With regard to the relation of Kṛṣṇa to the Gopīs in the highest Ujjvala (=Madhura) Rasa or sentiment of love, Jīva Gosvāmin repeats what he has said more than once on the subject of the purity and transcendental character of the amorous relationship. He maintains that although the Gopīs are in the highest degree Kṛṣṇa's own (*parama-svīyā api*), they yet appear as belonging to others (*parakīyamānāḥ*) in the Prakaṭa Līlā. This is said to foster the intensity of the sentiment by placing an apparent or imaginary obstacle in the way of their perfect realization of love. Amour with a woman other than one's own is forbidden, but this applies to the ordinary hero, and not to Kṛṣṇa, who was in fact the husband of the Gopīs, as he is of all women. The relation of the Gopas to them was really one of Patyābhāsa; in other words, the Gopas were never their real husbands but only appeared as such. They were thus the immaculate wives of Kṛṣṇa, and their apparent relationship with the Gopas was an illusion created by the divine Yogamāyā. But even in the case of the legitimate love of a Svīyā heroine, impediments and inaccessibility are supposed to heighten the amorous

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sensibility to the highest degree; and this is said to be the view of such authorities on the secular (*laukika*) Rasa-śāstra as Bharata, Rudra and Viṣṇugupta. But Jīva Gosvāmin holds that this view may be true with regard to the nature of the manifestation of the feeling, but not with regard to the origin, growth or character of the feeling itself; for the sentiment of the Gopīs, being self-established (*svata eva siddhatayā*), is in itself of the highest class (*jātito'pyādhikyāt*) and does not require adventitious support or strengthening (*āharyatā*) of any kind. By overcoming the apparent obstacle, the strength of the sentiment, like that of a mad elephant, is only displayed or manifested, but the strength of the sentiment itself is not engendered by such obstacles. It follows, therefore, that the Parakīya-bhāva alone is not the source of excellence of the sentiment of the Gopīs, for in itself this attitude towards an Upapati is to be deprecated. If this were so, then the attitude of the Kubjā would have deserved the highest praise. It is the very nature of the unique sentiment itself of the Gopī as the Svīyā of Kṛṣṇa which is the source of its supreme excellence. Of all the Gopīs, Rādhā, who is singled out in the *Gopāla-tāpanī* as the Gāndharvikā, is the greatest beloved of Kṛṣṇa, because the *Bhāgavata* also singles her out as the only Gopī with whom Kṛṣṇa disappeared during the Rasa-līlā and sported alone. A rival heroine or Pratipakṣa-Nāyikā to Rādhā is Candrāvalī, of whom Bilvamaṅgala has spoken in his devotional lyric. The Gopīs were the real and only favourites of Kṛṣṇa, but the reason why he married the princess at Dvārakā is to be found in the view propounded in the *Padma-purāṇa*, that the princess and the Gopīs were in essence identical (*tābhir gopa-kumārībir ekātmatvāt*), apparently as different manifestations of the divine Svarūpa-śakti. A justification of Kṛṣṇa's exploit of stealing the garments of the Gopīs (Vastra-haraṇa-līlā) is found in the view that in the Pūrva-rāga stage of love, one of the characteristic desire is not the desire of actual touch or taste, but the desire for removing bashfulness (*lajjā-ccheda*), as this forms the highest indication of the intense love of noble maidens (*kula-kumārīṇāṃ lajja-ccheda eva parākāṣṭhā*), who would rather die than forsake their sense of breeding (*tā hi daśamīpyaṅgī-kurvanti, na tu vaijātyam*).

During the Prakaṭa Līlā at Vṛndāvana there was thus the semblance, and not the reality, of the Parakīya-bhāva of the Gopīs, but, as explained in the *Kṛṣṇa-saṃdarbha*, even this attitude was short-lived; for at the termination of the Prakaṭa Līlā, they entered into eternal union with Kṛṣṇa as his Svīyās in the Aprakaṭa Līlā occurring simultaneously. Jīva Gosvāmin holds that this is the view of his own authority, Rūpa Gosvāmin, expounded in the latter's *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* and *Lalita-mādhava*, where it is clearly indicated

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that Kṛṣṇa was really the husband (Pati), but only appeared for a short time as the paramour (Upa-pati) of the Gopīs during the Prakaṭa Līlā. It appears, therefore, that the opinion of the authoritative Gosvāmins of Caitanyaism was never in favour of the Parakīya-vāda, which assumed importance in the later history of the cult.

At the end of the Saṃdarbha, the reader is referred for the elucidation of those points, which may not have been dealt with in detail for fear of prolixity, to the brief commentary (Ṭippaṇī) on the Tenth Book of the *Bhāgavata*, which work is presumably the *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* commentary of Sanātana, which selects only the Tenth Book for brief comments; or the reference may be more probably to the *Krama-saṃdarbha* on *Bhāgavata* X composed by Jīva Gosvāmin himself.

The work concludes with a final homage to Kṛṣṇa, appearing in the form of Caitanya (*caitanya-vigrahaḥ*), who became an Avatāra (*avatāram āyātaḥ*) for propagating Bhakti, which consists of such sentiments as have been described above.

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THE CHĀḶUKYAS OF KALYĀṆĪ AND THEIR POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH THE CONTEMPORARY NORTHERN STATES

By SANT LAL KATARE

The ninth and the tenth centuries mark a definite change in the political history of India. The Pratihāra Empire in the north and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and the Pallava Empires in the south had begun to show signs of disintegration. New independent dynasties were slowly but steadily springing up. The Paramāras of Mālava, the Chaulukyas of Gujrat, the Chandellas of Bundelkhand, the Kalachuris of Dāhalamaṇḍala, the Chāhamānas of Mārwār and Rajputana and the Pālas of Bengal were the important dynasties then ruling in northern India. The Pallavas had lost their independence to the Choḷas in the south,[1] the Gaṅgas were ruling in Orissa and the Eastern Chāḷukyas in Andhra.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire in the tenth century had, too, begun to decline. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III (940–65 A.D.) had carried aggressive expeditions in the north and the south. His wars against the Chandellas, the Kalachuris and the Paramāras were suicidal to his empire. The Kalachuris were close relations and friends of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.[2] The policy of Kṛṣṇa III alienated their sympathy and they allied with the Paramāras and the Chandellas who were fighting against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The combination of the two—the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Kalachuris—, against two—the Paramāras and the Chandellas, turned into three against one. Again the temporary success of Kṛṣṇa III exhausted his empire's resources. The laurels, won thus, soon faded away and the tide turned. Khoṭṭiga Nityāvarṣa II, who succeeded Kṛṣṇa III in 965 A.D.,[3] had immediately to face an attack by the Paramāra Siyaka II, Harṣa (c. 948–74 A.D.).[4] The Paramāra forces knocked at the gates of Māṇyakheta,[5] the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital; but the Paramāra ambitions were frustrated by the timely help of the Gaṅga prince

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1 K. N. Nilakantha Shastri—The Coḷas, I, p. 136.
2 Ray—D.H.N.I., II, pp. 760-61.
3 Dr. Altekar—Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times, p. 124.
4 E.I., I, p. 235.
5 Dr. Ganguly—Hist. of the Paramāra Dy., pp. 41-42; Bühler—Paiyalacci Int., p. 6.

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Mārasiṁha.[1] The Chāḷukya Vikramāditya IV, a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, had declared independence in 968 A.D. with Kalachuri-sympathies on his back.[2] Taila II, son of Vikramāditya IV, was also a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.[3] The Paramāra invasion gave him an opportunity. In 973 A.D. he fell upon the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and toppled down the Rāṣṭrakūṭa crown.[4] His success was complete. Out of the struggle he came out with the crown and the kingdom as his reward. This changed the diplomatic arrangement of the time. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire had become a field for ambition of the Paramāras, the Kalachuris and the Choḷas. The Paramāras, who were probably looking eagerly and covetously, received a blow. The Choḷas found a block in their northward progress. It shattered the Paramāra-Kalachuri-Chandella alliance,—the Paramāras could not go hand in hand with the Kalachuris because of their open support to Taila II. Here began the never-ending struggle between the Chāḷukyas and the Paramāras. Taila captured Lāṭa and placed Bārappa there as his Deputy. This gave rise to the struggle between the Chāḷukyas and the Chaulukyas. Bārappa, probably, invaded Gujrat, but was driven away by Mūla Rāja (c. 961–96 A.D.) and nothing substantial came out. The Paramāras had already begun their work. According to Merutuṅga raids were carried into each other's territory.[5] Taila seems to have won some success in about 980 A.D.[6] and so did Muñja[7]; but nothing was definitely settled. The Paramāra Muñja[8] (c. 974–95 A.D.) according to Merutuṅga had defeated Taila six times.[9] How far the statement is true cannot be said. The troubles were slowly brewing up. Muñja ultimately took a bold step. He invaded the Chāḷukya Empire with a large army.[10] Taila II with the help of the Yādava Bhillama II[11] completely crushed him on the southern bank of the river Godāvarī.[12] Muñja was taken prisoner and later on executed.[13] Taila II died in 997 A.D.[14] His successors were not up to his mark. The Kalachuris were also advancing westward and it is surprising to learn that

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[1] E.I., V, p. 179.
[2] E.C., XI, Cd. No. 25, 50; author's Early History of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī shortly to be published in I.H.Q.
[3] A.S.I.R., 1920-30, p. 170.
[4] Author's History of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī to be published; E.I., III, p. 272; JBoBRAS, I, p. 221; I.A., XII, p. 270.
[5] Tawney—Prabandha-cintāmaṇi, p. 33.
[6] E.I., IV, p. 207.
[7] E.I., I, p. 237.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 237.
[9] Prabandha-cintāmaṇi, p. 33.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 33.
[11] E.I., II, p. 218, ll. 40–42; Dr. Ganguly, H.P.D., pp. 61-62.
[12] Prabandha-cintāmaṇi, pp. 33ff.
[13] I.A., XVI, p. 23; VIII, p. 15; E.I., XV, p. 350.
[14] E.I., XV, p. 348.

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Gaṅgeyadeva (c. 1019 ?–1041 A.D.) claims to have defeated the king of Kuntala, who evidently was a Chāḷukya prince ; but later on he restored him to his throne.[1]

Jayasiṁha II ascended the throne of Kalyāṇī in 1015 A.D.[2] Bhoja (c. 999–1055 A.D.) was ruler in Mālava. Ambitious as he was, he started to avenge the death of Muñja. His success was material. He conquered and annexed Koṅkaṇa before 1019 A.D.[3] The annexation of a part of the Chāḷukya Empire gratified Bhoja. When he was planning to invade Gujrat, his attention was diverted towards the south by reminding him of the death of Muñja, which still was unavenged. Bhoja threw the project of the invasion of Gujrat to the winds and turned towards the south.[4] Jayasiṁha II started to face him on the way.[5] Bhoja had to go back to save his capital from the Chaulukya Bhīma (c. 1022–64 A.D.). Bhoja now turned to a diplomatic alliance with the Chaulukya Bhīma [6] and the Kalachuri Gaṅgeyadeva. This made his position very strong. The fear of invasion on his territories by Bhīma and Gaṅgeyadeva vanished away, on the other hand they had become his allies. In about 1028 A.D. Bhoja, so prepared, again invaded the Chāḷukya Empire with the help of the Kalachuri and the Chaulukya forces, but again he was driven away with empty hands after a battle fought on the banks of the river Godāvarī.[7] Koṅkaṇa was also snatched away from him.[8] Jayasiṁha II was allowed to rule unmolested till his death in 1042 A.D.[9]

Jayasiṁha II was succeeded by his son Someśvara I in 1042 A.D.[10] With his accession began a new era in Chāḷukya history. Till the time of Jayasiṁha II the Chāḷukyas always played a defensive game, because the Choḷas were threatening their stability. The Paramāras always took the offensive. Jayasiṁha II had defeated them and during his time the Chāḷukya power was consolidated. In the time of Someśvara I (1042–1068 A.D.) began the offensive of the Chāḷukya forces.

The Turkish invasions had begun in full swing. The Hindus, disunited as they were, proved like straws before the wind. The Musalmans with all their fanaticism and zeal for plunder and loot threw off every individual opposition. Disaster after disaster brought about unity among the Hindus and a big confederacy of

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[1] E.I., XII, p. 211, v. 12.
[2] E.C., VIII, Sb. No. 16.
[3] E.I., XI, p. 181 ; XVIII, p. 320.
[4] Prabandha-cintāmaṇi, pp. 44-45.
[5] I.A., VIII, p. 19 ; author's *op. cit.*, chapter IV.
[6] Prabandha-cintāmaṇi, p. 47.
[7] E.I., XV, p. 333 ; XVI, p. 359.
[8] I.A., V, 276.
[9] E.C., VIII, Nos. 108(*b*), 109(*b*) ; KLISI, No. 159.
[10] *Ibid.*

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Hindu forces, under the Raja of Delhi, was formed.[1] The Chāḷukya Someśvara I also sent some forces[2]; and the Turks were beaten off, as Ferishta himself admits. Once the enemy was beaten off, the unity was lost. Hardly a couple of years had elapsed, the Chāḷukya and the Paramāra forces, who had fought shoulder to shoulder against the Turks, faced each other on the battle-field. The Chāḷukya forces confidently invaded Mālava. Bhoja was still there. Crushing all opposition, storming Māndū,[3] the Chāḷukyas reached Dhāra; captured, plundered and burnt it.[4] Bhoja fled away to Ujjain, but that city too was stormed and burnt.[5] Mālava and Daṣarṇa lay at the mercy of the invader, but the threatening Choḷa invasion from the south made the Chāḷukyas depart[6] post-haste to save their capital. Bhoja could leave a sigh of relief, but the advantages arising out of the Chāḷukya invasion were reaped by others. A combined attack by the Chaulukya Bhīma and the Kalachuri Karṇa (c. 1046–1070) overwhelmed Bhoja. His forces were already broken and he died in the struggle. Mālava was left at the mercy of the victors, but they were not united. Kalachuri Karṇa was diplomatically shifted to the background, by Bhīma; and Mālava[7] lay at his mercy.

This event again changed the diplomatic arrangement. Incorporation of Mālava, or its conquest by the Chaulukya Bhīma meant a great increase in the power of that king and a decided upset in the balance of power, however crude in existence it may have been. It was a source of constant danger to the Chāḷukyas. Someśvara I could have allied with the Kalachuri Karṇa, but the solution was not easy. Karṇa had already invaded Lāṭa and Trilocanapāla, who was then ruling over Lāṭa, after his defeat had to seek shelter under Someśvara I by paying tribute. The Chāḷukya difficulties in the south were still tremendous. A bright alternative was at hand. Jayasiṁha was the claimant to the throne of Dhāra, after Bhoja. Though the strife between Bhīma and Karṇa had weakened their position, still Jayasiṁha was too weak to strike single-handed. External help was necessary. He turned to Someśvara I, though the Chāḷukyas were traditional enemy. Someśvara weighed the results. The weak Paramāra State was a buffer-State against the Chaulukyas and also to some extent against the Kalachuris and if Jayasiṁha was helped, it was a great gain. The anxieties from the northern

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[1] Briggs—Firishta, Vol. I, p. 118.
[2] E.C., VII, Sk. No. 136.
[3] M.A.S.R., 1929, pp. 68-9.
[4] Bühler—Vikramāṅkadevacarita, I, vs. 91–96; H.A.S., No. 8, p. 18, vs. 17 and 18.
[5] H.A.S., No. 8, p. 18.
[6] S.I.I., III, pp. 51, 56; Sewell, H.I.S.I., p. 71.
[7] Dvāśraya, Vol. IX, No. 57, p. 697. Dr. Ganguly, H.P.D., p. 102.

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frontier will be vanished. The Paramāras will guard the northern frontier against the Chaulukya and Kalachuri aggressions, and the Chāḷukya army will be left free to look to other parts. This was a fine opportunity. Someśvara grasped it tightly with both hands. The long-drawn rivalry between the two houses was brushed aside for the interest of the State. Jayasiṁha's request for help was accepted and the Chāḷukya forces marched towards Mālava. The Chaulukya Bhīma was compelled to vacate Mālava and Jayasiṁha was again placed on the throne.[1] The Chāḷukya-Paramāra alliance was sealed. This alliance was of paramount importance so far as the Chāḷukya-Choḷa relations with the Eastern Chāḷukyas were concerned. The Paramāra forces always helped the Chāḷukyas in their struggle with the Eastern Chāḷukyas, to which part the Chāḷukya ambitions were then directed and the Veṅgī country was overrun.[2]

Someśvara I had a great general in his son Vikramāditya (VI). It was only because of his generalship that the Choḷas were crushed in the battle of Koppam in 1052 A.D.[3] The Chāḷukya forces under the generalship of Vikramāditya were left masters of the field and then began the offensive in the northern and north-eastern India, which is the crowning event of the Chāḷukya regime.

The political condition of India in the middle of the eleventh century was in a state of chaos. The Turks had reached Kanauj. Their invasion of that city almost closed the chapter of the Pratīhāra rule.[4] Kanauj, shorn of its glory, once again, became the bone of contention between the ruling princes and a prey to their ambitions. After the death of Rajyapāla in 1018 A.D., the Pratīhāra princes, Trilocanapāla (1027 A.D.) and Yaśaḥpāla, were left in possession of a small strip of territory around Allahabad and Kanauj, but Kanauj itself was no more in their hands.[5] A Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty seems to have been established there.[6] These political upheavals prompted the Kalachuri Gaṅgeyadeva (c. 1019–41 A.D.) and Lakṣmī Karṇa (c. 1041–70 A.D.) to push their frontiers northwards and they succeeded in extending their sphere of influence into the Doab and held the Benares and the Allahabad districts.[7]

Naturally, the Chāḷukyas could not remain blind to this. They, too, started to gain laurels in the same sphere. Vikramāditya, son

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[1] Bühler—Vikramāṅkadevacarita, III, v. 67 ; E.C., VIII, p. 46 ; VII, p. 169.
[2] Dr. Ganguly—Eastern Cāḷukyas, I.H.Q., 1936.
[3] H.I.S.I., pp. 72-3 ; S.I.I., II, p. 305 ; III, p. 111 ; H.A.S., No. 8, Vikramāṅkadevacarita, I, vs. 114–117.
[4] Dr. Ray, D.H.N.I., I, p. 598.
[5] D.H.N.I., I, p. 609.
[6] I.A., XVII, p. 63 ; XXIV, p. 176 ; I, pp. 61f. ; J.P.A.S.B., 1925, p. 104.
[7] D.H.N.I., I, p. 534.

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of the Chāḷukya Someśvara I, was again sent with a large force. He conquered Kanauj.[1] The king of Kanauj, who faced the Chāḷukyas, must have been one of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes. The progress of the Chāḷukyas up to Kanauj is somewhat perplexing, because the Kacchapaghātas of Gwaḷior and the Chandellas were certainly the obstacles on their way to Kanauj. But the thing is clear after a review of the circumstances explained below.

In the first half of the eleventh century A.D. the Kacchapaghātas were ruling as feudatories of the Chandellas. The Chandella-power had become insignificant after Vidyādhara (1019 A.D.). The Kacchapaghātas took advantage of the troubles of their sovereign, who had suffered crushing defeats at the hands of the Kalachuri Karṇa. The Kacchapaghāta Mūlarāja (c. 1035–1055 A.D.) seems to have declared independence. If Mūlarāja's date, as suggested by Dr. Ray, be taken as correct, he was a contemporary of the Chāḷukya Someśvara I of Kalyāṇī.[2] The Chandellas in such adverse circumstances were, therefore, powerless to oppose the mighty Chāḷukya forces. The Kacchapaghātas, too, must have been too willing to incur their hostility and thus risk their newly gained independence. They might have looked rather for their sympathy. Moreover the advance of the Chāḷukyas further inside the Doab foreshadowed a clash with the Kalachuri Karṇa, who would have probably challenged their independence. They seem to have become allies and allowed Vikramāditya to pass through their territory on its way to Kanauj. The Kacchapaghāta Mūladeva had the biruda Trailokyamalla, which was also a *biruda* of the Chāḷukya Someśvara I, his contemporary. Again the Kacchapaghāta Mahipāla (c. 1080–1090 A.D.) had the biruda Bhuvanaikamalla, which was also biruda of the Chāḷukya Someśvara II (1068–76 A.D.), son and successor of Someśvara I. Dr. Barnett suggests that the 'two Chāḷukya birudas in this family strongly suggest alliance' between the Kacchapaghātas and the Chāḷukyas.[3] The suggestion of Dr. Barnett seems quite plausible.

The Chāḷukya invasion of Kanauj and their further progress towards the east was a challenge to the Kalachuri hegemony over that part of the country. The Kalachuri Karṇa was ready to oppose any such encroachment of his sphere of influence, but the advancing tide of the Chāḷukya forces could not be checked. Karṇa had to give way after probably some engagement with the invaders.[4]

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[1] I.A., VIII, p. 19; E.C., XI, Dg. No. 1; VIII, Sb. Nos. 169, 118; E.I., XII, p. 153; M.A.S.R., 1929, p. 136.

[2] D.H.N.I., II, p. 825.

[3] D.H.N.I., II, pp. 826, 828.

[4] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, I, vs. 102-3; M.A.S.R., 1929, p. 137; I.H.Q., XI, p. 564, f.n. 2; Prākṛta Piṅgalaṃ, edited by Candramohan Ghosh, Bibliotheca Indica Saṃskṛta Series, 1900, pp. 296, 219.

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The victorious Vikramāditya now marched towards the east. The defeat of Karṇa gave him the key of the eastern gate. The Pālas, ruling in Bengal, were also exhausted by that time and their empire was slowly disintegrating. Independent principalities were being carved but by feudatory chiefs within the empire.[1] There was no unity among them. Jealousy, rivalry and lust of territory was the basis of their statecraft and it was not difficult for the invader to defeat them one by one. This was in fact the secret of success of Vikramāditya during the course of this expedition. The Ṭhākurī Baladeva of Nepāla also sent an army to oppose him, but it was beaten off.[2] Some chieftains from the Chāḷukya army seem to have settled down there and after some years carved a kingdom for themselves. Nānyadeva, one of those chieftains, was the founder of the Karṇāṭa dynasty in Mithilā.[3]

Vikramāditya entered the Pāla Empire. The Pāla Vigrahapāla III (c. 1055 (?)–1081 A.D.) was unable to resist him. The incursions of the Chandellas, the Kalachuris, the Choḷas and the Kaivarta revolution had broken their nerves.[4] The Chāḷukya army marched onward overrunning Magadha, Vaṅga, Aṅga and Gauḍa[5] and reached Kāmarūpa. Ratnapāladeva (c. 1010–1060 A.D.), a scion of the Pāla family, was ruling there. He also claims a victory over the master of the Deccan (Dākṣiṇātya Kṣoṇīndra),[6] who is to be identified with the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇī.[7] It is likely that due to the difficulties of the mountainous region, Vikramāditya had to retire. While returning from the east, the Chāḷukyas also invaded Kośala. The king of Kośala had been an ally of the Chāḷukyas. The Kośala king Singhaṇa had fought against the Choḷas from the side of the Chāḷukyas in the battle of Koppam.[8] Mahāśivagupta is referred to have been ruling over Kośala in the middle of the eleventh century.[9] He was the elected lord of Kaliṅga, Koṅgada, Utkala and Kośala.[10] It seems very probable that Singhaṇa was ousted from Kośala by Mahāśivagupta. Singhaṇa might have taken refuge under the Chāḷukyas. Vikramāditya ultimately returned victorious.

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[1] D.H.N.I., The Palas, pp. 271f.

[2] E.C., VII, Sk. No. 118.

[3] J.R.A.S., 1926, pp. 55–63; I.H.Q., 1931, p. 680; J.B. & O.R.S., IX, p. 306; S. Levi—Le Nepala, pp. 197, 201; D.H.N.I., I, p. 203.

[4] D.H.N.I., I, The Palas, pp. 271ff.

[5] E.C., VII, Sk. Nos. 118, 119; H.A.S., No. 8; E.I., XV, p. 91; Vikramāṅkadevacarita, III, v. 74.

[6] J.A.S.B., 1898, pp. 105, 109, lines 34-35; N. N. Basu—Social History of Kāmarūpa, I, p. 116.

[7] D.H.N.I., I, p. 251.

[8] S.I.I., III, p. 37.

[9] D.H.N.I., I, p. 405.

[10] J.B.O.R.S., II, pp. 45f.

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With the death of Someśvara I in 1068 A.D. began the fratricidal war between his two sons, Someśvara (II) and Vikramāditya (VI). Someśvara II became king and Vikramāditya was hunted out by him, though he probably had expected himself as the right claimant for the throne. Vikramāditya went to the south and formed a marriage alliance with the Choḷa Vīra-Rājendra. He also expected the sympathies of the Paramāra Jayasiṁha, who was restored to the throne by him. Jayasiṁha was true to his obligations. In the friendship of Vikramāditya he had always a powerful ally ready to help him at any time. Someśvara's dispositions could not be immediately calculated. Jayasiṁha, therefore, extended his support to Vikramāditya. This aroused the hostility of Someśvara II. He at once invaded Mālava with a view to punish the Paramāra Jayasiṁha for this 'conspiracy'.[1] The Chaulukyas of Gujrat were also traditional enemy of the Paramāras, and Someśvara II immediately found an ally in the Chaulukya Karṇa (1064–1094 A.D.). The two combined forces completely crushed Jayasiṁha,[2] when Vikramāditya himself was busy in settling the affairs in the Choḷa capital. Jayasiṁha died in the struggle, but Udayaditya with the help of the Chāhamāna Durlabharāja III succeeded in rescuing Mālava from the grips of the invaders, and once again the Paramāra-fortune was saved from collapse.[3] This defeat of the Paramāras deprived Vikramāditya of their active support. Vikramāditya was ultimately successful in defeating and overthrowing his brother from the throne in 1076 A.D. His accession meant the revival of the Chāḷukya friendship with the Paramāras. The Chaulukya Karṇa also died in 1095 A.D. and was succeeded by his brother Jayasiṁha, also known as Siddharāja, who was only three years of age at the time of his accession to the throne.[4] The accession of a child-king provided the Paramāras with an opportunity to avenge the death of Jayasiṁha. The Paramāra Naravarman invaded Gujrat.[5] Vikramāditya also started with his army against the Chaulukyas. Both the sides claim victory and for want of sufficient data no definite result can be known.[6] Troubles were also brewing up in the Chāḷukya Empire. In spite of all the victories and glories achieved outside, Vikramāditya's position was weakened within his own dominions. The Hoyasalas had slowly strengthened their power and they raised the standard of rebellion against their sovereign, the Chāḷukyas.

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[1] H.P.D., p. 128.
[2] E.I., II, p. 185, v. 32 ; H.P.D., p. 130, f.n. 2. [3] H.P.D., p. 131.
[4] Kāśī Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā, Vol. IX, p. 265, Prabandha-cintāmaṇi, pp. 85f.
[5] H.P.D., pp. 162f.
[6] Kāśī Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā, Vol. IX, p. 289 ; Rajputana Museum Report, 1914-15, p. 2.

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Vikramāditya had advanced in age. The Hoyasala rebellion became so threatening that Vikramāditya had to summon his Paramāra ally Jaggaddeva for help. Dvārasamudra, the Hoyasala capital, was stormed by the allied army,[1] but even then the Hoyasalas could not be totally crushed.[2] The sinews of the Chāḷukya king had weakened and he died in 1026 A.D. without being able to fully master his rebellious chieftains.

Someśvara III, successor of Vikramāditya VI, from the beginning of his reign was engrossed in the troubles within his dominions. He had none of the characteristics of Vikramāditya and the power of the Chāḷukyas also began to decline. During his reign some engagement with the Gahaḍavāla Govinda Chandra seems to have taken place; the latter claims to have defeated the king of the Tiliṅga country.[3]

Someśvara III was succeeded by Jagadekamalla II in c. 1138 A.D. With his accession, once again, a new life was infused in the Chāḷukya forces. He at once curbed the power of the refractory chieftains, particularly the Hoyasalas. Thus strengthened within, Jagadekamalla II started to win laurels without. The Paramāras were plunged into turmoil. Their long-drawn enmity with the Chaulukyas, coupled with the weak Paramāra rulers, ultimately boded ill for the Paramāra Empire. The Chaulukya Siddharāja Jayasiṁha, after attaining majority, fully avenged the discomfitures suffered during his minority. The Paramāras were defeated and Mālava became a part of the Chaulukya Empire.[4] Jayavarman, son and successor of Yaśovarman, recovered Mālava from the hands of the Chaulukyas some time before 1138 A.D.,[5] but the solidarity, which was shattered by the conquerer, could not be regained. The Chāḷukya-Paramāra alliance had become a thing of the past. Paramāras were no more capable of giving any active support to the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇī. The upheavals in the fortune of both the dynasties changed their principles; and the policy of conquest of the neighbour's territory began. It was now the turn of Mālava. It became a lucrative field for ambitions of the kings of the time. It was no use beating the drum of the alliance when the hope of the survival of the Paramāras was a mere shadow. It was a mistake to keep aloof and the political principles of the time commanded the Chāḷukyas to jump into the field and claim their share at the point of the sword, if possible. Jagadekamalla invaded Mālava and completely crushed the Paramāra Jayavarman who

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[1] E.I., XXII, p. 62.
[2] E.C., V, Bl. Nos. 58, 116; II, No. 349.
[3] I.H.Q., XI, pp. 564, 566.
[4] H.P.D., pp. 168-9.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 170; Dvāśrya Sarga, XVI–XIX.

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seems to have lost his life in the struggle. 'Mālava was left without possession.'[1] Ballāla was left to govern that part of Mālava which was conquered by the Chāḷukyas.[2] The remaining part of Mālava was held by the Paramāra Udayavarman, successor of Jayavarman.[3] This invasion of the Chāḷukyas on Mālava took place in about 1143 A.D. When the Chāḷukyas had won victory in Mālava, they were opposed by the Chaulukyas, who never could tolerate any intruder into their field of ambition. Kumārapāla, successor of Siddharāja, attacked Ballāla, general of Jagadekamalla, to assert his rights over Mālava. Ballāla was defeated and killed.[4] Having cleared off the Chāḷukyas from Mālava, Kumārapāla sent his general Ambāda to invade Koṅkaṇa, probably with a view to punish the Chāḷukyas of their insolence. Koṅkaṇ at that time was ruled by the Silhāra prince Mallikārjuna, who was a feudatory of the Chāḷukyas. Ambāda was beaten off by Mallikārjuna. Ambāda repeated his invasion a second time and this time he was successful in defeating and killing the Silhāra prince.[5] In spite of the overwhelming success, the Chāḷukyas were not able to gain any material advantage and were probably driven away after some time. Jagadekamalla II closed his reign in about 1151 A.D. which is the last known date of his reign.

Here ends the history of the political relations of the Chāḷukyas with the northern States. Taila III, successor of Jagadekamalla II, was overthrown by the Kaḷachurya Bijjaḷa in 1162 A.D. The temporary revival of the family by Someśvara IV was shattered by the Yādavas and Hoyasalas in 1187 A.D. Someśvara continued up to 1189 A.D., after which date he is no more heard.

The whole trend of this diplomatic history shows that diplomacy in the present sense of the word did not then exist. Conquest of other's territory was the basis of statecraft. The difficulties and the unsettled political conditions often compelled them to change their policy. Even the close matrimonial alliances shattered before the ambitious policy of conquest. The Chāḷukyas' struggle with the Paramāras had to be changed into close alliance, but it was again shattered. Alliances were temporary; prolonged alliances not being the fashion of the time. The one cause for this was that the two allies could not accommodate their interests amicably and the one wanted to pocket all the gains at the cost of the other. The strong States often combined with the weaker States to thwart their powerful enemies.

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[1] E.C., VII, Sk. No. 123. [2] Bom. Gaz., II, p. 185; H.P.D., pp. 172-3.
[3] I.A., XVI, p. 254. [4] Dvāśraya Sarga, XIX.
[5] Prabandha-cintāmaṇi, pp. 123–132; Bom. Gaz., I, pp. 185-6; H.P.D., pp. 307f.; E.C., VII, Sk. No. 168; VIII, Sb. No. 277.

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SOME OF THE WOMEN RELATIONS OF BĀBUR

By S. K. Banerji

The Mughal women, as revealed in Bābur's memoirs or his daughter's biography entitled the *Humāyūn-nāma*, played a conspicuous part in the Mughal cultural history of the period. Originally bred in the congenial atmosphere of Turkistān, they shared with their male relations, the life of a free citizen. Many of the disabilities of a modern Muslim woman, e.g. confinement to her own house, backwardness in education, weak health, ignorance of the affairs of the world, etc., did not hamper her more fortunate mediæval Mughal sister. As will be seen in the following pages, she moved in a freer circle, took part in almost all the activities of the State, and occasionally controlled or decided a political crisis.

Education

A Mughal princess was taught reading and writing. There were governesses in the palace who at the same time acted as teachers to the children of the palace. There were sometimes primary schools in which the little girls of the palace gathered to receive instruction from one or two teachers. Sometimes, the two duties of the governess and of the school mistress were combined in one and the same person, entitled Ātūn Māmā.[1] The *Bābur-nāma* makes mention of one such Ātūn Māmā, who was probably Qutluq Nigār Khānam, Babur's mother's teacher. The Ātūn Māmā described there is so attached to the family that when she had been forgotten and left behind in Samarqand after Bābur's disastrous battle at Sar-i-pul (1501 A.D.), she walked the whole distance—more than 70 miles—to Dīzak.[2] Amidst the crowd of the Uzbegs in all directions, after their great victory against Bābur, whether she travelled veiled or not, her journey must have been one of risk and privation. She continued to stay with the family, and when fortune again smiled on Bābur and made him the ruler of Kābul, a village was granted to the old mistress and rechristened Ātūn village in her honour. In Gulbadan Bēgam's memoirs, another Ātūn Māmā is mentioned as having had a place among the honoured guests who witnessed the ' mystic ' feast.[3]

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[1] Ātūn, آتون = School mistress. ماما = Matron or governess.

[2] Now called Jizak. See Skrine and Ross: *The Heart of Asia*, the map of Central Asia.

[3] Called طلسم نوی.

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Almost every Mughal princess possessed this modicum of learning.[1] She daily read the *Qurān* and occasionally corresponded with her relations. Some of the princesses acquired the additional qualifications of proficiency in music,[2] verse-making, and riding.[3] For whiling away time or entertainment, they played some indoor games. The game of cards was their favourite pastime.[4]

Some of these Mughal princesses played a more important rôle and participated in the political life of the country. Of these the most important was Bābur's chief queen, Māham Bēgam, whom he had married in Herat as early as 1506 A.D. She was a descendant of Shaikh Ahmad of Turbat-i-jām and related to the illustrious Sultān Husain, and as such was a *Shia*. Bābur himself was a *Sunni*, but he never had any differences with his wife. They seldom remained separate from each other. When Bābur attacked Samarqand, for the last time, Māham Bēgam accompanied him.[5] What is more, being the mother of the eldest son of Bābur, she acted as the chief queen of the king, and as such was allowed to seat herself on the throne by the side of her husband.[6] One such occasion is described by Abul Fazl.[7] She was called *Wali*,[8] governor or prince, by Bābur and she issued *farmans* in her own name.[9] It was because of Māham's influence that at Bābur's death, Humāyūn was able to secure the throne. In Humāyūn's reign, till her death in May, 1533 A.D., she directed or controlled the affairs of the State.

Māham Bēgam

Two other important personages, who are noticeable in Bābur's pages, are the two wives of Yūnas Ḳhān, the *Ḳhāqān* of Mughalistān, and Bābur's maternal grandfather—Aīsān Daulat Bēgam and Shāh Bēgam. Of the two, the former, the daughter of Alī Shēr Bēg, a Mughal chief, was the senior. On the day of her marriage, 'they seated Yūnas and her on one and the same white felt and raised him

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[1] See *G.H.N.*, pp. 131, 150, 191, 193 and *B.N.*, p. 88.
[2] *G.H.N.*, p. 189.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 169, 189, 190, 191.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 178.
[5] See *B.N.*, p. 358; *G.H.N.*, p. 91.
[6] The Rampur State library has a splendid MS. numbered 87 and entitled تاریخ مبارک غازانی و تاریخ چگیز خانی وجامع التواریخ by Rashīduddīn Fazlallah who died in 718 A.H. = 1318 A.D. Every ruler from Chīngīz Khān downward is shown in a picture with his queen. The latter is without any veil. There are other pictures of women, showing that veil was not in universal use.
[7] See *A.N.*, p. 114. The words are بر تخت نشستہ (Humāyūn) یا والدۂ ماجدۂ ایشان (Babur) حضرت گیتی ستانی.
[8] See *B.N.*, p. 665, n. 5.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 650 and n. 2.

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to the Ḳhānship'[1]; the ceremony signified that Ḳhānship could go to a married person only. Thus it was Yūnas's marriage with Aīsān Daulat that paved his path to the chieftainship among the Mongols. Aīsān Daulat was a wise woman and after her husband's death in 1487 A.D., she continued to wield influence in the State. Bābur, whether in prosperity or in adversity, never failed to consult her on high politics. His tribute to her is paid in the following lines: 'Few amongst women will have been my grandmother's equals for judgment and counsel: she was very wise and far-sighted and most affairs of mine were carried through under her advice'.[2]

Aīsān Daulat Bēgam

Aīsān Daulat served Bābur's cause on several occasions. One such has been described with illustration by Mr. Rushbrook Williams in his monograph on Bābur.[3] On that occasion, a conspiracy had been hatched to supplant Bābur by his next brother, Jahāngīr, in Farghāna 1494 A.D. The lady took charge of Bābur's affairs and managed to tide over the crisis, i.e., the conspirators were thwarted the chief among them, Hasan-i-Yāqūb being killed, and Bābur continued to rule. She served Bābur on another occasion. When after the defeat at Sar-i-pul, he fled away pell-mell, Aīsān gathered the remnant and took them to Dikh-kat and Aurātīpās, and safely joined him. His mother, Qutluq Nigār Ḳhānam was Aīsān Daulat's second daughter.

Shāh Bēgam

Another of Yūnas Khan's wives was Shāh Bēgam. She was a Badakhshī, being the daughter of Shāh Sultān Muhammad Shāh of Badaḳhshān, who claimed descent from the Greek hero, Alexander of Macedon.[4] Though younger than Aīsān Daulat, she also was a lady of consideration; for she was the mother of Yūnas Ḳhān's sons, Sultān Mahmūd Ḳhān and Sultān Ahmad Ḳhān *Alachi* (the killer). After the death of her husband (1487 A.D.), like Aīsān Daulat, she played a political rôle. Bābur writes of her in a respectful strain, placing her name before her son, the *Ḳhāqan's*. Though Sultān Mahmūd Ḳhān was the sovereign, Bābur consulted her more than her son.[5] Her daughter, Sultān Nigār Ḳhānam was married to Mahmūd Mirzā whose son Wais or Ḳhān Mirzā had, later on, become the ruler of Badaḳhshān. In her grandson, Wais, was centred all her affection, and she very often travelled to Badaḳhshān to stay with him.[6] The sovereignty

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 20-1.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

[3] R. Williams: *An Empire-builder of the 16th century*, pp. 34–6. The picture of Aīsān Daulat is from Agrā Codex.

[4] See *B.N.*, p. 22 and *G.H.N.*, p. 242.

[5] *B.N.*, pp. 157-8.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 35, 341.

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of the province was one of her ambitions, and though, being a woman, she herself could not lay claim to it, she was satisfied with her grandson's rule.[1] On the occasion of Bābur's flight in 1501 A.D., she also rendered service to Bābur; for while Aīsān Daulat moved to Dikh-kat with several of her relations, Shāh Bēgam stayed behind, communicated with Shaibānī Ḳhān, gathered the remaining relations, and with the Uzbeg chief's permission, went forth and joined Bābur. During her stay at Samarqand, she had to conduct delicate negotiations, viz., Ḳhān-zāda, Babur's sister's marriage with Shaibānī.

But at least once, in her affection for Wais Mirzā, she turned blind to Bābur's interests. The latter was ruling in Kābul since 1504 A.D. Two years later, a determined effort was made, during one of Bābur's periods of absence on a raid on the Turkmān Hazārās, to declare Wais Mirzā, *Pādshāh*. Several princesses at once interested themselves in making the scheme a success. Among them Bābur mentions the names of Shāh Bēgam and her daughter, Mihr Nigār Ḳhānam. Mihr was childless and now a widow, had once been a wife of Sultān Ahmad Mirzā, Bābur's uncle. She now remembered her husband's hostility to the nephew and also his death in camp at Aurātīpā, and so adopted her husband's attitude towards Bābur. Bābur also mentions the rebellious activities of Muhammad Husain Mirzā Dūghlāt, the husband of Ḳhūb Nigār Khānam, a full sister of Bābur's mother; and of Sultān Sanjar Barlās, Shāh Begam's sister's son. He bitterly complains of the whole lot; still a well-bred gentleman as he was, continued to maintain a decorous attitude towards the party. He granted life to Sanjar [2] and paid a formal visit to Shāh Bēgam and her daughter, Mihr Nigār Ḳhānam. The meeting is thus described,[3] 'Shāh Bēgam and Ḳhānam were seated in one tent. I dismounted at the usual distance, approached with my former deference and courtesy and had an interview with them. They were extremely agitated, upset and ashamed; could neither excuse themselves reasonably nor make the enquiries of affection'. Similarly when later on, Muhammad Husain Mirzā was brought in a captive, for the Mirzā's wife, Ḳhūb Nigār Ḳhānam's sake, he 'rose at once to receive him with his usual deference, not even showing too harsh a face'.[4] Thus merely out of deference to his women relations, he behaved nicely to some of the most ungrateful wretches of the day. Both Shāh Bēgam and Mihr Nigār Ḳhānam left Bābur's

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[1] Haidar Mirzā writes in the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, 'Shāh Bēgam laid claim to Badaḳhshān, saying "It has been our hereditary kingdom for 3,000 years; though I, being a woman, cannot myself claim sovereignty, yet my grandson, Mirzā Ḳhān, can hold it"'. See *B.N.*, p. 341, n. 1.

[2] See *B.N.*, p. 317.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 319.

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protection, a year later, and settled down in Badaḳhshān with Wais Mirzā, and it was there that they died as captives of Abā Bikr, a headstrong adventurer of Kāshghar.

Ḳhān-zāda Bēgam

Bābur's sister, Ḳhān-zāda Bēgam and daughter, may also be mentioned as important personages of the period. Ḳhān-zāda was Bābur's full sister and five years older, being born in 1478 A.D. After the fall of Samarqand in 1501 A.D. she was married to the Uzbeg chief, Shaibānī Ḳhān with her consent and her mother's.[1] This marriage probably saved Bābur from capture and death, and it might have further led to friendly relations between the Uzbegs and the Tīmūrid Turks, as Bābur's later marriage with Bībī Mubārika did with the Afghāns. Unfortunately she was divorced a few years later, probably because her cultured taste found her situation in the midst of the nomadic and barbarous Uzbegs one of trial and neglect; and also because Shaibānī, who had divorced Mihr Nigār Chagatāī in order to win over Ḳhān-zāda, found her, later on, too much inclined to her brother's interests. Hence, Shaibānī's affection for Ḳhān-zāda gradually waned and she was after some time divorced. The son born to her by Shaibānī, Ḳhurram Shāh, died a young man. Be it said in fairness to Shaibānī that he did not leave Ḳhān-zāda unprotected, for mostly owing to his efforts that a marriage was arranged between her and Sayyid Hādī, one of his important chiefs. The union did not last long; for at the battle of Merv, 1510 A.D., when many of the Uzbegs fell with their leader, Shaibānī, while fighting against the Persian ruler, Shāh Ismāīl Safavī, Hādī was one of the victims. The Uzbegs were scattered and checked in their career of conquest, and Ḳhān-zāda, who had become a Persian captive, was honourably restored to Bābur by the Shāh.

Ḳhān-zāda, the Tīmūrid, it may be assumed, had not passed happy days with her two husbands during the last ten years, and this naturally grieved her brother, Bābur. So after her return, she was married to Sayyid Muhammad Mahdī Ḳhwāja.[2] They might have also been married before her capture by the Uzbegs, so that their reunion only indicated the renewal of their old affection. They lived together for a pretty long period—at least twenty years or more—deeply devoted to each other.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 184. Bābur's words indicate some sort of negotiation. Vamberry's *Shaibānī-nāma* gives an account of the marriage. See also *G.H.N.*, fol. 3*b*.

[2] Mrs. Beveridge's surmise might be correct that Shaibānī was not Ḳhān-zāda's first husband. At the time of her marriage with him, she was twenty-four years in age. A Muslim girl would not remain a spinster so long. Mrs. Beveridge's second surmise also might be correct, viz. that Sayyid Muhammad Mahdī had been Ḳhān-zāda's first husband.

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During this period, Ḳhān-zāda remained with Bābur, so long as Māham Bēgam lived, as the second chief woman in the Emperor's palace, and after her death in 1533 A.D., as the principal lady. Gulbadan Bēgam in her memoirs always addresses her *Āka-jānam*, 'Dearest Lady' and her benediction pervaded every part of the palace. She interested herself in Hindāl's marriage with Mahdī Ḳhwāja's sister, Sultānam, and made presents along with her husband to the bride and the bridegroom.

During her husband's ambition to seat himself on the throne of Delhi, Ḳhān-zāda kept herself scrupulously aloof, and when the crisis was over, maintained her usual affectionate relations both with the husband and with the nephew. It was mainly due to her efforts that the two families—of Bābur and of Mahdī Ḳhwāja—were combined by Sultānam's marriage with Hindāl.

Just before her death, she served her nephew by playing the part of a peace-maker. Humāyūn had returned from Persia, and besieged Qandahār. Askari Mirzā was its governor and holding it on behalf of Kāmrān, the ruler of Kābul. Kāmrān got alarmed at the large number of soldiers that marched in Humāyūn's train and fearing the fall of Qandahār, dreaded the punishment that would befall Askari for his continued rebellious behaviour. So he prevailed on Ḳhān-zāda Bēgam to intercede on behalf of Askari. The lady in her sixty-seventh year proceeded to Qandahār and fulfilled her mission. After the fall of Qandahār, September, 1545 A.D., at her pleadings, Askari's life was spared.

This was her last act. A few weeks later, on her way to Kābul in Humāyūn's company, she died, 1545 A.D., and her corpse was removed after three months to the garden on the slopes of the hill known as Shāh-i-Kābul, where her brother, Bābur, lay. The spot is only a mile from the city and is regarded as 'the sweetest in the neighbourhood'.

Gulbadan Bēgam

Gulbadan Bēgam was Bābur's daughter by Dildār Āghācha Bēgam, born about 1523 A.D. Hence she was only seven at the time of her father's death. But her memory was green even in 1587 A.D. (995 A.H.) regarding the events of her father's time and she wrote in that year the memoirs known as the *Humāyūn-nāma*. Gulbadan has given us an interesting picture of her times. Her book was the outcome of Akbar's desire for information regarding his father and grandfather. She is probably the first to record her father's sacrifice of life for the sake of his son.[1] She also fully describes the two festivities, one

[1] Disbelieved by S. R. Sharma. See his article, *Story of Babur's death* in *Calcutta Review*, September, 1536 A.D.

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in connexion with Hindāl's marriage and the other, called by her, 'the mystic feast'. Occasionally she is picturesque in her description, e.g. she describes Bābur's retreat from Samarqand in 1501 A.D. thus, 'with 200 followers on foot, wearing long frocks on their shoulders and peasants' brogues on their feet and carrying clubs in their hands,—in this plight, unarmed, and relying on God, he went towards the lands of Badaḳhshān and Kābul'.

Gulbadan observed reticence about her husband, Ḳhizr Ḳhwāja Ḳhān, the Mughal or her son, Saādat Yār, but spoke more often of her full brother, Hindāl, or the sovereign, Humāyūn. In referring to Hindāl's death, she writes, 'I do not know what pitiless oppressor slew that harmless youth with his tyrant sword! Would to heaven that merciless sword had touched my heart and eyes or Saādat Yār, my son's or Ḳhizr Ḳhwāja Ḳhān's! Alas!..... All may be said in a word: Mirzā Hindāl gave his life freely for his sovereign'.[1] It was the Bēgam's attachment to Humāyūn that kept her husband loyal to him, otherwise like his younger brother, Mahdī Sultān, and Shēr Alī, Ḳhizr might have gone over and supported Kāmrān in his struggles against Humāyūn. Ḳhizr Ḳhwāja outlived Humāyūn and in Akbar's reign obtained the *mansabdārī* of 5,000 and at one time bore the title of *Amīr-ul-umarā*.

Gulbadan gives many interesting details about herself and her women-folk. She describes her bridal coiffure and tells us that she was married just before Humāyūn's defeat at Chausa, i.e. at the age of 16 or 17. She tells us that she never wrote a letter directly to her husband, and that if any occasion arose, the latter wrote to her by the tongue of his son. She also describes how Humāyūn honoured the elder women with prolonged interviews to the neglect of his own wives and when one of them, Bēga Bēgam, remonstrated with him, he insisted on having his way and obtained his wives' consent in writing.

Gulbadan lived to an old age. On October 15, 1575 A.D., when she was nearly 52, she set out on a *haj* pilgrimage to Mecca. It was a perilous journey, as the Mughal ships were ill-built and could scarcely face the perils of the sea. And also the Portuguese, who, after their appearance in India at the end of the fifteenth century, had gained mastery in the Eastern waters and hence the Mughal ships had to appease them by the payment of a toll or tax. Gulbadan's journey from Surat commenced on October 17, 1576 A.D., more than a year after her start from Fatehpūr Sīkrī. It was after five years or more that she landed again at Surat, and a few months later reached Fatehpūr Sīkrī in April, 1582 A.D.

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1 *G.H.P.*, p. 199.

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She lived for another twenty-one years. Abul Fazl mentions her charity to the poor and the needy and her intercession with Akbar for his reprobate son, Salīm. One February morn of the year 1603 A.D., she closed her eyes and repeating the Qurānic verse, 'I die—may you live', passed away.

Conclusion

Thus, all the five women mentioned above were historical personages and contributed to the history of the period in a quiet and unostentatious way. It would not be an exaggeration to say that Bābur's success could not have been so complete without the willing support of some of his women.

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BUDDHISM AS DEPICTED IN ANCIENT SANSKRIT DRAMAS

By KESHAV APPA PADHYE

The ancient Indians, by their indifference towards writing the history of their country in general, and by their total disregard towards giving the biographical accounts of their great men who achieved wonderful success in several spheres, such as political, religious, philosophical, literary, etc. etc., in particular, have done incalculable wrong to their country. This total lack of historical genius on their part has shut out from the world accumulated stores of knowledge which extended over several centuries. Our knowledge of early India, in spite of the remarkable results achieved by modern scholars, is too vague and imperfect. During the long period of nearly two thousand years before Christian era, Indian thought developed practically unaffected by outside influences. The extent and the importance of its achievements will be evident from the fact that it evolved several systems of philosophy besides creating a great national religion—Brahmanism, and a great world religion—Buddhism. The history of so unique a development, if it could be written in full, would be of immense value to the whole world. It is not possible to give even approximate dates of great political events that took place during this long period, much less the dates of towering personalities who figured in their respective spheres of work. Even the Vikram era mentioned in some inscriptions does not help the scholars owing to the well-grounded doubts entertained about its exact starting point.

Cowell, writing about Udayana—a great logician,—has stated, 'He shines like one of the fixed stars in India's literary firmament, but no telescope can discover any appreciable diameter; his name is a point of light, but we can detect therein nothing that belongs to the earth or material existence'. This description virtually applies to all Indian great men who were responsible for the development of Indian thought in every field of knowledge, such as politics, religion, philosophy, literature, art, etc. etc.

Oriental scholars, both in the East and West, have been trying to construct the history of early India by piecing together fragments available from monumental, epigraphic, numismatic and several other sources. The accounts by Greek writers of the invasion of India by Alexander as also those given by early Chinese travellers in India, coupled with the light thrown by Aśoka's edicts, have thrown

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a good deal of light on the history of India subsequent to the death of Gautama Buddha which took place in about B.C. 487. The date of Kalidas—the premier dramatist of India—is still oscillating between the period ranging from first century B.C. to fifth century A.D. During the last three or four decades the publication of Buddhistic literature, both in West and East, has opened a fresh field for carrying on historical researches on more scientific lines.

The aim and object of this paper is to collect together the various references and allusions to Buddhistic ideas that are met with in ancient Sanskrit dramas and to see whether we can draw approximately definite conclusions regarding the date of the author of the drama in which they appear. I have selected a few prominent Sanskrit dramatists who were admittedly staunch Hindoos. Their unalloyed devotion to Hinduism is evident from the homage they pay to Hindoo gods and deities in their respective works. Buddhistic characters are introduced by each of them in his works either to secure unity of action or to embellish the plot of the play. The delineation of these Buddhistic characters, or the picture drawn about them, reveals the trend of popular view or sentiment which prevailed about the religion of Lord Buddha at the time at which the play was written.

Buddhism passed through many vicissitudes from third century B.C. to eighth century A.D. This long period may roughly be divided into seven stages :—

(1) Maurya period from 326 B.C. to 184 B.C.
(2) The Sung period and Andhra period from 184 B.C. to 236 A.D.
(3) The Indo-Greek period from 250 B.C. to 60 A.D.
(4) The Kushan period from 45 A.D. to 225 A.D.
(5) The Gupta period from 320 A.D. to 455 A.D.
(6) The white Huns period from 455 A.D. to 606 A.D.
(7) The Hursh period from 606 A.D. to 648 A.D.

The Emperor Aśoka of the Maurya dynasty who reigned from 272 B.C. to 232 B.C. was a staunch Buddhist. Under the guidance of Upagupta, the celebrated Buddhist monk, he embraced Buddhism. Buddhism fostered in an unprecedented manner during his reign. The edicts of Aśoka have been very helpful to historians in tracing some facts about the birth and death of Lord Buddha as well as in securing accurate knowledge about the Greek kings who were his contemporaries. Buddhism owes a deep debt of gratitude to Emperor Aśoka for his royal patronage which helped to spread its doctrines throughout the length and breadth of Asia. With the aid of Upagupta he summoned a council of Buddhist monks during his reign.

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He assumed the position of the head of the Church and defender of the Faith, and personally visited sacred places where important events in the life of Lord Buddha took place. The pillars which were erected by his order at those places have unfolded the most important events in the life of Lord Buddha.

Kaniṣka of the Kushan dynasty was another patron of Buddhist Faith. During his reign, the Faith, which had suffered much under the kings of the Sung dynasty, again revived its activities. The Mahayana school of Buddhistic religion received great impetus from him.

Shri Harsha, whose reign commenced in 606 A.D., was the third great patron of Buddhism and helped the educational institutions established at several centres. Huentsang—the great Chinese traveller—who had enjoyed his company and hospitality, has given graphic accounts about his rule and his tolerance toward all religions. He is aptly described as Aśoka II.

As against this pro-Buddhistic record, we might refer to Pushhamitra of the Sung period who was a staunch Hindoo and was hostile towards the Buddhistic Faith. He performed a great horse sacrifice to celebrate his conquests of the foreign invaders. Under his rule, Brahmanical reaction commenced with vengeance and he undid all the good work done by Aśoka for the spread of Buddhism.

Samudra Gupta of the Gupta dynasty was again a staunch Hindoo and showed no regard for Buddhistic religion. Chandra Gupta II performed a horse sacrifice as a mark of his supreme conquests. He was a patron of learned men and showed tolerant spirit towards other religions. Skanda-gupta no doubt showed great tolerance towards non-Brahmanical Faiths.

This brief historical background about the ups and downs of Buddhism may help us in appreciating the importance and import of the reference to Buddhism which are to be found in the following dramas, to wit Kalidas's Malavikāgnimitra, Bhâṣa's Pratijna-yougandharāyana, Avimāraka, Bhavabhuti's Mâlati Mâdhava, Shudrak's Mrichakatika and Harsha's Nāgānanda and others.

Bhâṣa

To begin with Bhâṣa! He is described by Kalidāsa as a dramatist of great renown in his मालविकाग्निमित्र. He is credited with having written thirteen plays. He was a staunch Hindoo as is evident from the homage he has paid to Hindoo gods. He has praised the performance of animal sacrifices as a means to the attainment of final beatitude. In his drama entitled प्रतिज्ञा-यौगन्धरायण he has

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introduced the character of Shramanak a Buddhist monk to assist Yougandharāyana in the plot arranged by him to secure the release of the Vatsa King Udayana who was made captive by the King Pradyota of Ujjayinī. Yougandharāyana, who was a great diplomat at the court of King Udayana, wished to secure back his master without bloodshed. He had to employ spies in the capital of King Pradyota to accomplish his object in a skilful manner. He arranged to send his colleague Rumanvan as a spy in the disguise of a Buddhist Bhikkhu, i.e. Shramanak. There must have been some object in selecting this particular mode of spying, to ensure success. The person appearing in the garb of a Buddhistic monk must have been above suspicion of the king's authorities owing to the reverence paid to him at that time. He was at liberty perhaps to enter palaces and other court premises to which admission was not allowed to ordinary persons. Yougandharāyana entered the city in the guise of a lunatic. In the conversation which took place between him and Vidushak in the third act of the play, the following expressions are put in the mouth of the latter.

Vidushak, when he became desperate at the conduct of the lunatic (the disguised Yougandharāyana) in refusing to return his Modak, cried aloud for help.

The complimentary references, made by the Brahman author of the plays, to Buddhism by expressing the hollowness of Brahmanism show that during the time of Bhâṣa the institution of Buddhist Bhikkhus enjoyed respect from the people and that the degradation of the Brahmans was a matter of common topic.

Further in the Pratima play, the stone idol of King Dasharath is represented as being installed along with his forefathers in a shrine immediately after his demise. The idea of keeping alive the memory of exalted persons in the form of statues or stone images arose with the exponents of Mahayana school of thought among the Buddhists, a little before or after the beginning of the Christian era. It will thus appear that Bhâṣa could not have lived before Gautama Buddha as is supposed to be by some scholars. In his play entitled Châdudatta, Bhâṣa represents Sanvâhak—the champooer—as having turned a Hindoo recluse after being tired of worldly life. While Shudrak, who has borrowed not only the idea but the whole plot of Châdudatta in his मच्छकटिक, thought it worth while to represent the same character of Sanvâhak as having embraced Buddhistic Faith by entering the order of Sākya, Shramanak. This change of idea in regard to the same character by Shudrak, who was a close imitator of Bhâṣa, is very significant. This shows that Shudrak, who was also a staunch Hindoo, could openly show his respect for Buddha and his tenets as soon as there was a favourable

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atmosphere for openly holding up the Buddhistic religious ideals to the public. It is evident from the play of Mricchakaṭika that the appointments of the superiors of Buddhistic monasteries were made by the ruler of the country. This means that Buddhism enjoyed royal patronage at the time he wrote the drama. Aśoka was the only Indian ruler who had declared himself the head of the Buddhistic Church. Hence Shudrak must have portrayed the picture of Indian society of the time when Sanatan Brahman like Chârudatta could admit a courtesan by caste as his wedded wife and when the appointments of Buddhistic monks were made by the ruling sovereign.

Bhâṣa thus lived at a time anterior both to Kalidas and Shudrak. One can easily discern the spirit of tolerance shown by Bhâṣa in the play referred to above.

KĀLIDĀSA

Kālidāsa has introduced the character of परिव्राजिका, a female ascetic, in his play entitled Malavikāgnimitra. She is described as Pandit Koushiki owing to her high erudition and scholarship in several Shastras. She is the only female character who is represented as speaking in Sanskrit. She is addressed in the right reverential style as Bhagawatī both by the king and queen as also by all with whom she came in contact. While giving her own account, she says that she entered the order of nuns after the loss of her brother which intensified the agonies of her widowhood. She is described as Parivrājikā and not as Tâpasī.

Now according to Hindoo Shastras, a Hindoo female was not allowed to became a Sanyâsinī. The males alone enjoyed the privilege of entering the Order under certain circumstances. Even Lord Buddha was reluctant to create the institution of nuns. The admission to the Order was conceded to women only with reluctance and under conditions which involved their absolute subjection to the monks. The Buddhistic nuns were disqualified and often penalized for the slightest infringement of the disciplinary rules laid down in Cullavagga and Patimokha. The institutions of Manu are no better in the case of females who have to remain under the guardianship of their father in their childhood, under their husband's guardianship in married state, and in old age under the guardianship of their sons.

Thus a Buddhistic nun was not her own mistress in her monastic life according to both creeds.

The Parivrājikā, as painted by Kālidāsa figuring in Mālavikāgnimitra, moves in high circles unfettered by any restrictions imposed on the Order to which she belonged. She is represented as

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an expert in the art of dancing and music. Lord Buddha in his teachings had put a ban on the arts of music and dancing as also on theatrical performances. This Parivrājikā is represented as engaged in the business of bringing about the marriage of her friend's daughter with the king who had already two queens and who was far advanced in age. He had a son named Vasumitra who had achieved great success in guarding the sacrificial horse from the attacks of frontier invaders. Kālidāsa never concealed his unfeigned adherence to Brahmanical creed. He must have been fully aware of the ruling princes' hostile attitude towards Buddhism. He was thus naturally inclined to paint the Buddhist nuns in as black a character as he could to prove to the public the hollowness or unreality of Buddhistic institutions. Vidushak actually describes her as Peetha-Mardika, i.e. a go-between. Pushpamitra's antagonism to Buddhistic creed had become widely known during his time. But this view is based upon the assumption that Kālidāsa must have written Malavikāgnimitra during the reign of Agnimitra or immediately after him. Kālidāsa, like Shakespeare, might have chosen for his dramas subjects from traditional stories, as is evident from his play of Shakuntala which is based upon legends in Vedic and Epic literature.

King Kaniṣka of the Sung dynasty ruled over Gândhar, Kashmir and other Northern Indian provinces in about 150 A.D. He had embraced Buddhism under the guidance of Pârsva—an eminent Buddhist monk. Kaniṣka, with a view to reconcile various schisms in Buddhistic religion, convoked a council of Buddhists in Kashmir of which Ashwaghosa was the Vice-President. He is reputed to be the founder of Mahayana school—a newly developed school of Buddhistic thought.

Bhavabhuti

Bhavabhuti gives his personal account in his Mâlati Mâdhava play, but does not mention the period in which he lived. He was, like Kālidāsa, a devout Shaivait. It appears that his plays were staged in front of the shrine of Kala-Priyanath—a manifestation of God Shiva. Kâmandakī—a Buddhistic nun—plays an important part in his well-known play, entitled Mâlati Mâdhava. Like the Parivrājikā in Malavikāgnimitra she is engaged in bringing about the match between Mâlati, her friend's daughter, and Mâdhava. Kâmandakī is represented as an avowed Buddhist nun. She is assisted in the task by her two disciples, Avalokita and Buddharakshitâ. Avalokita once asked Kâmandakī as to why she was engaged in the love-match affair contrary to her profession as a Buddhistic nun who had given up all worldly affairs. Kâmandakī tells her *point blanc* that she

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had undertaken the task of getting her friend's daughter married to a suitable person. She is conscious throughout that she was acting contrary to her profession. She lays great stress on the values of right speech and the necessity of carrying out solemn promises. She pays homage to Lord Buddha. Her character is noble and dignified. In act No. X very noble ideas are put in her mouth by the author of the play. Yet she does not think it beneath her dignity to arrange a sham marriage between Nandana and Makaranda who was disguised in the garb of Mâlati. This intrigue on the part of Kâmandakī is un-Buddhistic. The part played by Kâmandakī is entirely against the rules laid down for the conduct of Buddhistic Bhikkhus and nuns.

Further the element of sacrificing a human being for propitiating the Goddess Chāmuṇḍa (चामुंडा) is introduced in the drama. This clearly shows that the Shakti worship had gained an upper-hand at the time the play was written and that Buddhistic institutions had reached the stage of utter degradation. Further supernational element through the Yougic powers of Soudāminī—the Buddhist nun—is introduced in the drama which is contrary to the teachings of Lord Buddha.

It is not impossible that under the influence of the Mahayanists the views of Kâmandakī might have undergone great changes. The Mahayanists taught that individual interests must be subordinated to the service of humanity.

Kâmandakī in the X act praises Soudāminī—her first disciple—for the possession of stores of merit emanating from her gift of life to several persons. She further says to her, 'Thou alone, whose miraculous power is enviable, art adorable to the world by thy acts of this nature which surpass even those of the Bodhisatvas, etc. etc.'. This reflects the ideal of the Mahayana school.

The influence of Mahayanists is clearly discernible in the sentiment expressed by Kâmandakī. The life of Mâlatī was saved by the Yougic powers of Soudāminī—a Buddhistic nun. It is inconceivable why Kâmandakī should have thought of destroying her life in her agony due to the disappearance of Mâlatī. This sentiment of committing suicide for the loss of an object dear to her is un-Buddhistic.

The delineation of the character of Kâmandakī by Bhavabhuti is admirably done. The ideal of doing duty by her friends' daughters at the cost of her own self-interest is always present to her mind.

Bhavabhuti must have lived at a time when Buddhism was looked upon with tolerant spirit along with Hinduism and when the revival of Shakti worship was at its height. He must have lived a little after Harsha's time, i.e. the end of the seventh century A.D.

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Shudrak

Shudrak, as has been stated above when dealing with Bhâṣa's play, based his Mricchakaṭika play on Bhâṣa's Châruḍatta. But he has improved it in many ways. The character of Sanvâhak—the champooer—is represented as a minor one in *Châruḍatta* play by Bhâṣa. This Sanvâhak was a gambler by profession. When he was harassed by his fellow gamblers, he sought the protection of Vasantasena—courtesan's girl of Ujjayinī. She freed him from their clutches on payment of their dues. Sanvâhak wanted to pay off her obligations by serving her. But when he was told to continue in the service of his former master, Châruḍatta, he, out of despair, entered the Orders of Bauddha Bhikkhu. Act VIII of Mrichakaṭika opens with the appearance of this Buddhist monk with a wet garment in his hand and giving expressions to the following sentiments which briefly sum up the whole teaching of Lord Buddha :

Sramanak (sings)

Be virtue friends, your only store,
And restless appetite restrain,
Beat meditation's drum, and sore.
Your watch against each sense maintain.
The thief that still in ambush lies,
To make devotion's wealth his prize.

Cast the five senses all away,
That triumph o'er the virtuous will,
The pride of self-importance slay,
And ignorance remorseless kill,
So shall you save the bodyguard,
And Heaven shall be your last regard.

Why shave the head and mow the chin,
Whilst bristling follies choke the breast ?
Apply the knife to parts within
And heed not how deformed the rest,
The heart of pride and passion weed,
And then the man is pure indeed.

Shudrak is at his best here. The noble eightfold path of Lord Buddha is graphically described here. The formation of character preached by Lord Buddha is enjoined by keeping under control the power of the senses. Keen watch over the activities of the various senses must be kept. Ignorance must be rooted out. Concentration of mind must be maintained at any cost. Stress is laid on the inner

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purification of the heart rather than maintenance of outward appearances such as the shaving of the head and outer garb. The non-essentials are to be subordinated to the essentials for the purification of the self.

This Sanvâhak who turned a Buddhist Bhikkhu is shown as having been completely transformed in character and to have turned a spiritual man by being imbued with the noble teachings of Lord Buddha. So complete was the transformation that he did not retaliate though he was subjected to unprovoked assault by the king's brother-in-law. He displayed his gratitude towards Vasantasena who had helped him once. When Châdudatta asked the monk to state his wishes at the time of distributing rewards for the services rendered by him, he said : 'To follow still the path I have selected. For all I see is full of care and change'. Châdudatta said that since he wanted to lead the life of a monk permanently, he should be appointed the chief or superior of the monasteries of the Bauddhas.

Wilson in his 'Theatre of the Hindoos' aptly says, 'the most unquestionable proof of high antiquity of this play is the reference to the establishment of monasteries at Ujjayinī.'

Mricchakaṭika is the only drama wherein Bauddhas appear undisguised. This drama must have been written at a time when Buddhism was enjoying prosperity and royal recognition. The monasteries were erected all over India by the Buddhists. The educational centres at Nalanda and Takshashila, where thousand of scholars from India were receiving instructions, were patronized by the Indian monarchs whether they were Buddhists or not. The monasteries were left undisturbed by the Hindu sovereigns in a spirit of tolerance.

The king was usually the head of the Church. The appointments of the heads of the Maths or superiors of Viharas were in the hands of the ruling power.

This accurate picture of Buddhistic teachings could not have been portrayed by the author of the play unless he was Buddhistic at heart. The character of Sanvâhak was not essential to preserve unity of action or sustain the plot. The author has introduced it in the play only for the purpose of display his love for Buddhism and convince the public that even an insignificant person of the calibre and character of a champooer, who led an ignoble life, could be completely transformed in character if he really followed the teachings of Bhagwan Buddha. This is an indirect method of propaganda through dramatization of Buddhistic teachings. Châdudatta—an avowed Sanatani Brahman—is shown as possessed of all virtues. The social life among the Hindoos was at that time pliant enough to admit a courtesan's girl as a wedded wife of a Brahman.

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This phase of Hindoo social life leads one to believe that the impregnable ramparts of the fortress of caste-system were broken into by the teachings of Lord Buddha at the time when the play was written.

The character of the Mricchakaṭika and the plot of the play are copied from Bhâṣa's Châru datta. But Shudrak by his genius has given a new garb to it by introducing Buddhistic teachings in the mouth of an inferior actor. The author must have been fully aware that the public would not be offended by this innovation of introducing a non-Brahmanical element in his play.

The Mricchakaṭika may have been written during the period when the author of the play thought that the time was opportune to spread the teachings of Buddha among the public at large through a popular play. It goes without saying that considerable time must have elapsed between the composition of Châru datta by Bhâṣa and this play. It is just possible that the author of this play might have drawn the picture of society that existed during Aśoka's time when water-tight compartments of caste had slackened considerably and the institutions of Buddhistic Viharas or monasteries were recognized by the State. It is not possible to fix the date of Mricchakaṭika from the name of Shudrak who is supposed to be the author of the play. It is certain that Mricchakaṭika was written after Bhâṣa's Châru datta and at a time when the public were prepared to listen to Buddha's teachings through dramatic representations. No dramatist would take the risk of making his production unpopular by introducing int[illegible] an element unpalatable to the public.

Shri Harsha

Shri Harsha, who came to the throne in 608 A.D., showed great respect for Lord Buddha and his creed. Huentsang, the Chinese traveller and a great Buddhist scholar, has given graphic account about King Harsha and his high regard for Buddhism from his personal knowledge in his Indian Travels.

The authorship of Nāgānanda is attributed to him. Jimutvāhana (जीमूतवाहन), the hero of this drama, is portrayed as a great Bodhisatva who sacrificed his own life for saving the lives of other innocent creatures. He was a prince possessed of all the virtues of Lord Buddha. He was extremely obedient to his father and did not show much regard for worldly happiness. But for his father's wishes, he was prepared to resign his kingdom in favour of Matang who was a rival claimant. The moral of the play is the supreme sacrifice made by Jimutvāhana of his dear life for the good of others. The doctrine of the Mahayana school, that every Buddhist must

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subordinate his own self to the good of others, is reflected in the plot of this play. Service of humanity by ignoring one's own self is the watchword of this play.

The noteworthy point of the drama is its religious atmosphere. It is the practical exposition of the then principle and practices of Buddhism. The play is a mixture of Hinduism and Buddhism which shows that King Harsha showed respect for both the creeds though the balance of his inclination was on the side of Buddhism. Unlike other dramas, the benediction of the play is addressed to Bhagwan Buddha. The worship of *Gauri* is represented as still existing ; and the heroine, Malayavatī, pays homage to her. Jimutvāhana—the hero—has no leanings towards Brahmanism and yet he bows before Gauri. The high idols of Lord Buddha which he literally reduced to practice by sacrificing his own life regardless of his royal glory, of his newly wedded wife who was a paragon of perfection, can only remind one of the spotless life of Lord Buddha. He is represented as paying homage to Gauri—the Hindoo goddess—when he was restored to life by her grace. In doing so, he did nothing more than paid respect to the deities for whom his forefathers had cherished respect.

Shri Harsha by his skilful handling of the plot of this drama has proved that during his reign the Hindoos and Buddhists agreed to bury their feuds of thousand years and lived in peace and harmony and allowed the beliefs and practices of each creed to go on unaffected on each side. Jimutvāhana, after his death, returns to his former position only much more glorious and magnificent, raised to life again by Gaurī, the wife of Shiva, who stands at the head of Hindoo pantheon.

The drama affords an example of a compromise between Hinduism and Buddhism and is a precursor of the coming events which culminated in recognizing Buddha as an incarnation of Vishṇu in Bhagawat Purāṇa.

The spirit of sacrifice by doing good to others was discernible, in the conduct of Parivrājikā of Kālidāsa, Kâmandakī of Bhavabhuti and Sanvâhak of Shudrak. All these characters reflect the ideas which were developed by the exponents of Mahayana school of Buddhism such as Asang (असंग), Vasubandhu (वसुबंधु), Nagarjuna, etc. etc. It is therefore not unlikely that all these dramatists flourished after the Mahayana school came into existence.

VISHĀKHADATTA

Mudrārākshasa (मुद्राराक्षस)—a notable play written by Vishākhadatta—does not contain any reference to Buddhism. A passing reference is made about a Jain Bhikkhu (क्षपणक) when he was seen

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by the minister Rākshasas whose very sight was considered as ominous. It is strange that the plot of this play which glorifies the *Machiavellian* diplomacy of Chânakya in securing the throne for the Maurya King Chandragupta should not have introduced an episode about Buddhism. Perhaps the author did not wish to be guilty of anachronism. Since Buddhism was not considered as an important factor during the time of Aśoka's grandfather owing to the incessant struggles he had to carry against foreign invaders.

Later dramatists did not make any reference to Buddhism in their plays probably because the active propaganda of Shri Shankaracharya against Buddhism had had its effect in giving a complete set-back to that creed. The Buddhistic characters represented in the dramas referred to in this paper, though they may not help us in fixing the dates of the plays in which they occur, do throw considerable light on the several stages through which Buddhism passed. They will certainly help us in understanding the history of the rise and decline of Buddhism in India between second century B.C. and the seventh century A.D.

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THE PADMA PURĀṆA[1]

By RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA

The present *Padma Purāṇa*, which is the result of several recasts, has come down to us in two distinct recensions—North Indian (Bengal) and South Indian. In Bengal MSS. the Purāṇa is found to consist of five Khaṇḍas or books arranged in the following order: (1) Sṛṣṭi, (2) Bhūmi, (3) Svarga, (4) Pātāla and (5) Uttara. No edition of the Bengal recension has been published. The South Indian recension has been published by the Ānandāśrama and the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press. In both these editions, the Purāṇa is found to consist of six Khaṇḍas, viz. (1) Ādi, (2) Bhūmi, (3) Brahma, (4) Pātāla, (5) Sṛṣṭi (also called Prakriyā) and (6) Uttara in the Ānandāśrama edition, and (1) Sṛṣṭi, (2) Bhūmi, (3) Svarga, (4) Brahma, (5) Pātāla and (6) Uttara in the Veṅkaṭeśvara edition. The Ādi Khaṇḍa in the former edition is the same as the 'Svarga Khaṇḍa' in the latter. Though in this so-called 'Svarga Khaṇḍa' (1, 23-24) the six Khaṇḍas have been enumerated in the same order and with the same titles as in the Ānandāśrama edition, the arrangement and titles of the Khaṇḍas in the Veṅkaṭeśvara edition are made most probably with a view to make the Purāṇa conform as far as possible to the old tradition.

That originally the *Padma Purāṇa* consisted of five Khaṇḍas is evidenced not only by the Bengal MSS., which invariably give the number of the Khaṇḍas as five and arrange them in the same order as given above, but also by the printed editions themselves. In almost all places of the latter, except especially in the Ādi or the so-called 'Svarga', the enumeration of the Khaṇḍas is exactly the same as in Bengal MSS. In some MSS. of the Ādi even, the titles of the five Khaṇḍas are found in place of those of the six.[2]

The Bengal recension which, on account of the number, arrangement and contents of the Khaṇḍas, is often more reliable than the South Indian one, does not, however, represent the *Padma Purāṇa* in its original form. In the Sṛṣṭi Khaṇḍa (1, 54-60) the contents of the five Parvans, corresponding to the five Khaṇḍas, are given as follows: the first, called Puṣkara, treating of creation by Brahmā; the second, called Tīrtha-parvan, on mountains, islands and oceans; the third (called Svarga in the Bengal MSS. of the Sṛṣṭi Khaṇḍa),

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[1] In the following analysis the Ānandāśrama edition has been used.

[2] Ādi Khaṇḍa, p. 2, footnotes 1 and 2.

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on kings who gave rich sacrificial gifts; the fourth, on genealogies of kings; and the fifth, on salvation. The topics enumerated at the beginning of the Pātāla Khaṇḍa as already dealt with in the Khaṇḍas preceding it, agree with the above-mentioned contents of the first three Khaṇḍas (see under Pātāla Kh. below). At the very outset of the Bengal MSS. of the Svarga Kh. also, Sūta refers to the geography of the earth as already described, making no mention of the other topics dealt with in the preceding Bhūmi Kh.[1] From these references it can be understood that the Bhūmi Kh., in its earlier form, treated mainly of the geography of the earth. It had probably also chapters on holy places from which it could derive its name. But the present Bhūmi Kh. of the Bengal recension is practically a book of legends having only four chapters on geography towards the end. Similar also is the case with the other Khaṇḍas very small portions of which can claim to be original.

We shall now examine the different Khaṇḍas.

(1) *Ādi Khaṇḍa*. This Khaṇḍa, which is purely Vaiṣṇava, begins with a short account of the creation of the universe. It then passes on to the geography of the earth, deals with the glories of various holy places and rivers, and ends with a few chapters on Viṣṇu-bhakti and the duties of the members of the different castes in the different stages of their life.

This Khaṇḍa has a good number of chapters in common with some of the other Purāṇas, viz. :—

Padma P. (Ādi Kh.)	13, 2f	=	*Matsya P.* (Vaṅga. ed.),	186, 6*b* f.
,, ,,	14–21	=	,, ,,	187–194 respectively.
,, ,,	30	=	*Padma P.* (Uttara Kh.),	243, 1–42.
,, ,,	31	=	,, ,,	243, 43–96*b*; 244, 67–88*a*; and 245.
,, ,,	33, 3f	=	*Kūrma P.* (Vaṅga. ed.),	I, 30, 16f.
,, ,,	34	=	,, ,,	I, 31, 3f.
,, ,,	35	=	,, ,,	I, 32, 1*b* f.
,, ,,	36, 1*b* f	=	,, ,,	I, 33, 20f.
,, ,,	37, 2f	=	,, ,,	I, 34, 2–19.

[1] Cf., for example, MS. No. 1625 of the Svarga Khaṇḍa in the Dacca University MSS Library. This MS. begins as follows :

sūta uvāca—
śeṣa-bhāṣitam ākarṇya tathā bhūgola-varṇanaṃ |
pitā me punar āpṛcchat praṇato bādarāyaṇaṃ ||
sa niśamya tu bhūgolaṃ munir vātsyāyanaḥ punaḥ |
kim apṛcchaccheṣanāgaṃ tad bhavān vaktum arhati ||
etc. etc.

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Padma P. (Ādi Kh.)	40, 15f	=	*Matsya P.*,	103, 1*b* f.
,, ,,	41–48	=	,,	104–111 respectively.
,, ,,	49	=	,,	112, 1–17.
,, ,,	51, 5f	=	*Kūrma P.*,	II, 12.
,, ,,	52–56	=	,,	II, 13–17 respectively.
,, ,,	57–60	=	,,	II, 26–29 respectively.

It can be little doubted that, as regards these common chapters, the Ādi Kh. is the borrower. In order to establish the indebtedness of the Ādi, we may compare, for example, the readings and contents of Ādi Kh., 51–60, with those of *Kūrma*, II, 12–17 and 26–29, and the chapters (I–III) of the *Uśanas Saṃhitā* (Vaṅga. ed.).

(*a*)	*Uśanas Saṃ.*, II, 1*a* ..	snātvā ca tathā rathyopasarpaṇe.
	Kūrma P., II, 13, 1*a*	Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition—suptvā ca snātvā rathyopasarpaṇe (another reading 'rathyāvasarpaṇe'). Vaṅgavāsī edition—suptvā ca snātvā rathyāpasarpaṇe.
	Padma (Ādi), 52, 1*a* ..	suptvā ca snātvā rathyāvasarpaṇe.
(*b*)	*Uś. Saṃ.*, II, 2*b* ..	tathā cādhyayanāraṃbhe.
	Kūr., II, 13, 2*b* ..	Veṅk. ed.—ṣṭhīvitvādhyayanāraṃbhe. Vaṅga. ed.—same as in the Veṅk. ed.
	Pad. (Ādi), 52, 2*b* ..	same as in the *Kūrma P.*
(*c*)	*Uś. Saṃ.*, II, 3*a* ..	samāgamya.
	Kūr., II, 13, 3*a* ..	Veṅk. ed.—samāgamya. Vaṅga. ed.—samākramya.
	Pad. (Ādi), 52, 3*a* ..	samākramya.
(*d*)	*Uś. Saṃ.*, II, 3*b* ..	ācānte cācamet.
	Kūr., II, 13, 3*b* ..	Veṅk. ed.—ācānto'pyācamet. Vaṅga. ed.—same as in the Veṅk. ed.
	Pad. (Ādi), 52, 3*b* ..	same as in the *Kūrma P.*
(*e*)	*Uś. Saṃ.*, II, 5*a* ..	aśrupāte tathācāme ahitasya . . . . .
	Kūr., II, 13, 5*a* ..	Veṅk. ed.—ācamed aśrupāte vā lohitasya . . . . Vaṅga. ed.—same as in the Veṅk. ed.
	Pad. (Ādi), 52, 5*a* ..	same as in the *Kūrma P.*
		etc. etc.

Scores of similar examples may be given, but it is needless to multiply them. The few examples given above are sufficient to show that the Ādi Kh. follows much more the *Kūrma P.* than the *Uśanas Saṃhitā*. Of course, in a few cases the Ādi Kh. has readings which are found not in the *Kūrma P.* but in the *Uśanas Saṃhitā*. This can be explained by presuming that the MS. of the *Kūrma P.*,

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from which the chapters of the Ādi Kh. were derived, had better readings than the MSS. on which the printed editions are based. As regards the few cases wherein the Ādi Kh. agrees neither with the *Kūrma P.* nor with the *Uśanas Saṃhitā*, the scribes of the MSS. are probably responsible.

In Ādi Kh., chap. 50, Sūta refers to *Karma-yoga*, the practice of which alone, he says, can please Viṣṇu, and in chap. 51 he proceeds, at the request of the sages, to describe it to them. Thus the unknown interpolator creates an opportunity for himself to insert some of the chapters of the *Kūrma P.* In doing so, he has tried to efface the Śaiva stamp which these chapters bear. Thus in a few places the names of Śiva have been replaced conveniently by those of Viṣṇu,[1] while in many other places the names of the god have been retained intact.[2] In Ādi Kh., 60, 32f, meditation of Śiva is emphasized; and he, not Viṣṇu, is identified with the supreme Brahma in the same words as in *Kūrma P.*, II, 29, 37f.

A comparison of contents of the above-mentioned chapters of the *Uśanas Saṃhitā*, the *Kūrma P.* and the *Padma P.* (Ādi Kh.) also shows that the Ādi Kh. borrowed the Smṛti-chapters from the *Kūrma P.* Chapters I–IX of the *Uśanas Saṃhitā* are found, with some variations in the numbers of verses, in *Kūr.*, II, 12–15, 19–23, and 30–33. The intervening chapters, i.e. *Kūr.*, II, 16–18 and 24–29, were probably added at the time the incorporation was made, or after it. The Ādi Kh. takes some of the chapters common to the *Uśanas Saṃhitā* and the *Kūrma P.* and some of those which are found only in the latter. For example, of *Kūr.*, II, 12–15, 19–23 and 30–33, the Ādi takes only chaps. 12–15, and of *Kūr.*, II, 16–18 and 24–29, it takes chaps. 16-17 and 26–29, leaving out those chapters which treat of funeral ceremonies, penances, impurity, sacrifices, means of livelihood, daily duties, and rules of diet. This shows that the Ādi Kh. used the *Kūrma P.* as its source and not *vice versa*. Had the *Kūrma P.* been the borrower, it would have been necessary for it to compare the contents of the *Uśanas Saṃhitā* with those of the Ādi Kh. and take some chapters from the one and some from the other, while supplementing the borrowed chapters with those of its own composition. Such a case seems to be improbable, especially when we take into consideration the other arguments given above. As regards the few additional verses in some of the chapters common to the *Kūrma P.* and the Ādi Kh., it is clear that at least some of

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[1] Viz. Ādi Kh., 54, 35*b*, where ' mahādeva ' of the *Kūrma* has been replaced by ' hṛṣīkeśa ' ; Ādi, 57, 26*b*, has ' keśavaṃ ' for ' śaṃkaraṃ ' of the *Kūrma* ; Ādi, 57, 27*a*, reads ' viṣṇur hṛṣīkeśaḥ ' for ' somo mahādevaḥ ' of the *Kūrma* ; and so on.

[2] Viz. Ādi, 60, 11*b* ; 60, 20*a* ; 57, 28*a*, 30*a* and 31*b* ; and so forth.

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them were added later. For example, *Kūrma*, II, 14, 57*b*–61*a*, which describe the method of Gāyatrī-uddhāra after the manner of the Tantriks, are to be found neither in the Ādi nor in the Veṅkaṭeśvara edition of the *Kūrma P.* The other such extra verses might have either been later additions to the *Kūrma P.* or been lost from the Ādi in course of time.

As to the other chapters common to the Ādi Kh. on the one hand and the *Matsya, Padma* (Uttara Kh.) and *Kūrma P.* on the other, it may similarly be proved that the Ādi Kh. is the borrower. Now, *Matsya P.*, 103–112, are to be dated between 850 and 1250 A.D.[1]; *Matsya P.*, 186–194, are to be placed later than 800 A.D.[2]; *Kūrma P.*, I, 30–34, are to be dated between 700 and 1250 A.D., and most probably between 700 and 800 A.D.[3]; and *Kūrma P.*, II, 12–17 and 26–29, were added between 700 and 800 A.D.[4] Hence the date of composition, or rather compilation, of the Ādi Kh. cannot reasonably be placed before 950 A.D. As its contents have been included in those of the so-called 'Svarga Khaṇḍa' given in the *Nāradīya P.* (Veṅkaṭ. ed., I, 93, 14–19*a*), it should not be dated later than 1400 A.D.

Though the large majority of the verses quoted by Gopālabhaṭṭa from the Devadūta-vikuṇḍala-saṃvāda (interlocution between Devadūta and Vikuṇḍala) of the '*Pādma*', and only a few of the verses quoted from the same Purāṇa in Vācaspatimiśra's *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* (ASB. ed.) are traceable in the Ādi Khaṇḍa (chapters 31 and 43 respectively), it is highly probable that these two authors took these verses from the Uttara Kh. (chapters 243–246) wherein the entire chapter 31 and a few verses, including most of the quoted ones, of chap. 43 of the Ādi Kh. are found.

That part of the *Padma P.* which has been published by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta, under the title 'Svarga Khaṇḍa' is nothing but the combination of the Ādi and the Brahma Kh. as found in the Ānandāśrama edition. The main differences, besides those in readings, between these two editions are that Ādi Kh. (Ānandāśrama ed.), 1, 18 to the end, which contain the names of the six Khaṇḍas (viz. Ādi, Bhūmi, Brahma, etc.) and which describe how the *Padma P.* was inherited by Sūta from Hari through Brahmā, Nārada and Vyāsa, and the entire chapter 24 of the Brahma Kh.

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[1] See my essay on the *Matsya Purāṇa* in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XVII, 1935-36, pp. 1f.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 1f.

[3] See my essay on the *Kūrma Purāṇa* in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, pp. 265f.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 265f.

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are not found in the Vaṅgavāsī edition. Ādi Kh., 2, 1*a*, reads ' ādi-sargam ahaṃ tāvat, etc.', while the so-called Svarga Kh. (1, 18*a*) reads ' adya svargam ahaṃ, etc.'. The ' Svarga Kh.' in the Veṅkaṭeśvara ed. also gives the names of the six Khaṇḍas beginning with the Ādi and reads ' ādi-sargam, etc.'. Yet it is called ' Svarga Khaṇḍa '. The facts that in some MSS. the Ādi and the Brahma Kh. are combined under the title ' Svarga Khaṇḍa ' and that the contents of the ' Svarga Khaṇḍa ' given in *Nāradīya P.*, I, 93, 14–19*a*, are the same as those of the Ādi and the Brahma Kh., show that there was a confusion of the Ādi and Brahma with the real Svarga Khaṇḍa perhaps on account of the reading ' adya svargam, etc.' in some MSS. of the Ādi.

(2) *Bhūmi Khaṇḍa.*[1] It has already been said that the Bhūmi Kh., in its earlier form, treated mainly of geography—a topic which is totally wanting in our present edition. Our Bhūmi has become entirely a book of legends. These legends have been introduced with a view to prove the sanctity of various holy places and to show how Prahlāda, though a demon, became so great a devotee of Viṣṇu, and why a teacher, a father or a chaste and devoted wife is called a Tīrtha. In connection with these legends and glorifications, the duties of the Āśramas have been treated of in chap. 59, gifts in chaps. 39 and 40, duties of women in chap. 41, holy places in chaps. 90 and 92, and Vrata in chap. 87.

The present Bhūmi does not seem to have come from an early date. At the very beginning of this Khaṇḍa the sages refer to the

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[1] The Ānandāśrama edition is almost the same as the Vaṅgavāsī ed., the main variations, besides those in readings, being that the chapters in the latter edition have often a few additonal verses. There are also variations in the numbers of the chapters, though the contents are the same, viz. :

Ānandāśrama ed.		Vaṅgavāsī ed.
Chap. 1–14	=	Chap. 1–14 respectively.
,, 15	=	,, 15-16.
,, 16–37	=	,, 17–38 respectively.
,, 38-39	=	,, 39.
,, 40 to the end	=	,, 40 to the end respectively.

The Veṅk. ed. also is generally the same as the Ānandāśrama edition. Like the latter it consists of 125 chapters which correspond to those in the latter edition.

The contents of the Bhūmi Kh., as found in the Bengal recension, are more variegated than those of the Ānandāśrama edition. Chaps. 1–120 of this recension (see MS. No. 1622, Dacca University MSS. Library) are in general agreement with the chapters of the Ānandāśrama ed.; chaps. 121–127 deal with the Sthāvara-tīrtha; chaps. 128–131 with Bhūgola-varṇana; chap. 132 with Purāṇa-mahima-varṇana; and chap. 133 with Viṣayānukrama. Chaps. 121 to the end of the MS. are not found in the Ānandāśrama edition.

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'Purāṇas' in which Prahlāda has been said to have pleased Keśava even at the age of five; and they ask Sūta why, during the war between the gods and the demons, this Prahlāda fought with Vāsudeva and was ultimately killed and absorbed by the latter. In answer to this question, Sūta tells them the legends of Somaśarman. The above reference to the age and conduct of Prahlāda betrays an acquaintance of the author of the Bhūmi Kh. with the *Bhāgavata P.*, in which alone the legend of Prahlāda has been told with the express mention of his age.[1] Therefore, the date of the Bhūmi Kh. cannot possibly be earlier than the beginning of the seventh century A.D. This limit is supported by the mention of the Buddha among the incarnations of Viṣṇu.[2] We have seen that the Buddha began to be regarded as such most probably from about 550 A.D.[3] Further, in Bhūmi, 78, the 'Turuṣkas' have been mentioned as Mlecchas, who have no lock of hair left on the crown of their head (śikhāvihīna), kill cows and Brāhmans, fall easy prey to appetite, have itches, do not tuck the hem of their lower garment into the waistband (mukta-kaccha), are of furious temperament, are habituated adulterers, eat all things without discrimination, marry girls of their own Gotras, and are guilty of similar other vices. The mention of the 'Turuṣkas' and the way in which they are described, mean undoubtedly the Muhammadans who came to India about the ninth century A.D. Hence the date of the Bhūmi Kh. cannot reasonably be placed earlier than 900 A.D. Such a late date is supported not only by the importance given to the Tulasī plant and by the mention of a wife as a Tīrtha but also by the fact that none of the numerous verses quoted from the '*Padma P.*' or '*Pādma*' in Devaṇabhaṭṭa's *Smṛticandrikā* (pub. by the Govt. of Mysore), Aparārka's commentary on *Yājñavalkya* (Ānand. ed.), Jīmūtavāhana's *Kālaviveka* (ASB. ed.), Aniruddhabhaṭṭa's *Hāralatā* (ASB. ed.), Ballālasena's *Adbhutasāgara* (Benares ed.), Madanapāla's *Madana-pārijāta* (ASB. ed.), Vācaspatimiśra's *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* (ASB. ed.), Mādhavācarya's commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti* (Bombay ed.), Vidyākara Vājapeyin's *Nityācārapaddhati* (ASB. ed.), Sūlapāṇi's *Dīpakalikā*

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[1] *Bhāg.* (Vaṅga. ed.), VII, 5, 36—

viṣṇor vā sādhvasau kinnu kariṣyaty asamañjasaḥ |
sauhṛdaṃ dustyajaṃ pitror ahād yaḥ pañca-hāyanaḥ ||

In the *Viṣṇu P.* (Vaṅga. ed.) also the story of Prahlāda is given, but there is no express mention of his age.

[2] Bhūmi Kh., 18, 66.

[3] See my essay on the *Matsya Purāṇa* in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XVII, 1935-36, pp. 17-18.

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(MS. No. 602, D.U.), *Vratakāla-viveka* (MS. No. 1578C, D.U.), *Prāyaścitta-viveka* (Jībānanda's ed.) and *Śrāddha-viveka* (MS. No. 151A, D.U.), Caṇḍeśvara's *Kṛtya-ratnākara* (MS. No. 1055C, D.U.), Śrīdatta Upādhyāya's *Kṛtyācāra* (MS. No. M42/39, D.U.), Govindānanda's *Varṣakriyā-kaumudī* (ASB. ed.), and Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva* (Jīvānanda's ed.), is traceable in this Khaṇḍa.

The Bhūmi Kh., which is presumably a work of the Bhāgavatas,[1] was written most probably somewhere about the river Narmadā, because the river, which is also called Revā (see *Pad.*, Bhūmi Kh., 92, 32 and *Devī P.*, Vaṅga. ed., 37, 41), has been glorified more than once and declared to have a sanctifying power much greater than that of even the Gaṅgā, Sindhu, etc.[2]

(3) *Brahma Khaṇḍa.* This Khaṇḍa, in which the interlocutors are Sūta and Śaunaka, occupies the third place in our edition of the *Padma P.* But its real position seems to have been immediately after the Ādi Kh., for Śaunaka, who appears in this Khaṇḍa without even a single word of introduction, is introduced first at the beginning of the Ādi Kh. but is not found in the Bhūmi Kh. which intervenes between the Ādi and the Brahma.

The Brahma Khaṇḍa is a short one consisting of 26 chapters only. It is concerned with the description of Vaiṣṇava feasts and festivals. . Thus, it treats of the merits of besmearing a Viṣṇu-temple with cowdung and of burning a lamp there at night, the observances during the month of Kārttika, the Jayantī-vrata, the Guruvāra-vrata, the birthday festivals of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, the Ekādaśī-vrata, the worship of Viṣṇu on the fullmoon day, and the offer of various things to Viṣṇu. The merits of observing these festivals have been illustrated with various stories. In connection with the birthday festival of Rādhā, the story of the churning of the ocean has been narrated.

This Khaṇḍa comes undoubtedly from a very late date. It speaks highly of the gifts of lamps to the shrines of Viṣṇu. The birthday festival of Rādhā has been treated of in chap. 7 and referred to in other places. The Tulasī plant has been glorified in chap. 22 and called the ' wife of Hari ' in chap. 10. Brāhmaṇa-māhātmya has been dealt with in chap. 14, wherein Sūta says : ' O best of the twice-born, a Brāhman is superior to (the members of) all castes. He is known to be a prop of all the gods, and is (identified with) the lord Nārāyaṇa . . . . . The man who licks a particle of water sticking to the feet of a Brāhman, gets rid of all sins (arising out)

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[1] See Bhūmi Kh., 98, 39, wherein the Bhāgavata Mantra ' oṃ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya ' has been given.

[2] Bhūmi Kh., 92.

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of the murder of Brāhmans, etc. . . . . By serving the feet of a twice-born a sonless woman is gifted with a son, and one, whose issue dies, bears living children. The holy places existing in the universe are found in a sea, and those in the latter exist at the feet of a twice-born.' All these are unmistakable stamps of a very late age. The inscriptional evidences show that the gifts of lamps to shrines became popular in Southern India from about the end of the ninth century A.D.[1] The birthday festival of Rādhā also indicates the late origin of the Khaṇḍa, there being no mention of the Rādhā-cult in the *Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, Harivaṃśa* and the earlier Purāṇas. 'Niṃbārka, probably in the twelfth century, regards Rādhā as the eternal consort of Kṛṣṇa, who, in his view, is not merely an incarnation of Viṣṇu, but the eternal Brahma. It was not until the sixteenth century that the sect of the Rādhāvallabhins, who attach great importance to the worship of Rādhā as Śakti, arose'.[2] The use of the Tulasī leaves in Viṣṇu-worship, the deification of the plant, and the undue glorification of the Brāhmans also point to a late date. Such a date is further supported by the fact that none of the Nibandha-writers are found to name or draw upon this Khaṇḍa. Its contents are, however, included in those of the so-called 'Svarga Khaṇḍa' given in the *Nāradīya P.* Hence its date cannot be placed later than 1400 A.D.

(4) *Pātāla Khaṇḍa.*[3] This Khaṇḍa begins with Śeṣa and Vātsyāyana as interlocutors, their interlocution being reported by Sūta to the sages.

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[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, III, 1894-95, pp. 281 and 284; V, pp. 42–44 and 104–106; VII, 1902-03, pp. 133f. and 138f.; and so on. JASB., Vol. LXXII, 1903, p. 120.

[2] Winternitz, *Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 568, footnote 3. Also Grierson in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, X, pp. 559f. Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 318.

[3] Though the Ānandāśrama ed. has 113 chapters in place of only 22 of the Vaṅgavāsī ed., their contents are in general the same. The cause of such variation in the number of chapters is that a good number of chapters of the Vaṅga. ed. have each been broken up into two or more chapters in the Ānandāśrama ed. The readings in the two editions agree closely, but the chapters in the Vaṅga. ed. have sometimes a few more verses than those in the Ānand. ed.

The Veṅkaṭ. ed. of the Pātāla Kh. contains 117 chapters, but its contents are on the whole the same as those of the Vaṅga. and Ānand. editions.

The Pātāla Kh. of the Bengal recension differs considerably from the printed editions. In MS. No. 1623 (Dacca University MSS. Library) there are practically four groups of chapters. Of these, chaps. 1–28, constituting the first group, deal with the description of the subterranean regions, the story of killing the demon Tripura, the legends of the kings of the Solar race, and especially the Rāma-legend. These chapters are not found in the printed editions. Chaps 29–96, forming the second group, tally generally with chaps. 1–68 of the Ānand. ed. Chaps. 97–99, constituting the third group, deal with the descendants of Rāma and with the

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At the very outset of this Khaṇḍa, the sages mention the Svarga Kh. as already listened to.[1] This shows that the Pātāla Kh. was preceded immediately by the Svarga Kh. and not by the Brahma Kh. as in the printed editions. That this Svarga Kh. is not the same as the 'Svarga Khaṇḍa' of the Vaṅga. and Veṅkaṭ. editions is shown by Vātsyāyana's enumeration of the topics dealt with in those parts of the *Padma P.* which preceded the Pātāla Khaṇḍa. These topics are: accounts of creation, destruction, etc. of the world; geography of the earth and the universe; the solar system; stories of kings; stories of the kings of the Solar race; and the story of Rāma and his horse-sacrifice. Of these the accounts of creation, destruction, etc. are to be found in the Sṛṣṭi Kh.; geography was dealt with in the Bhūmi Kh.; and the accounts of the solar system and the stories of kings occur in the Svarga Kh. of the Bengal recension.

The Pātāla Kh. consists of three distinct parts, viz.:

(A) chaps. 1–68—on Rāma's return from Laṅkā and celebration of the horse-sacrifice,

(B) chaps. 69–99—on Kṛṣṇa-carita, including Vaiśākha-māhātmya,

and (C) chaps. 100 to the end—on Rāma's life after the horse-sacrifice.

These three parts are quite unconnected and distinct in character, and deserve separate consideration.

(A) *Chaps. 1–98.* This portion of the Purāṇa is avowedly Rāmaite. It deifies Rāma and conceives him as Viṣṇu incarnate. Sītā is identified with Lakṣmī. The utterance of Rāma's name is said to be extremely sanctifying and capable of conferring final release.

In this portion there are a few chapters on Smṛti-matter; viz., chap. 9 (verses 40–63) deals with Varṇāśramadharma, chaps. 17–22 with holy places, and chap. 48 (verses 4–69) with the results of actions. These chapters and verses are found in the Bengal MSS. also.

Pātāla Kh., 1–68, do not seem to be of very early origin. The fact that in the Bengal MSS. of this Khaṇḍa the first twenty-eight chapters end with the passing of Rāma to heaven, indicates that the portion dealing with Rāma's celebration of the horse-sacrifice is the work of a different hand. Otherwise, the story of the sacrifice

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glories of the *Bhāgavata P.*, and are not found in the printed editions. Chaps. 100 to the end of the fourth group describe the Kṛṣṇa-legend and have their parallels in the printed editions.

[1] Cf. śrutaṃ sarvaṃ mahābhāga svarga-khaṇḍaṃ manoharaṃ |
—Pātāla Kh., 1, 2.

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would have preceded that of Rāma's climbing the heaven. Now, from the mention of the *Bhāgavata P.* in Pātāla, 10, 65, it seems that chaps. 1–68 were written later than the end of the sixth century A.D. The occurrence of the name of the Tulasī plant in more places than one and the reference to its worship, tend to assign a much later date to the chapters. It is highly probable that these chapters were added to Pātāla Kh. after the Muhammadans had come to India, because in Pātāla, 33, 43, the people are advised not to drink water from the wells of the Mlecchas. It is noteworthy in this connection that none of the verses quoted by the Nibandha-writers from the '*Padma P.*' is found in the present Pātāla Kh.

In chap. 66 the *Rāmāyaṇa* is said to consist of six Kāṇḍas—Bāla, Āraṇyaka, Kiṣkindhyā, Sundara, Yuddha and Uttara. The contents of each of these Kāṇḍas have also been given. The mention of the 'six Kāṇḍas' of the *Rāmāyaṇa* should not be taken to asssign Pātāla, 1–68, to an early date, because the Bāla-kāṇḍa includes the contents of the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa also.

(B) *Chaps. 69–99.* This portion, in which Sūta reports to the sages the interlocution between Śiva and Pārvatī on Kṛṣṇacarita, was certainly added later. At the beginning of the Pātāla Kh. Vātsyāyana requests Śeṣa to tell him elaborately about the celebration of the Aśvamedha sacrifice by Rāma, no mention being made of Kṛṣṇacarita.

In this portion Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā have been glorified. Here Kṛṣṇa has sometimes been identified with the supreme Brahma. He is Viṣṇu incarnate. His worship frees the worshipper of all sins and gives him final release. Rādhā is called Kṛṣṇa's Śakti. She is the 'avyayā mūla-prakṛti', of which Durgā and other goddesses are infinitesimal parts. 'Millions of Viṣṇus are born of the dust of her feet'. Vṛndāvana, the place of the love adventures of Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā and other Gopīs, is highly praised. It is said: 'Vṛndāvana is the most secret place in the world. It is holy and beautiful. It is the imperishable, blissful and eternal place of Govinda. It is not separate from his body and is the prop of the bliss of experiencing the supreme Brahma'. By these and similar other extravagant expressions Vṛndāvana has been equalled with the eternal abode of Viṣṇu.

Besides the stories and praises of gods and goddesses, there are a few chapters on Smṛti-topics, viz. chaps. 78-79 deal with the worship of Śālagrāma, chap. 80 with the worship of Viṣṇu, chaps. 81-82 with initiation, and chaps. 84–99 with the Vratas in the month of Vaiśākha.

Pātāla Kh., 69–99, seem to have come from a very late date. In connection with the description of Vṛndāvana, mention is made of

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the 'stealing of clothes' by Kṛṣṇa and the worship of the goddess Kātyāyanī by the Gopīs. This mention betrays the acquaintance of the author of these chapters with the *Bhāgavata P.* Further, in these chapters there are numerous traces of a developed Rādhā-cult. Indications of Tantricism here is also not negligible. The 'Tantras' and 'Āgamas' have been mentioned as authorities more than once; the Tantric Yantra has been recognized as one of the mediums of worship (Pātāla, 79, 1); and the use of the Tantric formulæ, Nyāsa, Mudrā, etc. has been ordained. The method of the worship (sādhana) of Kṛṣṇa, as laid down in chap. 83, wants that the worshipper should always consider himself a maiden fit for cohabitation with Kṛṣṇa. These facts considered together show that Pātāla, 69–99, are most probably to be dated not earlier than 900 A.D. These chapters are, of course, not later than 1400 A.D., for Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes numerous verses from chapters 84–94 and 96 in his *Haribhaktivilāsa* (published by Gurudas Chatterjee and Sons, Calcutta), and contents of these chapters are given in *Nāradīya P.*, I, 93.

(C) *Chaps. 100 to the end.* This portion, in which the interlocution between Śaṃkara (i.e. Śiva) and Rāma is reported by Sūta to the sages, was undoubtedly written by the Liṅga-worshippers. Though here the unity of Śiva and Viṣṇu in the form of Rāma is recognized and also often asserted, it is Śiva who is assigned a higher place. The Śaiva character of this portion is best shown by the facts that the method of Liṅga-worship has been given elaborately at several places and the glories of the ashes (bhasma) have been sung in many of the chapters.

In this portion chaps. 101 and 113 deal with funeral ceremonies; chap. 102 with the duties of women; chaps. 101, 105 and 110 with Liṅga-worship; chap. 108 with Vrata; and chap. 110 with Yuga-dharma.

The date of this portion of the Pātāla Kh. cannot be placed earlier than 800 A.D. In chap. 102, verses 1-2, the *Kūrma P.* has been mentioned as conferring devotion to Śiva, and in 110, 483 this Purāṇa has been prescribed to be read because it preaches the unity of Śiva and Viṣṇu. Such a character of the *Kūrma P.* and its prescription by the Liṅga-worshippers points to its Pāśupata character. As this portion does not seem to be earlier than chaps. 1–68, it should be dated later than 900 A.D.

In Pātāla Kh., 100, 44–50, the method of writing a few syllables is given in connection with copying the Purāṇas for the enhancement of one's religious merits. But this description should not be taken as basis for determining the date of Pātāla Kh., 100 to the end.

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(5) *Sṛṣṭi Khaṇḍa.*[1] This Khaṇḍa, which is assigned the fifth place in our edition, is really the first of the set. This position of the Khaṇḍa is betrayed by the mode of its beginning as well as by the sequence and contents of the five Parvans given in chap. 1.

This Khaṇḍa, as we have it now, can be rightly divided into two parts :

(1) chaps. 1–43 (verses 1–97),
and (2) chaps. 43 (verses 98f) to the end.

It will be seen hereinafter that the chapters of the second part were added to the Sṛṣṭi Kh. after the Muhammadans had established kingdoms in India. Hence the chapters of the first part, which are of earlier date, are examined first.

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[1] The Sṛṣṭi Kh. in Bengal MSS. consists only of 46 (or according to Aufrecht, 45) chapters. The corresponding chapters in a Bengal MS. (No. 1621, Dacca University MSS. Library) of this Khaṇḍa and the Ānand. ed. are given below :

MS. of Sṛṣṭi Kh.	*Ānand. ed.*
Chaps. 1–22	= Chaps. 1–22 respectively.
Chap. 23	= ,, 23 ; and 42, 1–63.
Chaps. 24–27	= Chap. 24, 64–277.
Chap. 28	= ,, 25, 8*b* to the end.
,, 29	= Chaps. 26-27.
Chaps. 30–35	= ,, 28–33 respectively.
Chap. 36	= Chap 34 (especially except verses 156–165).
Chaps. 37–38	= Chaps. 35-36 respectively.
Chap. 39	= Chaps. 37 ; and 38, 1.
,, 40	= Chap. 38, 2 to the end.
,, 41	= ,, 39 (especially except verses 15–31 and 95-96).
Chaps. 42-43	= ,, 40, 1–439*a*.
Chap. 44 (especially except verses 1–32)	= ,, 40, 439*b* to the end. ,, 41, 1–106.

Cf. Chaps. 45-46 with Chaps. 42-43.

The numbers of verses in these corresponding chapters very seldom agree. It is noteworthy that as regards the chapters borrowed from the *Matsya P.*, the MS. is at times more true to its original than the printed edition which appears to have undergone additions and losses.

The contents of the Vaṅga. ed. of the Sṛṣṭi Kh. are in general agreement with those of the Ānand. ed. except in that chaps. 80 and 81 (on the worship of the Moon and Mars) in the former edition are not found in the latter, and chaps. 30 and 31, 1–8 (on the origin and exploits of the goddess Kṣemaṅkarī) in the latter edition are not found in the former. There are, of course, variations in readings and numbers of verses in the corresponding chapters.

The Veṅkaṭ. ed. of this Khaṇḍa does not contain the story of Kṣemaṅkarī. It resembles much the Vaṅga. ed.

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A careful study of the chapters of the first part shows that they should be divided again into several groups ; viz.,

group 1—chaps. 1–18, 29 and 31 (verses 76 to the end) ;
group 2—chaps. 19–28, 32–42 and 43 (verses 1–97) ;
group 3—chap. 31 (verses 8*b*–75) ; also others like 20, 139*b*–143*a* ;
and group 4—chaps. 30 and 31 (verses 1–8).

The chapters of group 1, which begins with a verse extolling the holy waters of Puṣkara and mentioning Brahmā and the Vipras, constitute the nucleus of the present Sṛṣṭi Kh. This section of the Khaṇḍa was written, or rather compiled, by the Brahmā-worshippers. It contains an interesting story which is important in this that it throws light on the contemporary state of Brahmā-worship as well as on the motive with which the Brahmā-worshippers set to write this part of the work. The story says that once Brahmā instituted at Puṣkara a pompous sacrifice which was attended and contributed to by all the gods. When everything was ready and the time for initiation was drawing near, a priest invited Sāvitrī, the wife of Brahmā, to come to the sacrificial hall. But Sāvitrī was engaged in managing household affairs. She declined to go until her work was finished and the goddesses turned up to accompany her. The priest, therefore, returned to Brahmā and told him what Sāvitrī had said. Brahmā was angry and asked Indra to procure a second wife for him. Consequently Indra brought in Gāyatrī, an Ābhīra girl. Then Sāvitrī came to the place in company with the goddesses and found Gāyatrī. She got angry and cursed Brahmā saying that the people would not worship him at any time throughout the whole year except only once in the month of Kārttika.[1] She also cursed Gāyatrī and the gods and goddesses present, and went away. Then, Gāyatrī rose up and gave a boon to Brahmā that those people, who would worship him, would have enough of worldly prosperity in this life and attain final emancipation in the end.[2] She granted boons to the other gods and goddesses also.

The above story shows that the motive of the Brahmā-worshippers was to revive Brahmāism which was in a decadent state. Many of the worshippers of Brahmā accepted Śaivism,[3] and the worship of the god was growing obsolete. The Brahmā-worshippers, therefore, fabricated stories to extol Brahmā and his worship and to explain

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[1] Sṛṣṭi Kh., 17, 152-153.
[2] *Ibid.*, 17, 260-261.
[3] Cf. Sṛṣṭi Kh., 14, 133*a*—' koṭyāḥ śataṃ tu viprāṇām uddhartāsi mahādyute ' —addressed by Brahmā to Śiva. ' Vipras ' are the worshippers of Brahmā.

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away the growing unpopularity of the worship of the god by ascribing it to the curse of Sāvitrī. They also borrowed a number of chapters from the *Matsya* and the *Viṣṇu P.* In these chapters they substituted the names of other gods with those of Brahmā and made similar other changes in order that these borrowed chapters might serve their sectarian end. The chapters borrowed from the *Matsya P.* have already been enumerated.[1] Those taken from the *Viṣṇu P.* are given below :

Padma P. (*Sṛṣṭi Kh.*).		*Viṣṇu P.* (*Vaṅga. ed.*).
2, 83 to the end (except a few lines)	=	I, 2, verses 10–13*a*, 14*b*, 33*b* and 34 to the end.
3, 1–20*a*	=	I, 3 (except a good number of verses).
3, 20*b*–52	=	I, 4 (except a good number of verses).
3, 53–116	=	I, 5, 4*b* to the end.
3, 117–155*a*	=	I, 6.
3, 155*b*–188*a*.	=	I, 7.
3, 188*b* to the end	=	I, 8, 1–13.
4, 1 and 4–83*a*	=	I, 8, 14 ; and I, 9, 1–38*a*, 66*b* and 76–113*a*.
13, 348-349*a*, 350*b*, 352–363 and 364*b*–376	=	III, 17, 41-42*a* ; and III, 18, 1*a*, 2–6*a*, 7–17, 19 and 23–29.

[These chapters vary more or less in the numbers of verses. The Vaṅga. ed. is often more faithful to its original than the Ānand. ed.]

The chapters in group 2 are different from those in group 1 in general character, some being Vaiṣṇava, some Rāmaite, and some Śaiva. A good number of these chapters have been borrowed from the *Matsya P.*, but they do not show any traces of the attempt of the Brahmā-worshippers to adapt them to their purpose. Hence it can be little doubted that the chapters of the second group were added to the Sṛṣṭi Kh. by some people other than the Brahmā-worshippers. These chapters, being rooted in those of group 1 and frequently referring to the events and stories in the latter, are certainly later in date. Their comparatively late date is further established by the story of king Śveta (in 33, 85f) which is different from that in chap. 31 (104f) of the first group.

The portions of chapters constituting the third group are the works of those Brahmā-worshippers who were influenced by Tantricism, for the method of Brāhmī initiation (dīkṣā) described in Sṛṣṭi Kh.,

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[1] See my essay on the *Matsya P.* in ABORI., Vol. XVII, 1935-36, pp. 1f.

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31, 8*b*–75, is highly Tantric. This method of initiation stands in great contrast with that briefly described in chap. 15 (verses 96f) of group 1. This latter form of initiation is to be carried out 'after the Vedic method' (vedoktena vidhānena), and it is free from Tantric influence. The fact that there is no Tantric element either in the above-mentioned chapter or in others proves the comparatively late date of the sections in the third group. The occurrence of some of these sections in the chapters of group 2 shows that the former are later than the latter.

The chapters forming the fourth group deal with the origin and exploits of Kṣemaṅkarī, a Śākta deity on the Puṣkara hills. They are, therefore, the works of a Śākta hand. Their absence from the Vaṅga. and Veṅkaṭ. editions tends to prove their comparatively recent origin.

From the above discussion about the different groups of chapters constituting the first part it follows that the Sṛṣṭi Kh. was first written, or compiled, by the Brahmā-worshippers; it was then taken up by some non-Brāhmas who added to it many new chapters; next, the Tantric Brāhmas interpolated some verses or groups of verses; and last of all, the Śāktas made further additions.

As to the dates of these chapters it can be said that those of group 1 were written most probably not earlier than 600 A.D. Those chapters (viz. 16–22) of the *Matsya P.*, which have been borrowed in this group, cannot reasonably be dated earlier than 400 A.D.[1] Moreover, the decadent state of Brahmāism which is indicated by the chapters of this group, points to a period later than that of Varāhamihira, during whose time the Brahmā-sect was still a living one. Therefore, 600 A.D. may be taken to be the upper limit of the date of the chapters of the aforesaid group. As verses have been quoted from chap. 10 in the *Smṛti-tattva* of Raghunandana, from chap. 15 in the *Kṛtyācāra* of Śrīdatta Upādhyāya, from chap. 31 in the *Kṛtya-ratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara, from chaps. 10, 15 and 31 in the *Dānasāgara* of Ballālasena, from chap. 7 in the *Smṛti-candrikā* of Devaṇabhaṭṭa, from chap. 10 in the *Hāralatā* of Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, and from chaps. 8 and 31 in Aparārka's commentary on *Yājñavalkya* (see Appendix), it is sure that the chapters of the first group were written earlier than 950 A.D. Again, the date of the chapters of the second group also cannot be placed later than 950 A.D., because Raghunandana quotes a number of verses from chap. 20 in his *Smṛti-tattva*, Vidyākara Vājapeyin from the same chapter in his *Nityācārapaddhati*, Mādhavācārya from chap. 27 in his commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, Śrīdatta Upādhyāya from chap. 20 in his

[1] See my essay on the *Matsya P.* in ABORI.

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Kṛtyācāra, Ballālasena from chaps. 37 and 42 in his *Adbhutasāgara*,[1] Aparārka from chap. 20 in his com. on *Yāj.*, and Jīmūtavāhana from chap. 27 in his *Kālaviveka* (see Appendix). Therefore, the chapters constituting the first and second groups are to be dated between 600 and 950 A.D. If a gap of at least 50 years be allowed between the dates of the chapters of the two groups, then the chapters of the first group should be dated between 600 and 750 A.D., and those of the second between 800 and 950 A.D. It is, however, highly probable that the former were written in the latter half of the seventh and the latter in the former half of the eighth century A.D.

The chapters of the third and fourth groups, being later than those of the first two, cannot reasonably be dated earlier than about 850 A.D. As no Nibandha-writer has been found to draw upon them, it is difficult to say anything about the lower limit.

Chaps. 43 (verses 98f) to the end, which, according to our division, form the second part of the work, are not found in the Bengal MSS. So their late date can be well understood. These chapters were written and added to the Sṛṣṭi Kh. after the Muhammadans had established kingdoms in India. These foreigners have been called kings [2] and scornfully described more than once under the names 'Turuṣka', 'Mleccha' and 'Yavana'.[3] The descriptions are undoubtedly aimed at the Muhammadans who 'polluted' the society and the land of the Hindus by their contact and slaughter of cows. Hence the date of composition of this part of the Sṛṣṭi Kh. can by no means be placed earlier than 1000 A.D. Such a late date is supported by the contents also, which are replete with Tantric elements. The Āgamas have many times been mentioned as authorities along with the Vedas and the Purāṇas; the Tulasī plant has been glorified in highly extravagant language; and so on.

The Sṛṣṭi Kh., with its latest additions, were, however, practically complete before 1400 A.D., because the contents of this Khaṇḍa given in *Nāradīya P.*, I, 93, are exactly the same as those of our edition. Isolated verses might, of course, have been inserted here

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[1] In connection with the quotations the following stories of the *Padma P.* have been mentioned in the *Adbhutasāgara*—

(1) Hiraṇyakaśipu-vadha—(*Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 20, 32, 50, etc.).
(2) Tārakāmaya yuddha—(*Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 319, 332, 358, etc.).
(3) Deva-parājaya—(*Adbhutasāgara*, p. 409).

These stories occur in the Sṛṣṭi Kh.

[2] Sṛṣṭi Kh., 74, 51—nṛpā mlecchāḥ.
[3] *Ibid.*, 44, 71–78; 58, 91-92 and 94; and 74.

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and there in this Khaṇḍa even after 1400 A.D., but those are not many and important.

(6) *Uttara Khaṇḍa.*[1] This Khaṇḍa is a conglomeration of legends and glorifications, some of which appear as independent works in MSS.[2] It also contains a few chapters on marriage, gifts, worship, vows, and the duties of the castes and the Āśramas.

In spite of its big volume, this Khaṇḍa does not seem to contain even a single chapter which can claim an early origin. On the other hand, stamps of late age are discernible at every step. For instance, the famous list of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu including the Buddha and Kalki occurs in more places than one,[3] showing its well-established character. The Tulasī plant is not only mentioned and glorified in the majority of the chapters but also deified. A Vrata called the Tulasī-trirātri-vrata is described, and long stories about the origin of the goddess Tulasī are given. The *Bhāgavata P.* is mentioned in 63, 55 and glorified in chaps. 190f. The worship of the five deities (pañcāyatana-pūjā) of the Smārtas is referred to in one place (viz. 90, 63) and included among the daily duties of the people in another (viz. 233, 41). The *Kūrma P.* is included among the Tāmasa Purāṇas glorifying Śiva.[4] There are also marks of Tantric influence, so much so that the Tantras and Āgamas are regarded as authorities and Tantric mantras are prescribed.

The above internal evidences, considered together, show that the Uttara Kh. can scarcely be earlier than 900 A.D. This late date of the Khaṇḍa seems to be supported by the fact that none of the verses quoted in the early Nibandhas from the '*Padma P.*' or '*Pādma*' is traceable in it.

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[1] The MS. (No. 1624, Dacca University MSS. Library) of the Uttara Kh. does not always agree with the Ānand. ed. The arrangement of its chapters is quite different, and it contains a few chapters which are not found in the printed editions. In the common chapters also there are variations in readings, numbers of verses, and interlocutors.

This MS. has preserved the marks of the interfering hands of the Rādhāvallabhins and the followers of Madhva and Rāmānuja. For instance, in chap. 106 the sect-mark of the Rādhāvallabhins is mentioned more than once; in chaps. 162-163 the worship of Rādhā is treated of; in chap. 101 the four Vaiṣṇava sects including Śrī and Mādhvī are mentioned (ataḥ kalau bhaviṣyanti catvāraḥ saṃpradāyinaḥ | śrī-mādhvī-rudra-sanakā vaiṣṇavāḥ kṣiti-pāvanāḥ ||) ; and in chap. 78 there is mention of the method of initiation introduced by Rāmānuja (śrīmad-rāmānuja-dīkṣā-vidhānaṃ vidhipūrvakaṃ | kathitaṃ ..... ||).

[2] For example, independent MSS. of the Bhāgavata-māhātmya and Māgha-māhātmya are sometimes found. These Māhātmyas, however, derive their authority from the *Padma P.*

[3] Uttara Kh., 31, 13-14; 68, 51; 72, 27; 72, 279 and 283; 76, 9–11; and 257, 40-41.

[4] Uttara Kh., 263, 81.

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That the Uttara Kh. is not a unified work, scarcely requires any evidence to prove. The appearance of some of its parts in independent MSS. shows that these parts did not originally belong to the Khaṇḍa. Further, in the marginal notes in a MS. of the *Yathārthamañjarī*[1] it is written that according to a Purāṇācārya named Narasiṃha Ṭhakkura, Madhvācārya wrote three hundred verses on the denouncement of the ashes and the Rudrākṣas and added them to the Uttara Kh.[2] Though the absence of such verses subjects the above information to doubts, there is a chapter (263) which seems to have been interpolated by some person belonging to the Śrī or Mādhva sect. In this chapter the Pāṣaṇḍins, including especially the Śiva-worshippers, have been described and the Māyāvāda (of Śaṃkarācārya) has been denounced as Pracchanna Bauddha (i.e. Buddhist in disguise). This chapter, however, cannot be dated later than 1500 A.D., because Vijñāna Bhikṣu (middle of the sixteenth century) quotes in his *Sāṃkhyapravacana-bhāṣya* (published by Vidyā Vilāsa Press, Benares) those verses from this chapter which contain the above-mentioned denouncement (see Appendix).

Though the Uttara Kh. was open to additions and modifications down to a very recent date,[3] it seems to have attained practically its present contents earlier than 1500 A.D. Vācaspatimiśra, Govindānanda, Raghunandana, Gopālabhaṭṭa and Vijñāna Bhikṣu quote verses from some of the chapters of this Khaṇḍa (see Appendix); the contents of the 'Uttara Kh.' as given in *Nāradīya P.*, I, 93, seem to tally with those of the Ānand. ed.; and there is a MS. of the Māgha-māhātmya[4] which is dated 1311 Śaka.

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[1] MS. No. 4093, dated 1734 Śaka, Dacca Univ. MSS. Lib. The author is Śrītīrtha-svāmin, or Rāmānanda-tīrtha according to R. L. Mitra's Notices of Sanskrit MSS., L. 1017.

[2] tarhi pādmīya-dvitīyottara-khaṇḍe yad bhasma-rudrākṣa-nindā tat-khaṇḍīya-triśata-ślokānāṃ madhvācārya-kṛtatvaṃ purāṇācārya-narasiṃha-ṭhakkureṇa likhitaṃ ..... *Yathārtha-mañjarī*, fol. 5*b*.

asminneva khaṇḍe kalau śiva-pūjāyām abhiśāpo likhitaḥ | ataḥ pūrvāparāsaṃlagnatvād asmin khaṇḍe triśata-ślokā madhvācārya-kṛtā iti narasiṃhena likhitaṃ.—*Yathārtha-mañjarī*, fol. 67*b*.

[3] This is best shown by the untraceable quoted verses and by a comparison between the printed text of the Uttara Kh. and that preserved in Bengal MSS.

[4] MS. No. 931, Dacca Univ. MSS. Lib. It was brought to my notice by Mr. Subodh Chandra Banerjee, M.A., who is now in charge of the MSS. Library.

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Appendix

Verses quoted from the '*Padma Purāṇa*' or the '*Pādma*' in

I

1. *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* of Vācaspatimiśra, *Padma P.* (*Ādi Kh.*)
   - pp. 18–23 = 43, 49. The other verses are not found.
   - p. 47 = 43, 22f.
2. *Haribhaktivilāsa* of Gopālabhaṭṭa,
   - p. 26 = 31, 114–116.
   - p. 108 = 31, 103.
   - p. 136 (twice) = 31, 55*b*-56. 31, 54-55*a* and 57-58. The line 'yāmyaṃ hi yātanā, etc.' is not found.
   - p. 215 = 31, 81–85.
   - p. 311 = 31, 96–98.
   - p. 428 = 31, 149-150.
   - p. 451 = 31, 140-141 and 143.
   - p. 478 = 31, 112.
   - p. 529 = 31, 101 and 108.
   - p. 545 = 31, 102 and 104-105.
   - p. 599 = 31, 99.
   - pp. 768-769 = 31, 154, 158-159 and 165.
   - p. 835 = 31, 163.

Though the above verses quoted by Vācaspatimiśra and Gopālabhaṭṭa from the *Padma P.* are traceable in Ādi Kh., chaps. 31 and 43, it is highly probable that they drew upon Uttara Kh., chaps. 243–246, in which all the verses of Ādi Kh., chap. 31, and a few of those of Ādi Kh., chap. 43, are found.

II

1. *Haribhaktivilāsa* of Gopālabhaṭṭa, *Padma P.* (*Pātāla Kh.*)
   - p. 22 = 93, 26.
   - p. 38 = 84, 48 and 52-53.
   - p. 118 = 92, 11.
   - p. 139 = 89, 12–16*a* and 20*b*–23.
   - p. 150 = 87, 29 and 32.
   - p. 165 = 94, 7*b*-8*a*.
   - p. 166 = 89, 17*b*–19*a*.
   - p. 357 = 94, 4*a* and 5*b*.
   - p. 359 = 94, 6-7*a*.
   - p. 367 = 94, 9*b*–11*a*.
   - p. 464 = 94, 4*b*-5*a* and 8*b*-9*a*.
   - p. 499 = 88, 8.
   - p. 529 (twice) = 88, 21.—The line 'bhavyāni bhūtāni, etc.' is not found.
   - pp. 549f. = 94, 55 and 76. 96, 4-5. The other lines are not found.
   - p. 552 = 94, 56.
   - p. 553 = 96, 2*a* and 3.
   - p. 554 = 84, 37.
   - p. 642 (twice) = 84, 40 and 72. 93, 28.
   - p. 655 (twice) = 87, 22 and 8. 92, 13 and 16.
   - p. 672 = 84, 45.
   - p. 676 .. cf. 88, 4.
   - p. 679 = 92, 12.
   - p. 684 = 92, 15.
   - p. 700 = 85, 25.
   - p. 715 = 85, 32.
   - p. 769 (thrice) = 92, 24-25*a*. 92, 26 and 34*b*-35. 92, 36*b*–41*a*.

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p. 917 (thrice) = 89, 45–47, 50-51*a* and 54–56*a*.
91, 23 and 26.
p. 918 = 85, 54-55 and 62–65.
The line 'avaiśākhī bhavecchākhī, etc.' is not found.
pp. 919-920 = 85, 67 and 70.
86, 13–16.
85, 66.
89, 48-49.
91, 21*b*-22 and 24-25.
pp. 920-921 = 86, 17; (two lines 'ambarīṣa, etc.' and 'tat prātar mādhave, etc.' are not found).
89, 52, 44, 59*b*-60 and 61*b*–64.
p. 921 = 91, 11 and 17*b*-18*a*.
89, 4–12.
p. 922 = 91, 14–16.
p. 923 = 85, 42–44.
pp. 931–933 = 94, 28*b*-29*a* and 30.
94, 36*b*–39*a*, 72-73, 88*b*–90*a* and 18–20*a*.

III

1. *Kālaviveka* of Jīmutavāhana, *Padma P.* (*Sṛṣṭi Kh.*)
p. 51 = 27, 70-71.
p. 390 = 27, 75.

2. Aparārka's com. on *Yāj.*,
p. 138 = 20, 164*b*-165*a*.
p. 306 = 31, 138*a*.
p. 570 = 8, 66-67*a*.

3. *Hāralatā* of Aniruddhabhaṭṭa,
p. 199 = 10, 13*b*.
There is also reference to *Padma P.* (Sṛṣṭi Kh.), 10, 15–20*a*, in which the Pārvatīyas and the gifts of beds have been mentioned.

4. *Dānasāgara* of Ballālasena,
fol. 18*b* = 10, 16*b*–18*a*.
,, 154*a* = 15, 140*b*-141*a*.
,, 239*a* = 31, 149.

5. *Adbhutasāgara* of Ballālasena,
p. 20 .. cf. 42, 128*b*.
p. 23 = 42, 129*b*.
p. 50 = 42, 130
p. 290 = 42, 129*a*.
p. 319 (twice) = 37, 134 and 133*b*.
p. 320 = 42, 140*a*.
p. 332 = 37, 131*a*.
p. 336 = 42, 134*a*.
p. 358 = 37, 128-129*a*.
p. 409 = 37, 164*b*.
p. 412 = 42, 139*b*.
p. 426 = 42, 137-138*a*.
p. 443 = 42, 135*b*-136*a*.
p. 446 = 42, 140*b*-141*a*.
p. 461 = 42, 142*b*-143*a*.
p. 701 = 37, 130.

6. *Smṛti-candrikā* of Devaṇabhaṭṭa,
I, 45-46 = 7, 41–46 and 48*a*.

7. *Kṛtyācāra* of Śrīdatta Upādhyāya,
fol. 27*b*-28*a* = 20, 145–157*a*.
The line 'āruhya mama gātrāṇi, etc.' is not found.
fol. 51*a*-*b* = 20, 159–170*a*.
,, 57*a* = 20, 170*b*–177*a*.
,, 67*b* = 15, 140*b*-141*a*.

8. *Kṛtya-ratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara,
fol. (?) = 31, 77*b*–80.

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9. Mādhavācārya's com. of the *Parāśara-smṛti*, Vol. II, part ii—
pp. 219-220 = 27, 50 and 53.

10. *Nityācāra-paddhati* of Vidyākara Vājapeyin,
p. 72 = 20, 146*a*.
p. 210 = 20, 163-164*a*.

11. *Smṛti-tattva* of Raghunandana,
Vol. I, p. 359 = 20, 145–157*a*. The line 'āruhya mama, etc.' is not found.
pp. 372-373 = 20, 159–170*a*.
p. 394 = 20, 170*b*–176.
Vol. II, p. 338 = 10, 13*b*-14*a*.

IV

1. *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* of Vācaspatimiśra, *Padma P.* (*Uttara Kh.*)
pp. 18–23 = 246, 51f.
p. 26 = 246, 43.
p. 27 = 246, 60*b*-61*a*.

2. *Varṣakriyā-kaumudī* of Govindānanda,
p. 491 = 25, 16*b*-17*a* (=246, 6). The other quoted verse is not found.
p. 492 = 246, 19*b*-21*a*. The first one of the quoted verses is not found.
p. 494 = 246, 43. The first two of the quoted verses are not found.

3. *Smṛti-tattva* of Raghunandana,
Vol. I, p. 148 = 242, 29; and 246, 19*b*–21*a*. The other verses are not found.
p. 397 = 122, 35*b*-36*a* (= 245, 67).
p. 456 = 122, 38*b* (= 245, 69*a*). The second of the quoted lines is not found.
p. 673 = 88, 15*b*–18.
Vol. II, p. 363 = 245, 79.

4. *Sāṃkhyapravacana-bhāṣya* of Vijñāna Bhikṣu,
pp. 5-6 = 263, 66–75*a*.
p. 23 = 263, 70*b*-71*a* and 74*b*.

5. *Haribhaktivilāsa* of Gopālabhaṭṭa,
p. 26 = 245, 40–42.
p. 101 = 72, 100.
p. 108 = 245, 29*b*–30*a*.
p. 136 (twice) = 244, 68*b*–70*a*. 244, 66*b*–68*a* and 70*b*–72*a*.
p. 215 = 245, 6–9 and 11.
p. 311 = 245, 23–25.
p. 359 = 244, 8.
p. 363 = 244, 11 and 13.
p. 428 = 245, 83-84. 249, 110.
p. 451 = 245, 69 and 76-77.
p. 463 = 244, 1–6 and 9-10.
p. 529 = 245, 28*a-b*, 34 and 37. The verse 'na śūdrā, etc.' is not found.
p. 545 = 245, 28*c*, 29*a* and 30*b*–31.
p. 599 = 245, 26.
p. 671 = 72, 98-99.
p. 768 = 245, 88 and 92-93.

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p. 823 = 38, 22.
The verse 'stuvanti na praśaṃsanti, etc.' is not found.

p. 835 = 245, 97-98*a*.
p. 862 = 38, 2, 3*a* and 5-21*a*.
A few lines disagree.

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BODH-GAYĀ SCULPTURES

By B. M. BARUA

Now that Dr. Coomaraswamy's illustrated monograph—*La Sculpture De Bodhgayā* (1935), Ars Asiatica series, No. 18, is published, there being hardly more than one copy of it available yet in Calcutta, and it contains all the suggestions offered by the author himself and the authorities cited by him—Cunningham, Foucher, Bachhofer, Kramrisch, and Chanda, for a correct interpretation and identification of the Jātakas as represented by the sculptures of Bodh-Gayā, it is just the time when I should reconsider my position in respect of those very sculptures. This is necessitated by reason of the fact that Dr. Coomaraswamy's monograph and my *Gayā And Buddha-Gayā*, Vol. II, (1934), included in the Fine Arts series of the Indian Research Institute, were published almost simultaneously, with the result that we had no opportunity of profiting by each other's contribution. The differences that are between the two works mainly concern the reading of the details of the Jātaka scenes and the identification of their subjects with the Buddhist stories that are known through literature. In other words, the discussion which I am raising here touches only the iconography of the sculptures concerned and not the standard of Buddhist plastic art attained in and through them.

In dealing with these very sculptures I should just remind the reader of the fact that they belong chronologically to two different periods of time, and are carved on two different kinds of stone: sandstone and granite. The first or earlier period is represented by the smaller sandstone railing erected in the 1st century B.C., and the second or later period by the granite additions made when the present railing was erected on a much wider plinth around the Bodh-Gayā temple under the auspices, as Hwen Thsang tells us, of king Pūrṇavarman (in the 7th century A.D.). Out of all the Jātaka sculptures that now survive, only one belongs to the second period, and the rest to the first. According to Cunningham's own statement, three of the railing pillars were 'taken to Kensington' and three or four 'to Calcutta' (Mahābodhi, p. 22), though only one pillar is actually preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington. The remaining pillars are all *in situ*. The pillar exhibited in the Victoria and Albert Museum is singularly important as bearing two sculptures, each of which seems to illustrate a Buddhist story.

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After Rajendra Lala Mitra, Cunningham and Bloch, stands the name of M. Foucher as the Indologist and art-critic who essayed to correctly identify the subject-matter of some of the Bodh-Gayā sculptures left unidentified by the previous scholars. And to him is due the credit of a correct identification of a scene of the *Kacchapa-Jātaka* (F. 215), and of one of the three scenes of the *Padakusalamānava* (F. 432). The rest of the suggestions put forward by M. Foucher are open to serious criticism, and as will be shown anon, unacceptable. The same remark holds true in the case of Bachhofer who identifies the figure of a *yakṣa* with that of Indra, disguised as a Brāhmaṇa with a bunch of *kuśa* grass. Dr. Coomaraswamy and Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda may independently claim the credit of explaining the action of two human hands offering food and water to a saintly man in the light of a story in the *Dhammapada-Commentary*. The remaining sculptures are either left unidentified or only some doubtful suggestions are offered by Dr. Coomaraswamy, the result, on the whole, being far below the expectation. The illustrations in his monograph are apparently superb but, in places, unreliable due to too much of retouching the photographs upon which they are based. Now, I shall take up the sculptures for reconsideration, one by one, doing full justice to the contributions made by me and other scholars.

1. Barua, Fig. (43(i); Coomaraswamy, Pl. X, Photo 7, Inner Face: Rajendra Lala Mitra correctly interpreted the figure as a representation of Centaur (Indian *Dhanu*). See his *Buddha Gayā*, p. 154. But he failed to call attention to the representations of other Signs of the Zodiac along with those of the *Nakṣatras* that were in duplicates, nor do I know of any other scholar who noticed them before the publication of my monograph. In this respect Coomaraswamy's work marks no advance at all.

2. B., Fig. 42; C., Pl. LIII, 2, Photo 64: From Cunningham and Mitra to Kramrisch and Coomaraswamy, those who have discussed the representation of Sūrya have not noticed that here the chariot is decisively fitted with one wheel and Sūrya himself does not figure in a human form. He is represented symbolically by a disc placed under an umbrella. The disc serves as 'the back framing of the chariot', while Cunningham took it to be an umbrella (*Buddha Gayā*, pp. 161-2; A.S.I., 1871-72, p. 97). For the oldest known human figuration of Sūrya one must look back to the Barhut soldier-like figure (Barua, *Barhut*, Bk. III, Pl. LXII, Fig. 71; Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharhut*, Pl. XXXIII, 1). The Barhut figure is identified for the first time in my *Barhut*, Bk. II, pp. 68–70.

3. B., Fig. 54; C., Pl. LI, 2, Photo 10: This is the well-known

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scene of purchase of Jetavana by Anāthapiṇḍika with a layer of crores which was correctly identified by Cunningham.

4. B., Fig. 55 ; C., Pl. XLVII, 1. Photo 3 : This admittedly depicts a scene of the introductory episode of the *Sakkapañha-Suttanta* in which Śakra's harper Pañcaśikha is deputed by Śakra, to wait upon the Buddha at the Indraśāla (Hwen Thsang's Indraśaila) cave. The scene was convincingly identified by Cunningham.

5. B., Fig. 73 (*a*) ; C., Pl. XLVII, 2, Photo 6 : It is certain that this cannot be taken to represent a sequel to the story of Sonaka (F. 529, Fig. 73). Here, as Coomaraswamy correctly describes, an ordinary type of rocky cave, vacant inside, approached by too richly dressed persons with joined hands. In the photograph, the inside of the cave shows a shadowy human figure, which is entirely due to the action of rain-water. If it be a 'feeble relief', as conjectured by Coomaraswamy, there will be no difficulty in representing the cave as one in which the Bodhisattva left a shadow of his figure [1] 'to appease' the Nāgarāja who did not like the idea of his leaving him. Even leaving the shadowy apparition out of consideration, one must respectfully consider Coomaraswamy's suggestion. For the cave appears to us to be one which was tenanted at the time by the Buddha. According to the Buddhist legend which Coomaraswamy seems to have in his view, a 'mountain *deva*' and a '*deva* of the Pure Abode' urged the Bodhisattva to leave the Prāgbodhi hill as it was not 'the place for a Tathāgata to perfect supreme wisdom'.[2] The real objection to the proposed connection of the bas-relief with the legend of the Prāgbodhi hill lies in the fact that the legend itself, though recorded by Fa-Hien and Hwen Thsang, cannot be traced in any earlier literary tradition, whether in Pāli or in Sanskrit. Further, according to the Prāgbodhi legend, there should appear three persons, including the Nāgarāja who was the centre of interest, and all in a conversational posture, while the gait of the two persons clearly indicates that the cave was approached by them. One may, perhaps, better interpret the scene as a sequel to the story of the *Indraśāla-guhā* in which Śakra is expected to have come to the cave together with the gods of the Heaven of the Thirty-three. The sculptor would be perfectly justified in representing Śakra as accompanied by his charioteer Mātalī, leaving aside other gods. The difference in representation of the cave from that in B., Fig. 55, C., Pl. XLVII, 1, may also be explained by the Sakkapañha legend which relates that with the advent of Śakra

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[1] *La Sculpture de Bodhgayā*, p. 37.

[2] Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, pp. Lxi-Lxii; Vol. II, pp. 114-115; Barua, *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, Vol. I, pp. 158-159.

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and other gods of the Heaven of the Thirty-three, the *Indraśāla* cave assumed altogether a new aspect: 'All that was uneven became even, all that was narrow became spacious, darkness disappeared, light appeared'.[1] At all events, I have nothing better to suggest at present. See Fig. 1.

6. B., Fig. 56; C., Pl. LI, Photo 9: M. Foucher proposes to identify the scene with that of the homage rendered by Śuddhodana to the Buddha, his son, on the latter's visit to Kapilavāstu.[2] Coomaraswamy admits the plausibility of the suggestion made.[3] But how the scene could be connected with the story of Śuddhodana's homage to the Buddha on the latter's visit to Kapilavāstu? Here is a tree, under which the Buddha remained seated. A man is performing an act of adoration in a kneeling posture under battlements, while above the battlements is to be seen a *Suparṇa* or *Garuḍa* flying towards the tree with a garland in hands. The kneeling posture of the man agrees more with that of Erāpata of the Barhut sculpture (Barua, *Barhut*, Bk. III, Pl. LXI; Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharhut*, Pl. XIV) than with that of Ajātaśatru (Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharhut*, Pl. XVI). The story of Śuddhodana's homage does not explain why the Buddha should be seen seated under a tree. My suggestion on the point is: 'The tree shown with the vacant seat at its foot is not technically the Bo-tree of Buddha Śākyamuni with whose life the scene is connected. It is some other tree, the spot of which became a definite scene of action. If it is a *Śirīṣa* (acacia), the scene is no other than that of homage paid by the Nāga-king Elāpatra to Buddha[4] and the tree itself is no other than the lordly acacia on the bank of a river; and if it is a *Nyagrodha* (banyan), the scene is no other than that of supplication of Brahmā to Buddha .... and the tree is no other than the Neatherd's Banyan (*Ajapāla-nyagrodha*) at the foot of which the action took place' (*Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, II, p. 105). The objection to the first suggestion is that the kneeling man is without a snake-hood on his head, and the weak point in both the suggestions is that neither of them explains the fact of adoration of the Buddha by a *Suparṇa*. But this may be regarded as mere conventional, cf. B., Fig. 11; C., Pl. LX. The battlements may be taken to indicate the embankment of the river on the bank of which the tree stood.

7. C., Pl. XXXVII, Left side: Unfortunately I could not examine this interesting bas-relief before the publication of my

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[1] *Dīgha-nikāya*, II, *Tena kho pana samayena Indasāla-guhā visamā santi samā samapādi, sambādhā santi uruddhā samapādi, andhakāro guhāyaṃ antaradhāyi, āloko udapādi yathā taṃ devānaṃ devânubhāvena.*

[2] *Memoires concernant l'Asie Orientale*, III, 1918, p. 10.

[3] *La sculpture*, p. 39.

[4] Stella Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture.*

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monograph. Here, as Coomaraswamy accurately describes, is a tree enclosed by a wall and approached by three devotees with joined hands. He notices some resemblance between it and the Sānchī scene of the Buddha's visit to Kapilavāstu.[1] I am inclined to think that here is nothing but a scene of the worship of a sacred tree, which may be rendered explicable by the Birth-story called *Palāsa-Jātaka* (F. 307). See Fig. 2.

8. B., Fig. 57 ; C., Pl. XLIX, 5 : This, according to M. Foucher, depicts a scene of the First Meditation of the Bodhisattva under a *Jambu* tree during the Plough festival of the Śākyas (*Memoires*, p. 10). But where is the *Jambu* or rose-apple tree to justify Foucher's identification ? The plants that appear in the bas-relief are not trees at all. There is nothing as yet to alter or modify my interpretation of the scene as one of the story of the Buddha and a ploughman as contained in the *Sutta-nipāta Commentary* (pp. 511-512).[2]

9. B., Fig. 61 ; C., Pl. XXXVII, Right side : I cannot see eye to eye with M. Foucher who sees in it a scene of the story of the *Chaddanta-Jātaka* (*Memoires*, p. 10). Going by his opinion, one has to interpret the main action as the return of the hunter with the tusks of the elephant to the royal palace of the king of Benares. Coomaraswamy's objections are sufficient to falsify the truth in the suggestion. The queen who is the cause of the whole drama is altogether absent from the scene of action.[3] A man sits behind the throne and the king with his two hands half raised. It is not surely the tusk of an elephant that the man in front of the king carries on his shoulder. The object is a plough with the yoke, and the story illustrated, as I still maintain, is no other than that of the *Somadatta-Jātaka* (F. 211). See Figs. 3 (*a*), (*b*).

10. B., Fig. 76; C., Pl. VI, outer face, Pl. XLVIII. 1, Photo 2: Here, again, Coomaraswamy himself inclines to detect a scene of the Chaddanta Jātaka. In this bas-relief he sees an elephant who is a tusker and a man who stands before the elephant with an object which is at once flat and curved. The trained eye of Coomaraswamy ought not to have missed the harp (*vīṇā*), the forepart of which now remains visible. This *vīṇā* is the magical harp (Burlingame's 'elephant-charming lute') by striking a chord of which the son of king Parantapa was able to attract the leader of the herd of elephants (*Udena-vatthu, Dhammapada-commentary*).[4] See Fig. 4.

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[1] *La Sculpture*, p. 40.
[2] *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, Vol. II, p. 106.
[3] *La Sculpture*, pp. 27-28.
[4] *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, Vol. II, p. 108.

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11. B., Fig. 66(*a*) ; C., Pl. LIII, 3, Photo 5 : M. Foucher correctly identifies the scene with an episode of the *Padakusala-mānava-Jātaka* (F. 432), namely, that of the capture of the way-farer by a horse-faced *Yakṣiṇī*.[1] But what about the two other scenes that represent sequels to the same episode ?

12. B., Fig. 66(*b*) ; C., Pl. XII, Photo 9 : Here the same *aśvamukhī yakṣiṇī*, now dressed, appears ' on a pavilion where she is engaged in playing a square-board game with the man who is now under her control ' (*Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, II, pp. 110, 125). Coomaraswamy does not connect this with the preceding scene (*La Sculpture*, p. 32). But is it not definite that the scene is one of the horse-faced *Yakṣiṇī* living ' on good terms' with the man captured by her ?

13. B., Fig. 66(*c*) ; C., Pl. XXXIII, North Face : All that Coomaraswamy says concerning this bas-relief is that here are to be seen a couple and an infant (*La Sculpture*, p. 51). He fails to notice that the same horse-faced *yakṣiṇī* characteristically stands with her face turned away from (not turned towards, as I suggested before) the man who is trying to pacify her, while a little boy play-fully stands holding her left leg. Thus it is not only in the sculpture of Pāṭaliputra but also here that the three phases of the Birth-story are represented,—at Bodh-Gayā, by three separate reliefs.

14. B., Fig. 70 ; C., Pl. LVIII, 3, Photo 41 : Convincingly identified by M. Foucher with the story of the Kacchapa-Jātaka (F. 215). See *Memoires*, p. ii. Regarding this bas-relief I may reproduce the words that occur in the correction-slip added to p. 112 of my *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, II : ' The sculpture as reproduced in *La Sculpture de Bodhgayā* (Ars Asiatica) par M. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Pl. LVIII, 3, compels us to accept the identification of the subject of this particular bas-relief with the *Kacchapa-Jātaka* (F. 215). This bas-relief represents in its upper half a scene of the flight of a tortoise with the help of two birds, with a stick held in their beaks, the tortoise remaining suspended from it by its mouth. The tortoise appears to have been shown in three different positions : (1) at the upper left corner, just coming out (say, out of its watery abode), (2) in the middle of the upper half, just suspended from the stick by its mouth ; and (3) a little below the second position and almost overlapping it, in a state of falling on its back, with a gaping mouth. A man standing to the right of the upper half, is watching the affair, while in the lower half we see two persons, sitting face to face, in an attitude expressive of a connection with the conduct and fate of the tortoise '.

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[1] *Memoires*, pp. 10 foll.

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15. B., Fig. 59 ; C., Pl. XLVIII, 3, Photo 6 : I cannot think with M. Foucher that this scene has any connection with a story of the miracle of walking on the water. I do not think that the Vinaya story of the Jaṭila-leader of Uruvelā going in a boat with many of his followers to take the Buddha to a safe place during inundation of the place can explain why there should be three men in the boat, one amazingly standing near the helm with a lotus in his hand, the second propelling the boat, and the third prostrate at the prow. Coomaraswamy says that there is nothing to indicate the presence of the Buddha in the boat. I have suggested the *Sīlānisaṃsa-Jātaka* (F. 190) as the Birth-story which can satisfactorily explain the scene.

16. B., Fig. 60 ; C., Pl. XLVIII, 2, Photo 27 : Coomaraswamy doubtfully connects the scene with the story of the *Mātiposika-Jātaka* (F. 455), while I have proposed to identify it with the *Kāsāva-Jātaka* (F. 221). The scene cannot be connected with the *Mātiposika-Jātaka* for the simple reason that the posture of the man by the roadside with a bamboo-pole like object held in his two hands is certainly not that of one who has lost one's way, and the attitude of the elephant is not one of helping the man out of such a difficulty.

17. B., Fig. 63 ; C., Pl. LV, Photo 21 : Coomaraswamy has simply beaten about the bush in interpreting the scene which is undoubtedly based upon a story like that of the *Sujāta-Jātaka* (F. 306).

18. B., Fig. 73 ; C., XLVII, 4, Photo 8 : This is left unidentified by Coomaraswamy. I have connected it with the *Sonaka-Jātaka* (F. 529) which admirably fits in with the details of the scene. (Cf. Barua, *Barhut*, Bk. III, Pl. XCIII, 141). I have nothing else to correct in my description than that there is no *kamaṇḍalu* shown near the slabs of stone.

19. B., Fig. 69 ; C., p. 28 : According to Coomaraswamy, this bas-relief apparently represents the *Kinnara-Jātaka*. He sees in it the Kinnara and his two female companions, but, as noticed correctly by Cunningham, all the three persons are females. I, therefore, adhere to my suggestion that the scene is based upon a story like that of the *Kiṃchanda-Jātaka* (F. 511) after making only this slight alteration that the tree in it is not a palm-tree but some other tree which shows some flowers in it. According to the Birth-story, the body of the ill-fated sinner, when ablaze at dawn, looked like a *kiṃśuka* in flower.

20. B., Fig. 62 ; C., Pl. XXXIII, North Face, Lower Panel : It is not enough to interpret this with Coomaraswamy as a bas-relief signifying a love-scene (*La Sculpture*, pp. 50-51). Here is a man in the middle who holds the woman on his left in his embrace

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and pushes the woman on his right by her neck, the details that are well accounted for by the *Asitābhu-Jātaka* (F. 234).

21. B., Fig. 64 ; C., Pl. XXXIII, West Face, Middle Panel : Coomaraswamy interprets also this as a bas-relief signifying a love-scene (*La Sculpture*, pp. 50-51). The whole drama is shown as enacted by a man and a woman in love, the man with the harp appearing to be a minstrel. 'Their action' as I maintain 'may be easily explained by such a Birth-story as the *Sussondi-Jātaka* (F. 360)'.

22. B., Fig. 65 ; C., Pl. XXXI, 45, Inner Face : The upper part of the bas-relief is seriously damaged, no doubt. But this does not prevent us from clearly reading the details of the scene. A man is entreating a woman who is seated on a bedstead, while a second woman stands by it. The action is well explained by the *Aṭṭhāna-Jātaka* (F. 425). But Coomaraswamy leaves it unidentified.

23. B., Fig. 67 ; C., Pl. XXXVI, Inner Face, Photo 92 : This, too, is left unidentified by Coomaraswamy who has, however, correctly noticed a large jar of water which is not probably a *kamaṇḍalu* (*La Sculpture*, p. 31). Here a tiger has come out of the wood and confronts an ascetic who sits in front of a *parṇaśālā*, the hermit's cottage. There is little doubt that the story presupposed by the scene is an episode of the *Tittira-Jātaka* (F. 438).

24. B., Fig. 68 ; C., Pl. LIII, 4, Photo 2 : Coomaraswamy has very little to say regarding this bas-relief which he has left unidentified (*La Sculpture*, p. 31). A quadruped teacher on a rocky pulpit suffices to serve as a heading of the remarkable scene which is well explained by the *Rohantamiga-Jātaka* (F. 501).

25. B., Fig. 71 ; C., Pl. LIII, 1 : Coomaraswamy summarily dismisses this as a love-scene of *vastra-haraṇa* (*La Sculpture*, p. 50). He regrettably fails to understand the action which is vividly staged. A woman is in the grip of a man, while a god remains poised in the air as a saviour of the woman in her desperate struggle for escape. Does not the *Sambula-Jātaka* (F. 519) explain this dramatic action ?

26. B., Fig. 72 ; C., Pl. XXVI, West Face : These are the two panels on the same face of a pillar that contain two love-scenes. True. But Coomaraswamy was expected to say something more than this (*La Sculpture*, p. 50). As I have suggested, the inter-connection of the two scenes is evident from the interplay of the same two *dramatis personæ*, and both the scenes are clearly accounted for by the *Alambusa-Jātaka* (F. 523).

27. B., Fig. 74 ; C., Pl. XXXIII, West Face, Photo 64 : There is a sharp difference of opinion between Coomaraswamy and myself concerning the interpretation and identification of this bas-relief. Coomaraswamy sees in it, in the upper part, a group of

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overlooking gods, and in the lower part, a man and a woman with joined hands and with two children in front of them, and he inclines accordingly to interpret the details in the light of the Vessantara story of the arrival of Prince Vessantara and his wife with their two children at the hermitage built for them at Vaṅkagiri (*La Sculpture*, p. 29). He might even say that the scene is based upon the same Vessantara story of giving away the two children by their parents to a Brahmin who stands on the right with the hearty approval of the gods. On the other hand, I have sought to interpret the scene in the light of the *Sudhābhojana-Jātaka* (F. 535), taking it to represent : (1) the coming of the four Indian Graces to the lotus-lake for bathing ; (2) the four maidens claiming with joined hands something from the hand of a man who stands on the opposite side, at some distance from this ; and (3) the offering of the thing by the man to one of the four maidens found most deserving (*Gayā And Buddha-Gayā*, II, pp. 114-115).

The point in my favour is that the persons on the left side show the same posture of salutation and their turban-like head-dress need not stand in the way of their being women, Cf. B., Fig. 72, C., Pl. XXVI, where a woman is represented with a similar head-dress.

The point against Coomaraswamy is that the Vessantara story does not relate that the parents together gave away their children to the Brahmin. They were made over to the Brahmin by Prince Vessantara in the absence of his wife. There is, moreover, no indication of giving away the children, say, by pouring water from a *bhiṅkāra*, as the *Vessantara-Jātaka* has it. Coomaraswamy's suggestion may, perhaps, be more consistently entertained if I may take it to mean that the scene is one of solemnization by Mādrī of the meritorious act on the part of her husband with the approval of the gods.

28. B., Fig. 75 ; C., p. 29 : This is the remarkable scene of offering of food and water to a saintly man by two human hands projected from a tree. I readily admit that the main action of the scene may be explained by the episode of the Treasurer, the Hermits, and the Tree-spirit as contained in the *Udena-vatthu, Dhammapada-Commentary* (Vol. I, pp. 203-204),—a suggestion independently made by Coomaraswamy (*J.R.A.S.*, 1928, p. 393) and Ramaprasad Chanda (*Mem.*, Archæological Survey of India, No. 30, p. 6). But we would be more critical in putting forward such a suggestion. For judging the Bodh-Gayā scene in relation to the Barhut sculpture illustrating a similar story with an explanatory label : *Jabū Naḍode ṗavate*, 'The *Jambu* trees on Mt. Naḍoda', the tree represented in it must be a *Jambu*, and not a *Nyagrodha* (banyan) of the Udena

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episode. Further, the Udena-story does not explain why in the corresponding Barhut sculpture should figure another person, a man or a woman, going down the hill with some sort of a basket to collect roots and fruits, a point which is well explained by the *Vessantara-Jātaka* (F. 547) along with the *Jambu* tree or trees on Naḍoda-pavata. See my observations in the *Barhut*, Bk. III, p. 4.

29. B., Fig. 12 ; C., Pl. XLVII, 3, Photo 27 : Coomaraswamy has left the scene unidentified, and I have only conjecturally taken it to represent a mysterious growth of Bo-trees. I welcome his suggestion that over one of the box-like objects on a pillar is to be seen a ' *nāga* polycephale ' (polycephalous *Nāga*) under an umbrella, and I welcome also his observation that the two water-jugs, each with two spouts, are a ' rare form ', met with in connection with the *Nāgas* represented on the railing of Pāṭaliptura (*La Sculpture*, p. 32). Many such jugs with spouts more than one have been collected from Rājgir and are now exhibited in the Nālandā Museum. But I cannot go so far with him as to say that the umbrella over the *Nāga* indicates his royal dignity. The *Nāgarājas* are generally not honoured with a *chatra*. Over the other box-like thing are placed three umbrellas, although there is no figure of a *Nāgarāja*. According to artistic convention established definitely at Barhut and Bodh-Gayā, a shrine connected with the life of the Buddha, whether a Bo-tree or a *Stūpa*, is honoured with an umbrella. I do still think that the bas-relief illustrates a story of mysterious growth of Bo-trees, may be, in a *Nāgodyāna*.

30. C., Pl. XLVIII. 4, Photo 7 : This evidently represents a scene of worship of a sacred Tree (*rukkhacetiya*) by a herd of elephants (*La Sculpture*, p. 42). The tree may be either a holy tree in a woodland or some tree associated with the life of a Buddha. If it is a Bo-tree, one might say with Coomaraswamy that here is a scene of worship of the Buddha by a herd of elephants (Cf. Barua, *Barhut*, Bk. III, Pl. XX, 16-16(*a*)). But there is particularly nothing in the scene to connect it with the story of the Pārileyyaka elephant. See Fig. 5.

31. B., Fig. 20 ; C., Pl. XXXIX, Photo 91 : None need be jubilant over Bachhofer's interpretation of the standing figure as Indra, disguised as the Brahmin Śānti and offering a bunch of *kuśa* grass to the Bodhisattva (*Eine Pfeiler Figur aus Bodhgayā*, Jahrbuch der asiatischen. Kunst, II, 1925). The suggestion is based upon a Chinese translation of the *Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra*, a work which is much later than the Bodh-Gayā sculpture. As Coomaraswamy observes, the Bodh-Gayā figure is far other than that of a Brahmin ; the head-dress is conventionally that of a yakṣa, the legend relied upon by Bachhofer does not account for the quadruped which is

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3 (*a*)

3 (*b*)

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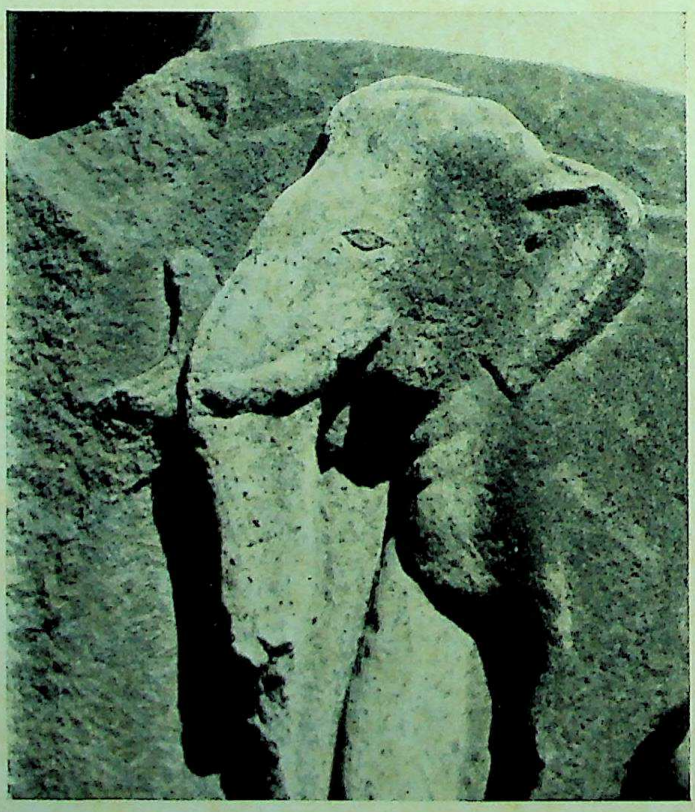

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evidently a vehicle; and the attitude of the figure is not one of offering anything to any person. The only point which remains in favour of the identification proposed by Bachhofer is the bunch of *kuśa* grass. Coomaraswamy accepts it only in the absence of anything better (*La Sculpture*, p. 35). Whosoever has examined the figure *in situ*, as I have done, must agree with me that it is nothing but a 'bunch of water-lilies' which is held up in the hand of the figure. For a bunch of full-blown water-lilies held in the right hand of a goddess, see my *Barhut*, Bk. III, Pls. VII-VIII. So I again maintain that the Bodh-Gayā figure stands for a demigod with a ram-like quadruped as his vehicle.

Thus this review of all the contributions on the Bodh-Gayā sculptures, made by me or by others, may serve to show that the last word has not been said on the subject yet. The study, though progressive, has not reached any finality. Another vigorous attempt should be made to place the study of the subject on a surer footing.

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MISCELLANEA

THE DATE OF VAṄGASÊNA

Mr. P. K. Gode's note on the date of Vaṅgasêna (*I.C.*, III, p. 535) has the merit of showing from a still unpublished text that the physician was known to Hêmâdri, who has profusely quoted him in his commentary on the *Aṣṭângahṛdaya* of Vâgbhaṭa II,—a fact that was unknown to me at the time of writing my paper, 'Vaidyaka Literature of Bengal in the Early Mediæval Period'. (*I.C.*, III, p. 153). Mr. Gode's suggestion is that the lower limit of Vaṅgasêna's date is the 12th century A.D., and not the 13th, as I supposed while seeking to establish that he was not a recent writer. The suggestion is happy, but we must not be dogmatic on the point, since the date of Vaṅgasêna depends, to some extent, on the date of Gadâdhara, who, if not identical with the poet Gadâdhara whose verses occur in the *Saduktikarṇâmṛta*, appears to date from the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Vaṅgasêna was not, however, actually the son of Gadâdhara, as I wrote through mistake, but it was at the house of the latter that he was born, as he himself intimates towards the close of his work (*Gadâdhara*—gṛhê-janma-labdhâ . . . . . , p. 1094, Bombay ed., Śaka 1826).[1]

That Hêmâdri quotes him extensively is, we must agree, no proof that his valuable work took about 75 years to travel to the Deccan from Bengal. Nor, again, the nature of Hêmâdri's quotations from the *Vaṅgasêna* (*Vaṅgasênê tu*, or *Vaṅgasênê*) is such as is, by itself, indicative of a long time intervening between the two. For anything we know, this simple procedure is followed even in quoting contemporary authors. Hêmâdri might well have been one of the pioneers in his province to use the *Vaṅgasêna*, and its author might belong to the second quarter of the thirteenth century, although it must be reckoned as only a tentative hypothesis.

N. N. Das Gupta.

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[1] For this piece of information, I am indebted to MM. Kavirâja Gananath Sen Sarasvatî.

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VATSABHAṬṬI'S PRAŚASTI

In volume III, No. 11 of the *Indian Culture*, Mr. Dasaratha Sarma raises the question as to who was the king at the time of the *Mandasore Inscription of the Silk Weavers* and he has answered it by assuming that it was a Huna king and, because he belonged to the hated *Mlecchas*, the king's name was not mentioned in the inscription. He has rightly assumed that 'within the thirty-six years, i.e. by 529 M.E. such a stately and massive temple could not have fallen into disrepair by itself' and so concludes that the Huns must have destroyed one part of the temple. For this conclusion he tries to find textual confirmation in the verse :

bahunā samatītena kālenanyaiśca pārthivaiḥ
vyaśīryataikadeśo' sya bhavanasya tato'dhunā

and translates it thus : '*After much time has passed, a part of the building was destroyed by other kings*'. He rightly takes the predicate to be in the passive voice of the śr of the 4th conjugation. He is also right when he says that the root does not belong to the 9th conjugation and that the predicate cannot be taken as the *Bhava-vacya* type, because then *ekadeśaḥ* should have been *ekadeśena*. The grammatical points raised are correct, but that does not discredit Mr. Diskalkar's translation or justify this translation. For, the predicate here is an instance of *Karmakartariprayoga*, and as such the translation given by Mr. Diskalkar is correct. He further assumes that Mr. Diskalkar's translation is wrong for 'his interpretation connects *samatītena*, an adjective in the singular number, with *parthivaih*, a noun in the plural number'. We fail to perceive this connection, for his interpretation does not necessitate such connection. If the writer had that idea, his translation would have been 'and under many other past kings'. *Samatītena* goes only with *kālena* and with none else, and, so far as I know, no writer has ever taken it differently. In the interpretation advanced by Mr. Diskalkar, following the views of older editors of the inscription, there is, so far as we could see, no grammatical lapses.

The verb *vyaśīryate* denotes the idea of decay and not destruction, and the first half of the verse lays down the causes which brought about the decay. Time, the great destroyer, was the chief agent of destruction, and so this is mentioned first. The kings figure as a cause only in so far as they did not try to check the process of decay. They were indifferent ; and naturally so, because they were *other kings*, kings who belonged to a family different from the one which built the temple originally. In other words, the passage of time primarily and the indifference of kings secondarily were responsible

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for the disrepair that the temple fell into. The former of these was an active agent and the latter, a passive agent. And both *kālena* and *pārthivaiḥ* are *hetau tṛtīyas*.

Mr. Sarma is certainly right when he assumes that the interval of time, namely thirty-nine years which, as all interpreters of this inscription have held, intervene between the original construction and the subsequent repair is very short even for the hand of time to introduce decay in such a stately and massive temple. This necessitated his search for another cause of destruction and his fathering it on the *other kings*. If *other kings* were the active agents of destruction, why should mention be made of time? And Vatsabhaṭṭi would have done well not to have mentioned time, for in the absence of this reference it would certainly have been a standing obloquy to the kings if they indeed ravaged and destroyed the temple. The present writer also has felt the difficulty, and he tried to overcome it not by vague assumptions but a natural reading of the text.

> *samskāritamidam bhūyaḥ* . . . . . .
> vatsaraśateṣu pañcasu viṁśatyadikeṣu navasu cābdeṣu
> yāteṣu.

This text clearly states that the temple was renovated *after five hundred and twenty-nine years had elapsed*, not, as others have taken, in the Malava era, but, as I hold, *after the construction of the temple*. In other words I have assigned the renovation of the temple to 493+529 or 1022 M.E., i.e.—in 966 A.D. So far as this interpretation is concerned we need only say that the text, as it stands, does not warrant any other interpretation; (see the writer's paper on *Vatsabhaṭṭi's Praśasti* contributed to the Dr. S. K. A. Commemoration Volume, pages 69–73).

K. Rama Pisharoti.

A NOTE ON THE TRAVESTY OF AN ANCIENT INDIAN MYTH IN A MODERN HINDU CEREMONY

The *Taittiriya Brāhmana* narrates a myth about the enmity of the Titans or the *asuras* and the gods or the *devatās* and goes on to state that the *asuras*, being conscious of the fact that they were descended from the same progenitor—*Prajāpati*, the Lord of the Universe—from whom the *devatās* were descended, became puffed up with pride so much so that they began to think no end of them-

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selves and of attacking the gods in their own domain—the heavens—and conquering them there. With this object in view, they began to construct a very high tower whereby to ascend to heaven. At this, the *devatās* became very much frightened and began to concert plans whereby they would be able to thwart the *asuras* in their nefarious design. As the result of their deliberations, Indra, the Lord of heaven, assumed the guise of a Brahman and, taking in his hand a brick to which was tied an invisible rope of lightning, came down to the Titans, and addressing them, said: 'O my friends! I have brought you a charmed brick. If you build your towers on it, the edifice will stand firm as a rock, and you will be able all the more easily to climb by means of it to heaven.' Hearing this, the *asuras* very gladly accepted the brick and, quite unsuspectingly, built their tower on the supposed charmed foundation. When the edifice was nearing completion, and the Titans were climbing upon it, Indra pulled the invisible rope of lightning which was tied on to the foundation-brick, whereupon the mighty tower toppled down from its basement; and with it the Titans were hurled down to the earth and dashed to pieces which were immediately metamorphosed to spiders (Ūrna-Nāva). But two of the *asuras*, who had somehow or other contrived to reach heaven, were metamorphosed by the gods into the two stars *Canis major* and *Canis minor*.

The reminiscence of this great enmity between the *asuras* and the *devatās* and of the bloody battle between them is still vivid in the memory of the latter-day Hindus—the descendants of the ancient Indo-Aryans. The Hindus of North Bihar, especially of the districts of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga, even at the present day perform a religious ceremony wherein the aforedescribed ancient Indian myth about the battle of the *devatās* and the *asuras* is travestied. This ceremony is known as '*The Marriage of Newly-Excavated Tanks and Wells*'; and the mimic battle, that is enacted during its performance, may be described as follows[1]:—

At the consecration of every newly-excavated tank or well, some ceremonies similar to those performed at the marriage of a grove of mango-trees are observed. But one peculiarly interesting feature of the marriage-ceremony of a newly-excavated tank or well is what is known as '*The Flight of the Milk-drinker*'. A small quantity of the milk of every available kind of beast is procured and mixed together. A Brahman is then selected and made to drink this mixture. He does so for a pecuniary remuneration which, some-

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[1] *Vide the Gazetteer of Muzafferpur.* By L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S. Calcutta. The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot. 1907. Page 37. Also see the same author's *Gazetteer of Darbhanga.* (Calcutta edition of 1907.) Page 36.

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times, amounts to four hundred rupees and is called the '*Dudh-pion*' or 'Milk-drinker'. He represents the *asuras* or Titans—the enemies of the gods or *devatās*. As the gods are supposed to have come at the consecration of the tank or well, the *asuras* or the Titans are also supposed to have come there for the purpose of attacking their enemies—the *devatās*. An imaginary battle is supposed to ensue between the two hostile forces. This is travestied by the fact that, as soon as the '*Dudh-pion*' has drunk the mixture of milk, he flies to a distance of one mile, whereupon the people (representing the gods) chase and pelt him with clods of earth. This mimic battle is supposed to result in the utter discomfiture of the '*Dudh-pion*' who represents the *asuras*.

As the *asuras* devour every kind of animal, the fact of the Brahman's drinking a mixture of the milk of every available kind of beast, lends some colour of plausibility to the belief that he represents the *asuras*.

Then again, a memorial of the mimic battle is set up in the centre of the tank in the shape of the *Jāt* or wooden pole surmounted with an iron trident which symbolizes the three-pronged iron spear with which the great god *Mahadeva* slew the *asuras*.

It has been stated above that, in the ancient Indian myth as given in the *Taittiriya Brahman*, the slain *asuras* are said to have been metamorphosed into spiders. So it will not be out of place to mention here an analogous ancient Greek myth about the evolution of the spider. It is said that a Greek girl named Arachne became so proud of her skill in spinning and embroidery that she jeered at the goddess Minerva who was almost her equal in those handicrafts. In revenge for this, the goddess metamorphosed Arachne into a spider for ever.

S. C. MITRA.

DR. GANGULY ON THE GURJARAS AND GURJARATRĀ

Miss Bhramar Ghosh contributed a short note to the *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, pp. 510ff., criticizing Dr. D. C. Ganguly's view that—

1. Gurjara is the name of a country.
2. Gurjaratrā comprises nearly the whole of the states of Jaipur and Alwar.
3. Gurjareśvarapati in the Baroda plate of Karkarāja means 'master of the lord of Gurjareśvara'.

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Dr. Ganguly replied to it in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, pp. 167ff., and referred Miss Ghosh to his 'thorough discussion' of the subject in his articles 'Origin of the Pratihāras' and 'History of the Gurjara country', published in Vol. X of the same journal.

We have gone carefully through these articles, and find that the criticism by Miss Ghosh is fully justified.

1. Miss Ghosh is right in holding that Gurjara is not the name of a country. As pointed out by her the word 'Gurjara' in the passage '*Saindhava-Kacchella-Cāvoṭaka-Maurya-Gurjarādi-rajye*', cited by Dr. Ganguly in support of his view, cannot mean the Gurjara country, inasmuch as it is preceded not by the names of countries but well-known clans like the Cāvoṭakas and the Mauryas. Dr. Ganguly's rejoinder that following her line of argument 'it can be safely taken that the word Gurjara, referred to in the Aihole inscription of Pulikeśin II, along with Lāṭa and Mālava, denotes a country' cannot be called very effective. It merely shows that Dr. Ganguly is either not aware of or has overlooked the rule of Sanskrit grammar termed *Vṛddhi* which, while turning the inhabitants of Sindhu into 'Saindhavas', lets those of Lāṭa and Mālava continue as Lāṭas and Mālavas. His argument that *Gurjareśvara* should mean 'lord of the Gurjara country', because 'the words *īśvara, nātha, pati*, etc. were needed as suffixes of the names of countries, and not of tribes or families' is again as inconclusive. It can be easily countered by quoting well-known examples like *daityeśvara, Raghunātha, Yadupati, Mlecchādhipati, Bhōjarāja*, etc. where there is not the slightest mention, or even suggestion, of any country.

2. Dr. Ganguly's definition of Gurjaratrā, as the country comprising the eastern part of the Jodhpur state, and nearly the whole of the Jaipur and Alwar states, is both too wide and too narrow. It is the latter, because it excludes the south-western portion of the Jodhpur state and a part of modern Gujerat. It is the former, because it includes (perhaps by way of compensation) certain territories in the east which did not actually belong to it. That the south-western portion of the Jodhpur state should be included in any and every definition of Gurjaratrā is obvious from Hieun Tsang's statement that Bhilmāl, at present a town in that quarter of the state, was the capital of Kü-che-lo or the Gurjara country [1]; and the case for the inclusion of the major part of modern

[1] Dr. Ganguly's attempt to identify Kü-che-lo with the Kacchellas mentioned in the passage 'सैन्धव-कच्छेल्ल-सौराष्ट्र-चावोटक' etc., cannot be deemed very successful, because the etymology of the word कच्छेल्ल, as well as its position between the terms सैन्धव and सौराष्ट्र, goes to show that the Kacchellas belonged to Cutch and not Bhinmāl.

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Gujerat is equally strong because it bore the name Gurjaratrā in the twelfth century, and as no tribal movements or other causes are known which should have supplied this name in that very century, it most probably did so also in the three or four centuries preceding it. The reasons for the inclusion of the whole of the Jaipur and Alwar states are, on the other hand, extremely weak. The mere fact that Maglonā, a village just on the western fringe of the Jaipur territory, is stated to have been in the Gurjaratrā-maṇḍala does not, we feel, entitle us to conclude that the whole of this state was included therein. Even less justified is the inclusion of the whole of the Alwar state in Gurjaratrā on the ground that certain fields, adjoining a temple in Vyāghrapāṭaka, a village near Rājor, are stated to have been cultivated by Gurjaras. In the first place, these Gurjaras might be people who had migrated there from Gurjaratrā. So the statement that certain fields were cultivated by them does not necessarily mean that the land was in the Gurjara country. A few fields cultivated by the Punjabis in the Jaipur state, does not, for instance, convert it into their original home, the Punjab. Secondly, what is there to prevent us from interpreting the word as Gujars, as has been actually done by Drs. Kielhorn, Bhandarkar and Majumdar? Dr. Ganguly's contention that 'it can be safely taken that Gurjara in this case denotes all the inhabitants of the village who were owners of the arable lands, and who were people of the Gurjara country, as the village of which they were inhabitants formed part of it' is extremely vague and hazy. In fact, it shows the learned Doctor arguing in a circle. Rajore is a village in Gurjaratrā because of being associated with Gurjaras, and these Gurjaras are of Gurjaratrā because of being associated with Rajore. Surely there could be no clearer and better example of this fallacy for a student of logic.

3. The words *Gurjareśvara* and *Gurjareśvarapati* have not been used in the same context. They need not, therefore, necessarily refer to two different persons. In fact, if we do not identify the latter with the former by taking it to mean either 'lord of the Gurjjaras', as translated by Fleet or 'the prince of the Gurjjaras', as suggested by Miss Ghosh,[1] we shall have to look out for a feudatory chief who could reasonably be styled *Gurjareśvara*, and who could also command strength enough to defeat the rulers of Vanga and Gauḍa. Dr. Ganguly has tried to make the necessary quest in his 'History of the Gurjara country'. But that it has not borne much fruit will be shown in our paper on the subject, to be published elsewhere.

DASHARATHA SHARMA.

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[1] *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 512.

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ON A RAIN-COMPELLING RITE FROM NORTH BIHAR

In my paper entitled: '*The Frog in North Indian Rain-Compelling Rites*', which has been published in *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XIV, pages 429 to 431, I have shewn that the frog plays an important part in the rain-compelling rites performed by many races of people living in various parts of the world. Sir J. G. Frazer accounts for this by formulating the theory that these peoples believe the frogs to be the custodians of rain. But, differing from the opinion of the said learned authority, I have shewn that this theory is not applicable to the rain-compelling rites performed by the Hindus of Northern India. These Hindus believe Indra to be the rain-god and that the frogs are his myrmidons. If the appearance of the frogs during the rains is travestied by throwing jugs of water containing frogs into neighbours' courtyards, the rain-god Indra is pleased and sends down copious rain, or, if the frog is tortured, the said rain-god feels pity for his favourite myrmidon's sufferings and so far relents that he causes plentiful rain to fall.

But the most curious rite is '*the marriage of frogs*' which is performed in Assam, the root-idea lying at the basis of this ceremony is that the rain-god is very much pleased with the performers thereof because, by the marriage of his favourite myrmidons, they will increase and multiply. As a token of his favour, the rain-god causes copious rain to fall. In addition to the evidence which I have adduced in my afore-mentioned paper, I may describe here a curious rain-compelling rite which consists in torturing and killing a frog, and which is performed, during seasons of drought, in the districts of Darbhanga and Muzafferpur in North Bihar. It is as follows :—

It is believed by the illiterate classes of people that the cry of a frog is most readily heard by the rain-god Indra. It is for this reason that, in a year of drought, some low caste women of a village assembled in the evening, collected water from the pitchers thereof kept in the households of five neighbours, seized a frog which they put into a small earthen pot together with the water from the five houses. The pot containing the frog and the water is then covered up with an earthen lid or cover, and placed within the cavity in the ground into which the pestle at one end of the lever of the rice-husking pedal falls. Then the lever is raised by the women's placing their feet upon the other end thereof, and the pestle is dropped down into the cavity containing the frog. This barbarously cruel performance is repeated until the tortured frog croaks, which it no doubt does, unless killed with too great suddenness. In the meantime,

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the women sing songs with a loud voice complaining of the scarcity of rain. When the frog has been killed, its dead body is thrown on to the roof of an equally credulous and superstitious neighbour who retaliates this outrage by abusing the thrower thereof at the top of his voice. This is done under the belief that this abuse pleases the rain-god Indra (who is described in the Rig-Veda as having eyes like those of a frog). This mode of torturing a frog is believed by the credulous and superstitious people of the districts of Darbhanga and Muzafferpur in North Bihar, to compel Indra to send down rain.[1]

The root idea lying at the basis of the afore-described cruel rite is that the tortured frog's croakings of agony excite the compassion of his lord Indra who is thereby compelled to send down rain for softening the hearts of the cruel tormentors of his myrmidon.

The nearest approach to the afore-described North Bihar rite is that performed by the South American Indians living in the region of the Orinoco River. These Indians believe that the toad or frog is the lord of waters, and that, under the influences of this belief, they will not kill any one of them. Sometimes, these South American Indians keep frogs under a pot ; and, whenever there is a drought, they beat these batrachians with rods. Here the root-idea is that, by torturing the lord of water himself, he will be compelled to send down rain.[2]

From a comparative study of the foregoing North Bihari and South American Indian rain-compelling rites, we find that—

(1) The Hindus of North Bihar believe the frog to be the favourite myrmidon of the rain-god Indra; whereas the South American Indians of the Orinoco region believe the frog to be the ' lord of waters (or rain) ' himself.

(2) There is considerable plausibility in the belief of the Hindus of North Bihar that the frog is the rain-god's favourite myrmidon, because the frogs come out with the advent of the rainy season. But the reason why the South American Indians believe the frog to be ' the lord of waters (or rain) ' is not obvious enough.

(3) The Hindus of North Bihar try to procure rain by torturing the rain-god's favourite—the frog, because its lord Indra sends down rain out of pity for his myrmidon's

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[1] *Vide The Gazetteer of Darbhanga*, by L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S., Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1907, page 33. Also see the same Author's *Gazetteer of Muzafferpur* (Calcutta edition of 1907), page 34.

[2] *Vide* Frazer's The Golden Bough (Abridged edition of 1923). London : Macmillan & Co., page 73.

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sufferings ; whereas the South American Indians try to obtain the same by torturing the frog—'the lord of water' himself, because, being unable to endure the pain of the chastisement with the rods, he sends down rain.

(4) The Hindus of North Bihar believe that the rain-god Indra is very much pleased at the vengeance wreaked for his favourite's death, by the volleys of abuse which are poured forth by the person (on whose house the dead frog has been thrown) upon the thrower thereof. But it does not appear from Sir J. G. Frazer's account of the South American rite how 'the lord of waters' wreaks vengeance for the tortures inflicted on him.

S. C. MITRA.

ORIGIN OF THE KADAMBAS

In almost all Kadamba inscriptions the Kadambas claim to have belonged to the Mānavya *gotra* and call themselves *Hāritī-putra*. The designation *Mānavyagotra-Hāritīputra* was evidently borrowed from the Cuṭu Śātakarṇis who ruled over Kuntala before the rise of the Kadambas. From the Banavasi grant of the eighth year of Mṛgesavarman's reign (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, pp. 35-36) the Kadambas seem to have actually belonged to the Āṅgirasa *gotra*. This suggestion is possibly supported by the fact that they are called *tryārṣa-vartma* (see verse 3 of the Talgunda inscription ; *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 31ff.) which seems to refer to the three *pravaras* of the Āṅgirasa *gotra*, viz. Āṅgirasa, Vāsiṣṭha and Bārhaspatya (*Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *pravara*).

According to a very late inscription belonging to the Kadambas of Hangal (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 117), the Kadamba family originated from the three-eyed and four-armed Kadamba. This Kadamba is said to have sprung into being under a Kadamba tree from a drop of sweat that fell on the ground from the forehead of Śiva. Kadamba's son was Mayūravarman who conquered the earth by the power of his sword and invincible armour. Another inscription (*ibid.*, XI, Dg. 35) says that Mayūravarman himself was born under an auspicious Kadamba tree, with an eye on his forehead. He is there described as the son of Rudra and the Earth. His family became famous as *Kadamba* owing to the fact that he grew up in the shade of the Kadamba tree. An inscription of A.D. 1077 (*ibid.*,

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VIII, Sb. 262) gives still more interesting details. There Mayūravarman seems to have been described as the son of the famous Ānanda-jina-vratīndra's sister [1] and as born under the famous Kadamba tree, and to have had the other name Trilocana. A kingdom having been procured for him from the Śāsanadevī and a forest being cleared and formed into a country for that prince, a crown composed of peacock's feathers was placed on his head. From this crown the prince obtained the name Mayūravarman.

These mythical accounts do not differ materially from those recorded in the inscriptions of the Later Kadambas of Goa. Some of the Halsi and Degamve grants (e.g., *ibid.*, VII, Sk. 236) attribute the origin of the Kadamba family to the three-eyed and four-armed Jayanta, otherwise named Trilocana-Kadamba. This Jayanta is said to have sprung from a drop of sweat that fell on the ground near the roots of a Kadamba tree, from the forehead of Śiva when the god killed Tripura after a hard fight.

An inscription of the same period belonging to the later Kadambas of Nagarkhanda (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, pp. 245, 272, 285) gives a slightly different story. It says that king Nanda worshipped Śiva for many days with the desire of getting a son. One day some Kadamba flowers suddenly fell down from the sky and a heavenly voice assured him of his getting two brilliant sons in the near future. Thus according to this tradition, the Kadambas claimed relation with the famous Nanda kings of Pāṭaliputra. Some other late Kadamba grants also claim a connection of the Kadambas with the north. According to one record (*Ep. Ind.*, XVI, pp. 354, 360) Mayūravarman established his power on the summits of the Himavat mountain.

All these traditions are of little historical value. All they may indicate is that the progenitor of the Kadamba family was named Mayūra and that the family-name had an accidental connection with the Kadamba tree. In connection with the tradition regarding the three-eyed Trilocana-Kadamba, it is interesting to note that there are similar accounts of a mythical Trilocana-Pallava in later Pallava inscriptions. This three-eyed Pallava is said to have brought some Brāhmaṇas from Ahicchatra and to have settled them to the east of Śrīparvata where he made seventy *agrahāras* (*An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1908, pp. 82-3). Later Kadamba inscriptions however attribute this Brāhmaṇa emigration to Mayūravarman. These facts seem to show that the mythical traditions about the two Pallava

[1] Here is possibly a reference to the claim of having been related with the Ānanda kings of Kandarapura. For the Ānandas, see my note *in J.R.A.S.*, October, 1934, p. 737ff.; also *Suc. Sāt. E. Dec.*, p. 45ff.

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and Kadamba Trilocanas had a common origin though they possibly depended on the development of each other (see Moraes, *Kadamba-kula*, p. 8, note). As has elsewhere been suggested, the evidence of the Mysore records of the twelfth century stating that the Nanda kings ruled over Kuntala (Rice, *Mysore and Coorg, etc.*, p. 3), the reference to the wealth of the Nandas in a Tamil poem and the existence of a city called Nau-Nand-Dehra in the South (Aiyangar, *Beg. S. Ind. Hist.*, p. 89 ; Ray Chaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd ed., p. 142) may suggest that the Nanda dominions embraced considerable portions of Southern India. In the present state of our knowledge, however, it is not possible to prove a genealogical connection between the Nandas and the Kadambas. Moreover, the Kadambas, as we shall presently see, were originally Brāhmaṇas, while the Nandas are known from the Purāṇas to be Kṣatriyas with an admixture of Śūdra blood.

It is clear that all the later traditions connected with the origin of the name *Kadamba* developed on a reference in a much earlier Kadamba record. It is the Talgunda inscription of king Śāntivarman who ruled about the middle of the fifth century, that is to say, about a century after the establishment of the Kadamba power in Kuntala by Mayūra about the middle of the fourth century A.D. This inscription records (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 31) that the Kadambas were so named owing to their tending a Kadamba tree that grew near their house (cf. . . . *gṛha-samīpa-saṃrūḍha-vikaśat-kadamb-aika-pādapam, tad-upacāravat=tad=āsya taroḥ sānāmya-sādharmyam=asya tat pravavṛte sātirthya-viprāṇāṃ prācuryatas=tad-viśeṣaṇam*) and that they belonged to the *dvija-kula* (Brāhmaṇa family). In this Kadambakula was born a person named Mayūra-śarman, the best of the Brāhmaṇas (cf. *evam=āgate kadamba-kule śrīmān=vabhūva dvijottamo nāmato mayūraśarm-eti*). There seems to be nothing very strange and unbelievable in this simple account. The statement that the Kadambas were Brāhmaṇas is also supported by the evidence of the earliest Kadamba record, the Chandravalli inscription of Mayūra (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A.R., 1929, p. 50). In this inscription, the name of the Kadamba king has been given as *Mayūra-śarman* and not as Mayūra*varman* which form we find only in the inscriptions of the later Kadambas. Since *śarman* was used with the names of Brāhmaṇas and *varman* with those of Kṣatriyas (cf. *śarma-vad=brāhmaṇasya syāt, Manu*, II, 32 ; *śarmā devaś=ca viprasya varmā trātā ca bhū-bhujaḥ*, etc., Yama quoted in *Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *śarmā*), the progenitor of the Kadamba family was a Brāhmaṇa according to the earliest known Kadamba record, and there is no reason to doubt the truth of the statement. It is not impossible that the Kadambas were originally Brāhmaṇas who migrated from

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northern India like many other South Indian royal families, took service under the Śātavāhanas and eventually carved out a principality in the Kuntala country.[1] That they later gave themselves as Kṣatriya is proved by the fact that not only the names of the succeeding kings ended in *varman*, but Mayūraśarman himself was made Mayūravarman in all later records of the family. Their case may be compared with that of the Sena kings of Bengal, who styled themselves as *Brahma-Kṣatriya* which possibly means 'Brāhmaṇa first and Kṣatriya afterwards', that is to say 'Brāhmaṇa by birth and Kṣatriya by profession'.

It is interesting in this connection to note that, like the Kadambas, there were and still are many tribes and families in India, named after particular trees. The Śākyas were a branch of the Ikṣvāku family and were so called owing to their connection with the Śaka tree (cf. *śaka-vṛkṣa-praticchannaṃ vāsaṃ yasmāc=ca cakrire, tasmād=ikṣvāku-vaṃśyās=te bhuvi śākyāḥ prakīrtitāḥ; Saundarananda-kāvya*, I, 24). Coins of a tribe or family called Oḍumbara have been discovered in the Pathankot district and have been assigned to circa 100 B.C. (Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 11). Oḍumbara (Sanskrit *Audumbara*) appears to be connected with the Udumbara or fig tree. A tribe named Arjunāyana has been mentioned in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman (150 A.D.) and the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (circa 350 A.D.). Many coins belonging to this tribe have also been discovered (*Indian Coins*, p. 11). These Arjunāyanas seem to have been called after the Arjuna tree. Some coins bearing the legend *vaṭasvaka* are assigned to about B.C. 200 (*ibid.*, p. 14). Bühler has explained the legend as denoting the Vaṭa (Fig tree) branch of the Āśvaka tribe (*Ind. Stud.*, III, p. 46). It is interesting in this connection to notice that even at the present time the Lari Goālās of Chhota-Nagpur, the Gorāits, Khariās, Kharwārs, the Kumhārs of Lohardagā, Muṇḍas, Nagesars, Orāons, Pāns and many other tribes have septs or sections amongst them named after the famous Indian tree Vaṭa (Ficus Indica). See H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, II, 1892, pp. 51, 55, 77, 78, 86, 103, 111, 113, 115, etc. The name of the Śibi tribe may also be connected with Śivi or the birch tree. A consideration of modern

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[1] Had the Kadambas some sort of relation with the Nīpa (=Kadamba) family which ruled, according to a tradition recorded by Kālidāsa (*Raghu*, VI, verses 45–51), over the district round Mathurā? G. M. Moraes says (*Kadambakula*, p. 10), 'The very name of the family suggests that they (i.e. the Kadambas) were the natives of the South. For the Kadamba tree is common only in the Deccan'. It is however a misrepresentation. The Kadamba tree is largely found also in other parts of India, e.g., in Bengal.

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tribal names seems to suggest that the above tree-names had originally some sort of totemistic significance.

We have already mentioned several Indian tribes and castes bearing the name Vaṭa. There are many such tribes and castes in India, which go by the names of particular trees. Tribal septs are named after the Dumur (Fig tree), bamboo, palm tree, Jari tree, Mahua tree, Baherwar tree, Kussum tree, Karma tree and many other trees (Risley, *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 78, 87, 96, 97, 103, 105, etc.). Some of these are actually totems, while others appear to have lost their original totemistic significance.[1]

It however cannot be proved in the present state of our knowledge whether the Kadambas and the other tribes and families with tree-names were totemistic in the truest sense of the term. In this connection it is interesting to note what has been said about the totemism prevalent among the present day Santals who must originally have been a totemistic people. 'Totemism in the truest form is not present amongst the Santals. The Santals of our days do not believe in the actual descent of a clan from its totem, and the few legends of the Santals about the origin of some of their clans do not point to any belief in the descent of men from their totems. All that they indicate is that the totem animal and plant had had some accidental connection with the birth of the ancestor of the clan. As for example, the sept Pāuriā is called after the pigeon and Chōre after the lizard; and the story is that on the occasion of a famous tribal hunting party the members of these two septs failed to kill anything but pigeons and lizards; so they were called by the names of these animals.'[2] It is interesting

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[1] Totemistic ideas appear to be gradually changed with time. Among the present day Santals, only traces of their primitive totemism are to be found. 'None of these appears to be associated with the idea of culture-heroes as amongst the Amer-indians. The folk-lore shows indeed some stories centering round the plants (betel-palm, Panjaum tree, Sabai grass) and animals (tiger, jackal, leopard, crab). Besides these, some of the clans' names centre round industrial objects and articles of usefulness such as chain, earthen vessel, etc. These would be more in line with a belief in objects possessing *mana* and venerated as such and gradually getting associated with exogamous sub-divisions which might have had a hand in the invention or diffusion of those useful objects. There is no seasonal recurring ceremonial round these objects meant for the preservation or propagation of animals or plants venerated as ancestors as in Australia. There is indeed some taboo to the use by the particular sub-clan of the plant and animal venerated as its ancestor. The animal and plant thus venerated are taboo to the clans; none can hunt it, nor can they partake of its flesh. But for the observation of this taboo, the Santals are in no sense plant and animal worshippers' (P. C. Biswas, *Primitive Religion, etc., of the Santals, Journ. Dep. Let.*, Calcutta University, XXVI, p. 6).

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

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also to note that according to the Talgunda inscription and many other later Kadamba records the Kadamba tree *had some accidental connection with the family or actually with the birth* of Mayūraśarman, the ancestor of the Kadambas, exactly as the pigeon and lizard in the family traditions of the two Santal septs called Pāuriā (pigeon) and Chōre (lizard).[1]

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF AKBAR AND SHAHJEHAN—A COMPARATIVE STUDY

The history of Mughal architecture begins from the time of Akbar. Studied as a part of the Indo-Muslim architecture of Hindustan, Akbar's buildings are related to those of Sher Shah whose architecture was essentially Indian in conception. Historically Akbar took up where Sher Shah had left both in administration and architecture. What had been begun by the Pathan empire-builder was worthily continued and developed by his great Mughal successor, hence there is very little generic difference between Akbar's buildings and those of Sher Shah, except in the more outspoken Indianness of the former.

One need not suppose that Akbar played the rôle of an architect, yet it is known that he personally controlled his Public Works Department and supervised the minutest details of expense. His direct influence on the style of his architecture may have been very little, but his indirect influence was undeniable. The spirit of tolerance and a predilection for Hindu ideas that marked the character of Akbar are fully traceable in his buildings. Akbar was an Indian of Indians. This is why his architecture was really Rajput rather than Mughal.

Akbar's buildings mark a reaction against the Persianization of Muslim style in India, and barring the slight Persian influence visible in the details of surface decoration, his style is Hindu both in structure and design. The same economy, efficiency and liberality

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[1] Like *Kadaṃba*, the family name of the Pallavas seems also to be of totemistic origin. When we find that a sept of the Mundas is called Chirko, i.e. mushroom, and another is called Sewar, i.e. moss, and that a totemistic section of the Rautias is called Kharia, i.e. blade of grass (see Risley, *op. cit.*, pp. 103, 108, 123), the possibility of *Pallava*, i.e. twig (twig of the mango tree? cf. the name *Cūtapallava*) having originally a totemistic significance in connection with the Pallavas may not be altogether impossible.

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which distinguished Akbar's administration are visible in his buildings as well.

The best examples of Akbar's monuments are noticed at Sikri. These are artistically a romance in stone—a truer reflex of the mind as well as the life of the great Emperor than the chronicles of his time. Sikri is neither a freak of an irresponsible despot, nor the petrification of his passing mood. Historically Sikri supplies valuable clues to an understanding of Akbar's ideas and ideals.

Shahjehan's period witnessed an exuberance of architectural activities which, however, is unprecedented in the history of Mediæval India. His buildings mark the climax of the Indo-Muslim architecture commenced by Akbar. His palaces and mosques at Delhi and Agra, and above all the Taj, the Chefd'œvre of his reign, are veritable architectural triumphs—his passion for beauty wrought into living stone !

The contrast between the architecture of Akbar and that of Shahjehan is so striking that it cannot fail to impress even the most casual visitor watching the buildings of these two emperors at close quarters. A remarkable change came over the architecture of the Mughals after Akbar's death, although the change was only gradual under Jahangir. Under Shahjehan, however, a complete transformation is visible in his buildings, and this is an eloquent testimony to the difference in their character and outlook. Their minds are in a way mirrored in their monuments in a manner that cannot be mistaken.

The architectural policy and ideals of Akbar and Shahjehan may thus be compared.

In the first place, the style of Akbar's buildings is robust, virile and imaginative, but in the time of Shahjehan this forceful character gave place to extreme elegance bordering on almost poetic beauty. It has been aptly said that the exuberant vigour of Akbar's architecture marks the epic age of Mughal style, while the excessive refinement of Shahjehan's buildings portrays the lyric age of Mediæval architecture. Shahjehan appears from his buildings to be a more passionate lover of beauty than Akbar.

In the second place, Akbar's buildings betray a manly dignity, and there is nothing effeminate about them, whereas there is a certain sensuousness and effeminacy in the lovely creations of Shahjehan at Agra or Delhi. The warlike vigour of Akbar gave place to the sensual luxury of his grandson, and this difference in character is noticeable in their respective buildings too. Akbar's buildings give the impression of a bold warrior and man of action, while those of Shahjehan betray him as a refined epicure fond of feminine charm and elegance.

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In the third place, Akbar's style is chaste and economical, and his red sand-stone buildings at Agra or Sikri are dignified, yet economical. This illustrates Akbar's dislike of needless extravagance, and shows his prudence as an administrator and financier in avoiding the waste of the poor tax-payer's money. Shahjehan's buildings are luxurious and costly marble edifices richly decorated with precious and semi-precious stones, and their splendour and magnificence are truly dazzling. One can readily picture from them the reckless extravagance of the Emperor at the expense of the sweated millions of India.

In the fourth place, the distinguishing feature of Akbar's monuments is its Indianness, or Hindu character. This shows the wide tolerance and liberal statesmanship of Akbar, but in Shahjehan's buildings the predominant features are Persian, or foreign, and the Hindu motifs are few and far between. In fact the older school of archæologists like Fergusson and Burgess saw no trace of Hindu taste in Shahjehan's buildings, although critics like Havell and Latif have of late questioned the accuracy of such an extreme opinion. Still, the fact remains that Shahjehan's tastes were essentially Persian, and not Hindu like those of Akbar. The Persianized style of Shahjehan at once suggests the end of the tolerant and pro-Hindu policy of Akbar, and marks a reaction against it. The Muslim arch, geometrical traceries, and Persian mosaic and inlay served to prove the emergence of Muslim style in Mughal architecture, and form a parallel to the beginning of religious intolerance at this time. Akbar's Indian style exhibits him as a true nation-builder, whereas Shahjehan's buildings indicate a change in the imperial policy, and an incline towards bigotry and persecution.

Apart from the styles, the concrete features of design and decoration in Akbar's buildings also differ from those in Shahjehan's monuments. The difference can be easily understood from the following analysis.

Firstly, Akbar's buildings are almost all built of red sand-stone. Those of Shahjehan are mostly of marble of the finest quality.

Secondly, the construction of Akbar's buildings is on the Hindu corbel principle, i.e. the Hindu system of horizontal courses and brackets is followed in preference to the true radiating arches.

Thirdly, in Akbar's buildings animal forms are not avoided, and are introduced as a decorative feature. In Shahjehan's time they are not so common, and are shunned in accordance with the principles of Islam.

Fourthly, in the fresco painting at Sikri even human beings are to be noticed. In Shahjehan's time only geometrical or floral designs are seen in the inlay or ' pietra dura ' work. The picture of

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Orpheus is a solitary example of a human figure in a decoration of Shahjehan's time.

Fifthly, in Akbar's buildings enamelled tiles are freely used, and there is incised plaster work also. In Shahjehan's time tiling or plaster work gives place to stone traceries in marble, both white and coloured.

Sixthly, the design of Akbar's architecture is clearly Rajput. Shahjehan's buildings show diverse influences such as those of Bengal (Gaur) and Bijapur. The bent roofs and cornices are Bengali, and the domes, minarets and the trellis work, etc. are after the Bijapur fashion.

Seventhly, the emphasis in Akbar's time was on the structural design. In Shahjehan's time the concentration is on decoration. The ' picture architecture ' of Shahjehan was probably inspired by the Court painters and calligraphists.

Lastly, there is little inlay work in Akbar's buildings and the mosaics of this period are of marble.. In Shahjehan's architecture ' pietra dura ' inlay work after the Persian fashion predominates.

Just as Akbar's mind and genius can be studied at Sikri, Shahjehan's personality and tastes can be judged from his buildings inside the Agra Fort, or at Delhi. A generalization made on the basis of architectural style about the personal character of the builder can never be as accurate as the testimony of contemporary writers can be, and in the absence of other corroborative evidence a statement based on a comparison of buildings alone may be misleading, or even distinctly unjust. But, when the character and style of the buildings corroborate our information about the builder's personality from literary sources, there remains no doubt about their significance. Such is the case with the creations of Akbar and Shahjehan. These form a reflex of their mind and character.

As Akbar's tolerance, organizing genius, greatness as an administrator, artistic taste, manly vigour, religious turn of mind, love of economy and dignified ambition are all to be felt in his buildings, so can Shahjehan's orthodoxy, reckless prodigality, effeminate taste, abnormal egoism, inordinate refinement, and sensual character be seen in his monuments at Agra and Delhi.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI.

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ZOROASTER, HIS WORK AND HIS TIMES

Not much remains to do in the way of field work in literature (Avestan or other) which may be said to concern Zoroaster. Time has now arrived for correlating the material found and examined, and for drawing definite conclusions therefrom. Dr. Moulton's quite industrious attempt in this direction in his Hibbert Lectures on '*Early Zoroastrianism*' has failed, owing to his ill-concealed and entirely ill-founded anti-Magian bias.

The language of the Zoroastrian Gathas is a thousand years or more older than the social conditions they depict, which show close affinities to conditions in Media described, from first-hand knowledge, by Herodotus, but none at all to those found reflected in the Vedic hymns. Zoroaster was a Magian priest, and all indications point to the priestly families (in at least the heart of the Magian country) having preserved for professional purposes, not old scriptural materials only, but knowledge also and capacity to versify in the dead language in which their scriptures had been compared centuries ago. The Zoroastrian Gathas were composed in that dead language. The seventh century B.C. is thus a perfectly reasonable date to assign to Zoroaster.

In Zoroaster's time, society in Media was divided into two acutely contrasting classes, the Magians who were the producers and labourers, and the Medes, Persian and other Iranians who lorded over them after the manner of the feudal nobility of Europe in the Middle Ages over their serfs. The Magians, like their oppressors, were an Aryan-speaking people who had come and settled in Media many centuries before the Iranians, being in the interval powerfully influenced by the religious beliefs and non-pagan theosophy of the ruling Assyrian kings; whilst the Iranians appear to have been still entertaining and practising a religion which in fundamental features and much of its contents was undistinguishable from that of the Vedic Aryans. But the differences in religious beliefs or practices would not by themselves have called forth the perfervid and militant proselytizing activities of Zoroaster, if by Zoroaster's time the two peoples had not found themselves arrayed against each other in acute opposition as oppressors and oppressed.

Zoroaster's reform movement was not even remotely directed against the Magian religion of his fathers. It was primarily a social and economic revolt against Iranian oppression, and secondarily only a protest against the gods (Daevas) and the religious practices of the oppressors. These religious practices taking the form of hecatombs offered to the Daevas to the accompaniment of immoderate consumption of intoxicating drinks shared the anathemia

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of the practitioners because they actually aggravated the oppression and economic exploitation. The passive Magian aversion of former times took shape now in fervid denunciation of the oppressors and their gods, as agents and broods of the Devil himself, for whom the only admissible destiny, in the realm of justice of Ahura Muzda, could be Eternal Damnation, and nothing else. The conceptions of Salian and Hill, and of Eternal Damnation for the wicked, and the corresponding conception of Apscalyptic Resurrection reserved for the virtuous appear to have been Zoroaster's original contributions to the ruling theological ideas of the world.

Zoroaster's was no brand-new religious creed. It was Magianism with these dynamic doctrines superadded. European admirers of the prophet have been prone to suggest that whatever in Magianism or Iranianism Zoroaster is not shown to have expressly approved he must be taken to have condemned and discarded. One need only try to piece together any kind of a working theology or theosophy out of the fragments which can be safely and surely attributed to Zoroaster to see the absurdity of the suggestion. The further suggestion that Zoroaster's Magian successors in the ministry started a Counter-Reform movement which brought back into it every god and ritual which he himself had incontinently expelled is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the attitude which is responsible for these suggestions.

Not only did Zoroaster discard the Magian foundations of his ancestral religion, he admitted into it elements of Iranian origin in order to make it acceptable to his Iranian converts, to whom was due the triumphant success of his reforms, in his own lifetime.

His early preachings of unqualified crusade against Kavis, Karapans and Daevas met with repeated and heart-breaking failures. It was not until Jamaspa, the Magian Prime Minister of the originally hostile Iranian chief, Kavi Vishtaspa, had been able to bring them together, and the three of them, with the powerful backing of Queen Hutaosa, had been able between them to strike up a kind of concordat religion composed of Iranian and Magian elements, striking alike for moral soundness and broad statesmanship, that Zoroastrianized Magianism was able to start on its career of progress towards being made the State religion of Iran in Achæmenian and Sassanian times.

By resolutely refusing to see in Zoroaster anything except the prophet-founder of one of the leading religious systems known to history, European scholars have as a rule failed to do justice :

(*a*) to the statesman and capable man of affairs in Zoroaster ;

(*b*) to the substantial contributions from Magian and Iranian sources which were really what gave flesh and blood and working efficacy to his system ;

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(*c*) to the part played, in assuring success to this system, by King Vishtaspa and Queen Hutaosa, and more than all by his future son-in-law and fellow-apostle, Jamaspa ;

(*d*) to the highly liberal and statesmanlike spirit in which this religion of concordat had been conceived.

It is not only time that these should be duly avowed and acknowledged, but also that the Counter-Reform myth mentioned above should be finally nailed to the counter, and due recognition given to the services faithfully performed by Zoroaster's successors in the ministry in giving practical effect to schemes which Zoroaster himself had conceived in his lifetime and left as his legacy to them and to the Iranian nation as a whole, unified for the first time as one nation through the united efforts of himself and Jamaspa, joined to those of Vishtaspa and Hutaosa.

N. N. GHOSH.

A NOTE ON THE DATE OF VAṄGASENA, THE AUTHOR OF THE *CIKITSĀ-SĀRA-SAṀGRAHA*

In the January issue of this Journal Mr. P. K. Gode has published a note to show that the latest date of Vaṅgasena, the author of a medical treatise called *Cikitsā-sāra-saṁgraha*, must be the 12th century and not the 13th as maintained by Mr. Nalini Nath Das Gupta (above, Vol. III, No. 1, page 159). His contention rests on the fact that references to Vaṅgasena's work are found in plenty in Hemādri's commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II. Recording a long list of such references, he concludes : 'from the nature and extent of Hemādri's references to, and quotations from, Vaṅgasena's work, I am inclined to conclude that Vaṅgasena flourished in the *12th century at the latest.* At any rate he is earlier than A.D. 1200 as we must presume a difference of about 75 years between him and Hemādri (1260 A.D.)'.

It cannot be seen why the same argument of Mr. Gode should not hold good in placing the Vaidya author in the 13th century as well. As Mr. Gode has rightly observed, Hemādri wrote his commentary on the medical treatise in the age of the Yādava King Rāmacandra, whom we know as reigning from 1271 to 1309 A.D., a sufficiently long period indeed. Hemādri is reputed to have written a great many work in this period, as in that of Mahādeva, the predecessor of Rāmacandra. Researches on Hemādri's works

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might lead us to chronological results pertaining to the same ; but taking the extreme case for the present, his commentary on Vāgbhaṭa cannot be placed prior to 1271 A.D., the date of Rāmacandra's accession to the throne. Even admitting that, we are at a loss to understand how this leads us to place Vaṅgasena necessarily earlier than the 13th century A.D. In this connexion, again, we are not to lose sight of the fact that Rāmacandra's reign extends over the opening of the 14th century as well.

There seems to be no reason why Mr. Gode thinks it necessary to assume a difference of about 75 years between Hemādri and the Vaidya writer. It might be more or less. Instances might be cited to indicate that authors make references to, and borrow from, even the works of their contemporaries. It is not again clear why this difference, if any, should be counted back from the year 1260 A.D., the time of accession to the throne of Mahādeva, the predecessor of Rāmacandra as Mr. Gode has done, although he himself has made the statement that Hemādri wrote that commentary during the reign of the latter king.

Mr. Das Gupta has also drawn our attention to the fact that the lower limit of the date of Gadādhara, Vaṅgasena's father, falls in the first quarter of the 13th century. If it is correct, the date of Vaṅgasena cannot presumably be pushed back. Under the present circumstances we cannot but agree with Mr. Das Gupta in whose opinion Vaṅgasena, the Vaidya author, flourished in *the 13th century at the latest.*

H. V. TRIVEDI.

A PHILOSOPHICAL INDEX TO THE CHĀNDOGYA-UPANIṢAD

a-ā

1. **अकृत** AKṚTA, a. : uncreated (undone, unperformed, not made, not ready, incomplete) ; *-taṃ* (acc. sg. m.), VIII, 13. 1 :— *Śyāmāc śabalaṃ prapadye. Śabalāc śyāmaṃ prapadye. Aśva iva romāṇi vidhūya pāpam, candra iva Rāhor mukhāt pramucya dhūtvā śarīram, akṛtaṃ kṛta-ātmā brahma-lokam abhisambhavāmi, abhisambhavāmi.* (*See* E. G. Carpani, 'A Note on the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad (VIII, 13. 1)', in *Indian Culture* (Journal of the Indian Research Institute), Calcutta,

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1937, Vol. III, 3, pp. 545–47.) *Cf.* Muṇḍ. U.[1], I, 2. 12 :— *akṛtaḥ* [*lokaḥ*] ; M.U., VI, 18, and Muṇḍ. U., III, 1. 3 for *vidhūya pāpam.*

2. **अक्षर** AKṢARA, n. : syllable (imperishable) ; a sound ; speech ; religious austerity ; sacrifice ; justice ; final beatitude. *-ram* (nom.-acc. sg.), I, 1. 1, 5, 7, 8 ; 2. 14 ; 4. 1, 4, 5. II, 10. 3. *-rasya* (gen. sg.), I, 1. 9, 10. *-re* (loc. sg.), I, 1. 6. *-rāṇi* (nom. pl.), II, 10. 4 ; 23. 3 ; VIII, 3. 5. (*See* P. M. Modi, ' A Forgotten Chapter in the History of Indian Philosophy (AKṢARA) ', Baroda, 1932, pp. 123–142.)

3. **अणिमन्** AṆIMAN, m. : subtility (also as a superhuman faculty) ; *-mā* (nom. sg.), VI, 6. 1, 2, 3, 4 :—*Dadhnaḥ, saumya, mathyamānasya yo'ṇimā, sa ūrdhvaḥ samudīṣati, tat sarpir bhavati* ‖ 1 ‖ etc. ; 8. 6 ; 9. 4 ; 10. 3 ; 11. 3 ; 12. 3 ; 13. 3 ; 14. 3 ; 15. 3 ; 16. 3 ; *-mānam* (acc. sg.), VI, 12. 2. *-mnas* (gen. sg.), VI, 12. 2 ; VIII, 6. 1.

4. **अतिमृत्यु** ATIMṚTYU, a. : beyond death, overcoming death ; *-yu* (acc. sg. n.), II, 10. 1, 6 :—*Atha khalv ātma-sammitam atimṛtyu saptavidhaṃ sāma-upāsīta. Hin-kāra iti try-akṣaram, prastāva iti try-akṣaram, tat samam* ‖ 1 ‖. (' *Ātmasammitam* enferme un double sens, d'une part : " qui se mesure par ou sur lui-même "—allusion au jeu qui va suivre sur le nombre de syllabes des divers termes—, et de l'autre : " égal à l'*ātman*, a l'âme ", et c'est sans doute le sens primitif du terme, celui qui explique ou qu'explique l'autre épithète *atimṛtyu*, puisque l'*ātman* dépasse la mort. De là ont dû sortir les jeux sur le nombre des syllabes : ceux-ci semblent n'avoir par eux-mêmes aucune portée et trouver leur origine dans une interprétation secondaire et tournée au calembour du qualificatif *ātmasammitam* '.—Émile Senart, ' Chāndogya-Upaniṣad ', Paris, 1930, p. 21, footnote 3.)

5. **अतिविमान** ATIVIMĀNA, a. : beyond measurement : -nam (acc. sg. m.), V, 18. 1 :—*Tān ha uvaca : Ete vai khalu yūyam pṛthag iva imam ātmānaṃ vaiśvānaraṃ vidvāṃso'nnam attha. Yas tv etam eva prādeśa-mātram ati-vimānam vaiśvānaram upāste, sa sarveṣu lokeṣu sarveṣu bhūteṣu sarveṣu ātmasv annam*

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[1] *Abbreviations* : Ch.U. : Chāndogya-Up(aniṣad) ; B.Ā.U. : Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-Up. ; Taitt.U. : Taittirīya-Up. ; Ait.U. : Aitareya-Up. ; Kauṣ.U. : Kauṣitaki-Up. ; Ke.U. : Kena-Up. ; Kāṭ.U. : Kāṭhaka-Up. ; Ī.U. : Īśā-Up. ; Muṇḍ.U. : Muṇḍaka-Up. ; Pr.U. : Praśna-Up. ; Māṇḍ.U. : Māṇḍūkya-Up. ; Śvet.U. : Śvetāśvatara-Up. ; M.U. : Maitrāyaṇa-Up. ; Bh.G. : Bhagavad-Gītā ; D-Sech. : Deussen's *Sechzig Upanishad's.*

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atti. (For *sarveṣu lokeṣu . . . annam atti*, see B.Ā.U., II, 2. 4 ; VI, 1. 14 ; Ch.U., V, 2. 1.)

6. अथकार ATHAKĀRA m. : the sound *atha* ; *-ras* (nom. sg.), I, 13. 1 :—*Ayaṃ vāva loko hāü-kāraḥ, vāyur hāi-kāraḥ, candramā atha-kāraḥ, ātmā iha-kāraḥ, agnir ī-kāraḥ*. (According to Senart, *op. cit.*, p. 16, footnote 1, 'ces diverses syllabes, appelées *stobha*, ont leur place marquée dans certaines parties du chant liturgique. Par exemple *atha* est la lune parce que *a* est la première īsyllabe d'*a-nna*, "nourriture", que *tha* (qui se trouve dans *sthita*) évoque une idée de permanence, et que la lune, comme réceptable de l'ambroisie, est essentiellement nourriture, etc.'.)

7. अद्वितीय ADVITĪYA, a. : without a second, unique ; *-yam* (nom. sg. n.), VI, 2. 1, 2 :—*Sad eva saumya idam agra āsīd ekam eva a-dvitīyam. Tadd ha eka āhuḥ : A-sad eva idam agra āsīd ekam eva a-dvitīyam. Tasmād a-sataḥ sad ajāyata iti* ॥ 1 ॥. *Kutas tu khalu saumya evaṃ syāt, iti ha uvāca. Katham a-sataḥ saj jāyeta. Sat tv eva, saumya, idam agra āsīd ekam eva a-dvitīyam* ॥ 2 ॥. (Primordial Non-being, *cf.* Ch.U., III, 19. 1, and Taitt. U., II, 7.)

8. अधिदैवतम् ADHIDAIVATAM, adv. : in reference to the divine ; I, 3. 1 ; 5. 2 ; 6. 8 ; III, 18. 1, 2 ; IV, 3. 2.

9. अध्यात्मम् ADHYĀTMAM, adv. : in reference to self ; I, 2. 14 ; 5. 3 ; 7. 1 ; III, 18. 1, 2 ; IV, 3. 3.

10. अनन्त ananta, a. : limitless ; *-tas* (nom. sg. m.), I, 9. 2 :—*Saeṣa paro-varīyān udgīthaḥ, sa eṣo'n-antaḥ . . .*

11. अनन्तवन्त् ANANTAVANT, a. : limitless ; *-vān* (nom. sg. m.) IV, 6. 3, 4 :—*Brahmaṇaḥ, saumya, te pādaṃ bravāṇi iti. Bravītu me bhagavān iti. Tasmai ha uvāca : Pṛthivī kalā, antarikṣaṃ kalā, dyauḥ kalā, samudraḥ kalā : eṣa vai, saumya, catuṣ-kalaḥ pādo brahmaṇo'n-antavān nāma* ॥ 3 ॥. *Sa ya etam evaṃ vidāṃś catuṣ-kalaṃ pādaṃ brahmaṇo'n-antavān ity upāste, an-antavān asmiṅl loke bhavati. An-antavato ha lokāñ jayati, ya etam evaṃ vidvāṃś catuṣ-kalaṁ pādaṃ brahmaṇo'n-antavān ity upāste* ॥ 4 ॥.

12. अन्तरिक्ष ANTARIKṢA, n. : the middle of the three spheres or regions of life (in the Veda) ; atmosphere ; *-ṣam* (nom.-acc. sg.), I, 3. 7 ; 6. 2 ; II, 2. 1, 2 ; 17. 1 ; III, 1. 1 ; 15. 5 ; IV, 6. 3 ; VII, 6. 1 ; 8. 1 ; 10. 1. *-ṣāt* (abl. sg.), III, 14. 3 ; IV, 17. 1. *-ṣe* (loc. sg.), IV, 9. 4.—*antarikṣakṣit*, a. : dwelling in the atmosphere ; *-te* (dat. sg.), II, 24. 9.—*antarikṣodara*, a. : amid the atmosphere ; *-ras* (nom. sg. m.), III, 15. 1.

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13. अन्तवेला ANTAVELĀ, f. : hour of death ; final hour ; *-lāyām* (loc. sg.), III, 17. 6 :—*Tadd ha etad Ghora Āṅgirasaḥ Kṛṣṇāya Devakī-putrāya uktvā uvāca : A-pipāsa eva sa babhūva, so'nta-velāyām etat trayaṃ pratipadyet : A-kṣitam asi, a-cyutam asi, prāṇa-saṃśitam asi iti. . . .*

14. अन्न ANNA, n. : food ; *-nam* (nom.-acc. sg.), I, 3. 6 ; 8. 4 ; 11. 9 ; 12. 2, 5 ; 13. 2 ; II, 22. 2 ; IV, 3. 6, 8 ; 11. 1 ; V, 2. 1 ; 6. 2 ; 7. 2 ; 10. 4, 6 ; 12. 2 ; 13. 2 ; 14. 2 ; 15. 2 ; 16. 2 ; 17. 2 ; 18. 1 ; VI, 2. 4 ; 5. 1 ; VII, 4. 2 ; 7. 1 ; 9. 1 ; 9. 2 ; 10. 1 ; 26. 1. *-nena* (instr. sg.), VI, 7. 6 ; 8. 4. *-nasya* (gen. sg.), I, 8. 4 ; 10. 6 ; VI, 4. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 ; VII, 4. 2 ; 9. 1, 2. *-nāt* (abl. sg.), VI, 8. 4 ; VII, 9. 2 ; 10. 1. *-ne* (loc. sg.), I, 3. 6.

15. अन्नपान ANNAPĀNA, n. : food and drink ; *-ne* (nom. du.), VIII, 2. 7.—*annapānaloka*, m. : the world of food and drink ; *-kena* (instr. sg.), VIII, 2. 7.—*annapānalokakāma*, a. : desirous of the world of food and drink ; *-mas* (nom. sg. m.), VIII, 2. 7.—*annamaya*, a. : consisting of food ; *-yam* (nom. sg. n.), VI, 5. 4 ; 6. 5 ; 7. 6.—*annavant*, a. : having food ; *-vān* (nom. sg. m.), I, 3. 7 ; 13. 4 ; II, 8. 3—*annāda*, a. : eating food, having food to eat ; *-das* (nom. sg. m.), I, 3. 7 ; 13. 4 ; II, 8. 3 ; 12. 2 ; 14. 2 ; III, 13. 1, 3 ; IV, 3. 8. *-dī* (nom. sg. f.), IV, 3. 8—*annādya*, n. : (eating of) food ; *-yam* (nom. sg.), III, 1. 3 ; 2. 2 ; 3. 2 ; 4. 2 ; 5. 2 ; 13. 1, 3 ; VI, 2. 4. *-yena* (instr. sg.), V, 19. 2 ; 20. 2 ; 21. 2 ; 22. 2 ; 23. 2.

16. अन्वेषणा ANVEṢAṆĀ, f. : investigation : -(nom. sg.), IV, 1. 7.

17. अपहति APAHATI, f. : removal, destruction ; *-tir* (nom. sg.), VIII, 12. 1.

18. अपान APĀNA, m. : out-breathing, expiration (opposed to *prāṇa*) ; ' that of the five vital airs which goes downwards and out at the anus ', according to Monier William's Sanskrit-English Dictionary. *-nas* (nom. sg.), I, 3. 3 ; III, 13. 3 ; V, 21. 1. *-nāya* (dat. sg.), V, 21. 1. *-ne* (loc. sg.), V, 21. 2.

19. अप्रवर्तिन् APRAVARTIN, a. : not flowing forth, inactive ; *-ti* (nom. sg. n.), III, 12. 9. *-tinīm* (acc. sg. f.), III, 12. 9 :—*Ayaṃ vāva sa yo'yam antar hṛdaya ākāśaḥ. Tad etat pūrṇam a-pravarti. Pūrṇām a-pravartinīm śriyaṃ labhate ya evaṃ veda.* (Ch. U. *pūrṇam a-parvarti* = B.Ā.U., II, 1. 5.)

20. अभिनन्द् ABHINANDA, m. : desire ; *-dā* (nom. pl.), V, 8. 1 :—*Yoṣā vāva, Gautama, agniḥ. Taysā upastha eva samit, yad upamantrayate sa dhūmaḥ, yonir archiḥ, yad antaḥ karoti te'ṅgārāḥ, abhinandā visphuliṅgāḥ.*

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21. अमृत AMṚTA, a. : immortal ; n. : immortality ; immortal nectar, drink, ambrosia ; *-tas* (nom. sg. m.), I, 4. 5. *-tam* (nom.-acc. sg. n., acc. sg. m.), I, 4. 4, 5 ; III, 6. 1, 3 ; 7. 1, 3 ; 8. 1, 3 ; 9. 1, 3 ; 10. 1, 3 ; 12. 6 ; IV, 15. 1 ; VII, 24. 1 ; VIII, 3. 4, 5 ; 7. 4 ; 8. 3 ; 10. 1 ; 11. 1 ; 14. 1. *-tā* (nom. sg. f.), I, 4. 5. *-tasya* (gen. sg.), VIII, 12. 1. *-tās* (nom. pl. m.-f.), I, 4. 4 ; III, 1. 2 ; 2. 1 ; 3. 1 ; 4. 1 ; 5. 1, 4. *-tāni* (nom. pl. n.), III, 5. 4. *-tānām* (gen. pl.), III, 5. 4.—*amṛtatva*, n. : immortality ; *-vam* (acc. sg.), II, 22. 2 ; 23. 2 ; VIII, 6. 6.

22. अल्प ALPA, a. : finite ; *-pam* (nom. sg. n.), VII, 24. 1. *-pe* (loc. sg.), VII, 23. 1. *-pās* (nom. pl. m.), VII, 6. 1.

23. अविजानन्त् AVIJĀNANT, a. : undiscerning ; *-nan* (nom. sg. m.), VII, 17. 1 :—*Yadā vai vijānāti, atha satyaṃ vadati. Na a-vijānan satyaṃ vadati, vijānann eva satyaṃ vadati. Vijñānaṃ tv eva vijijñāsitavyam iti. . . .*

24. अविज्ञात AVIJÑĀTA, a. : undistinguished ; *-tam* (nom.-acc. sg. n.), VI, 1. 3 ; 4. 5, 7 :—*Etadd ha sma vai tad-vidvāṃsa āhuḥ pūrve mahā-śālā mahā-śrotriyāḥ : Na no'dya kaś cana a-śrutam a-matam a-vijñātam udāhariṣyati, iti hy ebhyo vidāṃ cakruḥ* ॥ 5 ॥ . *Yad v a-vijñātam iva abhūd iti, etāsām eva devatānāṃ samāsaḥ, iti tad vidāṃ cakruḥ. Yathā tu khalu, saumya, imās tisro devātāḥ puruṣaṃ prāpya trivṛt trivṛt eka-ekā bhavati, tan me vijānīhi iti* ॥ 7 ॥ .

25. अविद्या AVIDYĀ, f. : ignorance ; spiritual ignorance or illusion ; -(nom. sg.), I, 1. 10 :— . . . *nānā tu vidyā ca a-vidyā ca. Yad eva vidyayā karoti śraddhayā upaniṣadā, tad eva vīryavattaraṃ bhavati. . . .*—*avidvāṅs*, a. : not knowing ;—*dvān* (nom. sg. m.), I, 10. 9, 10, 11 ; 11. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 ; V, 11. 5 ; 24. 1. *-duṣām* (gen. pl.), VIII, 6. 5.

26. अश्रुत AŚRUTA, a. : not heard ; *-tam* (nom.-acc. sg. n.), VI, 1. 3 ; 4. 5. (See No. 24.)

27. असन्त् ASANT, a. : not existing ; *-at* (nom. sg. n.), III, 19. 1 ; VI, 2. 1. *-satas* (abl. sg.), VI, 2. 1, 2.

28. असम्भेद ASAMBHEDA, m. : non-union ; separation ; *-dāya* (dat. sg.), VIII, 4. 1 :—*Atha ya ātmā, sa setur vidhṛtir eṣāṃ lokānām a-sambhedāya. Na etaṃ setum aho-rātre taratah, na jarā, na mṛtyuḥ, na śokaḥ, na sukṛtam, na duṣkṛtam.* (*Cf.* B.Ā.U., IV, 4. 22 : *eṣa sarveśvara . . . setur vidharaṇa*, M.U., VII, 7 ; Māṇḍ. U., 6 ; Muṇḍ.U., II, 2. 5 ; Śvet.U., VI, 19.)

29. अस्मद्विद्या ASMADVIDYĀ, f. : knowledge of ourselves : -(nom. sg.), IV, 14. 1 :—*Te ha ūcuḥ : Upakosala, eṣā, saumya, te'smad-vidyā ca ātma-vidyā ca. . . .*

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30. अहꣳश्रेयस् AHAṂŚREYAS, n. : self-conceit ; pre-eminence of the Ego ; *-yasi* (loc. sg.), V, 1. 6 :—*Atha ha prāṇā ahaṃ-śreyasi vyūdire : Ahaṃ śreyān asmi, ahaṃ śreyān asmi iti.* (For rivalry of the functions and superiority of breath, *see* B.Ā.U., VI, 1. 7–14 ; Ch.U., V, 2. 2 ; *cf.* also Ch.U., I, 2. 1–9 ; B.Ā.U., I, 3. 1–19 ; Kauṣ.U., III, 2-3 ; Pr.U., II, 2–4, and Mahā-Bhārata, XIV, 23. 6–22.)—*ahaṃkārādeśa*, m. : doctrine of the Ego ; *-śas* (nom. sg.), VII, 25. 1 :—*Sa eva adhastāt, sa upariṣṭāt, sa paścāt, sa purastāt, sa dakṣiṇataḥ, sa uttarataḥ, sa eva idaṃ sarvam iti. Atha ato'haṃ-kāra-ādeśa eva : aham eva adhastāt, aham upariṣṭāt, ahaṃ paścāt, ahaṃ purastāt, ahaṃ dakṣiṇataḥ, aham uttarataḥ, aham eva idaṃ sarvam iti.* (*Cf.* Muṇḍ.U., II, 2. 11.)

31. आकाश ĀKĀŚA, m. : free space, sky ; atmosphere or sky ; fifth element ; *-śas* (nom. sg.), I, 9. 1 ; III, 11. 7 ; 12. 7, 8, 9 ; 13. 5 ; 18. 1 ; IV, 13. 1 ; V, 6. 1 ; 23. 2 ; VII, 4. 2 ; 12. 1 ; 26. 1 ; VIII, 1. 1, 2, 3 ; 14. 1. *-śam* (acc. sg.), I, 9. 1 ; IV, 10. 5 ; V, 10. 4, 5 ; 15. 1 ; VII, 2. 1 ; 7. 1 ; 11. 1 ; 12. 1, 2 ; VIII, 12. 4. *-śena* (instr. sg.), VII, 12. 1. *-śāt* (abl. sg.), I, 9. 1 ; V, 10. 4, 5 ; 12. 2 ; VII, 13. 1 ; VIII, 12. 2. *-śasya* (gen. sg.), VII, 12. 2. *-śe* (loc. sg.), V, 23. 2 ; VII, 12. 1.—*ākāśavant*, a. : possessing free space ; *-vatas* (acc. pl.), VII, 12. 2—*ākāśātman*, a. : with atmosphere as self ; *-mā* (nom. sg. m.), III, 14. 2 :—*Mano-mayaḥ, prāṇa-śarīro bhā-rūpaḥ satyasaṅkalpa ākāśa-ātmā sarva-karmā sarva-kāmaḥ sarva-gandhaḥ sarva-rasaḥ sarvam idam abhyātto'-vāky an-ādaraḥ.* (The thought recurs at B.Ā.U., V, 6 ; *cf.* Muṇḍ.U., III, 1. 7 ; M.U., VII. 7 ; Śvet.U., III, 20 ; IV. 14. *manomayaḥ . . . ākāśātma* = M.U., II, 6 ; *with* manomayaḥ prāṇaśarīro *cf.* Muṇḍ.U., II, 2. 7.)

32. आत्मक्रीड ĀTMAKRĪḌA, a. : delighting in self ; *-ḍas* (nom. sg. m.), VII, 25. 2 :—*Atha ata ātma-ādeśa eva : ātmā eva adhastāt, ātmā upariṣṭāt, ātmā paścāt, ātmā purastāt, ātmā dakṣiṇataḥ, ātmā uttarataḥ, ātmā eva idaṃ sarvam iti. Sa vā eṣa evaṃ paśyann evaṃ manvāna evaṃ vijānann ātma-ratir ātma-krīḍa ātma-mithuna ātma-ānandaḥ sa sva-rāḍ bhavati, tasya sarveṣu lokeṣu kāma-cāro bhavati. . . .* (For *ātmaratir ātmakrīḍa*, see Muṇḍ.U., III, 1. 4.)

33. आत्मन् ĀTMAN, m. : breath ; soul ; spirit ; principle of life and sensation ; the abstract individual ; the individual soul ; the self ; the self *par excellence* ; the soul of the universe ; *-mā* (nom. sg.), I, 7. 2 ; 13. 1 ; III, 14. 3, 4 ; IV, 3. 7 ; 15. 1 ; V, 11. 1 ; 12. 1 ; 13. 1 ; 14. 1 ; 15. 1 ; 16. 1 ; 17. 1 ; VI, 8. 7 ; 9. 4 ; 10. 3 ; 11. 3 ; 12. 3 ; 13. 3 ; 14. 3 ; 15. 3 ; 16. 3 ; VII,

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3. 1 ; 5. 2 ; 25. 2 ; VIII, 1. 5 ; 3. 3, 4 ; 4. 1 ; 5. 3 ; 7. 1, 3, 4 ; 8. 3, 4 ; 10. 1 ; 11. 1 ; 12. 4, 5 ; 14. 1. *-mānam* (acc. sg.), I, 3. 12 ; II, 9. 4 ; 22. 5 ; V, 11. 2, 4, 6 ; 12. 1, 2 ; 13. 1, 2 ; 14. 1, 2 ; 15. 1, 2 ; 16. 1, 2 ; 17. 1, 2 ; 18. 1 ; VI, 16. 1, 2 ; VIII, 1. 6 ; 5. 1, 2 ; 7. 1, 2, 3 ; 8. 1, 4 ; 11. 1, 2 ; 12. 6. *-manā* (instr. sg.), VI, 3. 2, 3 ; 11. 1. *-mane* (dat. sg.), 11. 22. 2. *-manas* (gen. sg.), V, 12. 2 ; 13. 2 ; 14. 2 ; 15. 2 ; 16. 2 ; 17. 2 ; 18. 2 ; VIII, 5. 2 ; 8. 1 ; 12. 1. *-mani* (loc. sg.), V, 24. 4 ; VIII, 15. 1. *-mānas* (nom. pl.), II, 22. 3. *-masu* (loc. pl.), V, 18. 1 ; 24. 2.—VIII, 5. 2 ; 8. 1 ; 12. 1. *-mani* (loc. sg.), V, 24. 4 ; VIII, 15. 1. *-mānas* (nom. pl.), II, 22. 3. *-masu* (loc. pl.), V, 18. 1 ; 24. 2. —*ātmamithuna*, a. : having self as a match, coupled with self ; *-nas* (nom. sg. m.), VII, 25. 2.—*ātmarati*, a. : finding satisfaction in self ; *-tis* (nom. sg. m.), VII, 25. 2.—*ātmavid*, a. : knowing the supreme spirit or self ; *-vit* (nom. sg.), VII, 1. 3.—*ātmavidyā*, f. : knowledge of the supreme spirit or of the self ; spiritual knowledge ; -(nom. sg.), IV, 14. 1. (*See* No. 29.)—*ātmasammita*, a. : self-measured ; *-tam* (acc. sg. n.), II, 10. 1, 6. (*See* No. 4.)—*ātmādeśa*, m. : doctrine of the soul or self ; *-śas* (nom. sg.), VII, 25. 2. (*See* No. 32.)—*ātmānanda*, a. : finding bliss in self ; *-das* (nom. sg. m.), VII, 25. 2. (*See* No. 32.)

34. आयुस् ĀYUS, n. : life ; duration of life ; vital power ; -(acc. sg.), II, 11. 2 ; 12. 2 ; 13. 2 ; 14. 2 ; 15. 2 ; 16. 2 ; 17. 2 ; 18. 2 ; 19. 2 ; 20. 2 ; III, 16. 6 ; IV, 11. 2 ; 12. 2 ; 13. 2. *-uṣas* (abl. sg.), II, 24. 6, 10, 15.

35. आर्जव ĀRJAVA, n. : rectitude ; ' propriety of act or observance ' (Monier William's Sanskrit-English Dictionary) ; honesty ; *-vam* (nom. sg.), III, 17. 4.

36. आविर्भावतिरोभाव ĀVIRBHĀVATIROBHĀVA, m. : appearance and disappearance ; *-vāu* (nom. du.), VII, 26. 1.

E. G. CARPANI.

Exegetical notes embodying, among others, different interpretations of European and Indian Sanskrit scholars, will be published in separate section at the end of this article.

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REVIEWS

INDO-EUROPÉENS ET INDO-IRANIENS. L'INDE JUSQUE VERS 300 AV. J.-C. Par Louis de La Vallée Poussin. *'Supplement'* (=Histoire du Monde, III). E. De Boccard, Paris, 1936. Frs. 15.

The book under review is a *Supplement* to the valuable work 'Indo-européens et Indo-iraniens=L'Inde jusque vers 300 av. J.-C.' by the same author. Professor Poussin has now compiled an exhaustive and useful appendix arranged chronologically under different subject-groups, viz.: I. *Indo-européens, Âryens ou Indo-iraniens, Véda: Récentes études sur les Indo-européens et leur habitat; Hittite; Mitanni; Civilisation de l'Indus;* II. *Relations de l'âryen et du non-âryen: Indo-iranien et non-âryen; Emprunts des anciens Âryens de l'Inde; Origines de l'hindouisme; Sacrifice, pûjâ, idolâtrie; Transmigration; La 'vie de religieux';* III. *Bouddhisme: 'Religion' et 'Mystique'; ancien bouddhisme-religion; Religion du Grand Véhicule; Ancien mysticisme: 'Nirvâṇa';* IV. *Histoire des langues indiennes.*

In the course of the discussion Professor Poussin makes many acute and valuable remarks. His method is to be commended, in that it is only by analysis of all the points of view of a historico-philological question in this period that its definitive explanation can be settled.

E. G. CARPANI.

THE ṚGVEDABHĀṢYA OF SKANDASVĀMIN (FIRST AṢṬAKA), edited by C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.), Reader in Sanskrit, University of Madras, Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 8, pp. xvi+528, 1935.

When Max Müller published Sāyaṇa's commentary it had a mixed reception in Europe and America, but in India it was universally acclaimed as a great achievement, and Max Müller himself has since been always venerated in India for his great work. Later in Europe too the scholarly world was convinced of the usefulness of Sāyaṇa's commentary, and thus we find that Pischel and Geldner in their 'Vedische Studien' and later Geldner alone in his translation making copious use of the mediæval commentaries. Even Oldenberg, perhaps the most exact and accurate of all the Vedic scholars, has allotted quite an important place to the hints and suggestions given by Sāyaṇa, Mahīdhara, etc. It was realized more and more that the true meaning of the Vedic hymns will never be recovered only by trying to impose upon them the most rational interpretation that suggests itself to us. For what appears to be most rational to us might not have appeared rational at all to the authors of the hymns, and moreover there is always the danger of over-rationalizing. The safest corrective to these dangerous modern tendencies is surely to be found in the mediæval commentaries, for however late they might be, there can be no doubt that the tradition embodied in them is very much older. The best way to prove this is perhaps to compare Sāyaṇa's commentary with the brief explanatory notes given by Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya when he quotes Vedic verses. Sāyaṇa's comments are certainly much more profuse than those of Patañjali. Yet there is evidently a striking similarity between them, which sometimes might even produce the illusion that Sāyaṇa's comments are but the amplified form of those given by Patañjali. But it is possible to push our enquiry still further back. Already in the Brāhmaṇas the verses of the Saṃhitās have been treated in a way which makes it quite clear that even the

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authors of these early ritualistic texts did not understand their meaning. This fact in itself need not be surprising at all, for it lies in the nature of *mantras* that they should signify something more than is conveyed by mere words. Language is indeed a system of symbols and nothing else. But even within such a system the most symbolical would be the *mantras*, whose function was not to express but to suggest, and which were evoked more by the heart than by the head. It is clear therefore that modern philology, in spite of all its perfected weapons, will never be able to conquer the inner citadel of the *mantras* ; the utmost they can do is to carry the outer ramparts—the word-forms. For the true meaning of the *mantras*, however, we have to depend as much as ever on the tradition embodied in the mediæval commentaries, and from this point of view the publication of Skandasvāmin's commentary is very much to be welcomed.

Onerous and exacting as the task of editing a new commentary of the Ṛgveda is, Mr. Kunhan Raja seems to have gone to his work with a naive and unbecoming haste. The gist of his short preface is that he is too busy to give any detailed account of his work. He is in such a hurry that he cannot find time even to describe his manuscript materials,—or rather material, for he says on p. xv that his edition is based on one manuscript only. But as this manuscript in some places gives the commentary of Sāyaṇa instead of that of Skandasvāmin, our editor has thought it necessary to give in those places the text of Skandasvāmin as published in the Trivandrum edition. In the same strain Mr. Kunhan Raja adds, ' In some places the passage as printed does not yield a meaning. There are many places where some notes would have been helpful. Since I am preparing a comprehensive study of the works of Skandasvāmin . . . . I reserve all such elucidatory matter for that work '. The reader is thus asked to believe that the innumerable details of the commentary requiring special elucidation will be dealt with in the editor's forthcoming work on the commentator Skandasvāmin. But that is a sheer absurdity. The real purpose of the editor seems to have been to bring out a new volume as soon as possible, and for this he has been compelled continually to refer to the future wherever any critical work is expected of him. Once he says : ' I have printed here only the first Adhyāya ' (p. xiv). But what should that signify ? The number of hypographical mistakes is truly astounding, and they disfigure not only the commentary but the text as well. To give a few instances of hypographical mistake in the text, *divé-dive* is uniformly treated as two words, in I, 3. 2. we have *śavīrayā* instead of *śávīrayā !* On p. 9, I have noted five printing mistakes, none of which has been noticed in the long list of errata : two of them in the text and the remaining three in the commentary. This shows with how much caution this volume has to be used.

In spite of the negligent manner in which Skandasvāmin's commentary has been edited in this volume there can be no doubt that it will prove to be of great value to us in interpreting the Ṛgveda. By a rapid glance through the volume, I could find at least one case in which Skandasvāmin gives a different version of the *mantra* itself ! In I, 54. 9 (p. 224), the compound *indrapānāḥ* has been treated as two words by Skandasvāmin, for his gloss on the word is " हे इन्द्र पानाः पानार्हाः, सम्यक् संस्कृता इत्यर्थः " । (It may not be irrelevant to mention here that there are three hypographical mistakes also on this page, one of which has not been mentioned in the list of errata.) On innumerable points however the new commentary gives better interpretations than Sāyaṇa's. As regards the *itihāsas* Skandasvāmin often gives us more information. Thus on I, 112. 1, he gives the legend of Aṃśa unnoticed by Sāyaṇa : अत्रेतिहासमाचक्षते । अंशनामानमादित्यानामन्यतमं पर्यटन्तमसुरा जगृहुः । सोऽश्विनावाजुहाव । तमश्विनौ शक्तुमापूरयन्तावाजग्मतुः । तस्माच्छक्तुशब्दादेव बिभ्यतोऽसुरा नेशुरिति ।

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Sometimes Skandasvāmin's interpretation of the *itihāsa*-passages are better than Sāyaṇa's. Thus in I, 54. 6 (p. 223), *Avám āvitha náryaṃ turváśaṃ yádum* Sāyaṇa considers *nárya* to be a proper name like Turvaśa and Yadu, but Sk. has taken *nárya* to be an adjective. How daring and ingenious are sometimes the interpretations suggested by Sk. will appear from a consideration of the third pāda of the next verse : *ukthā vā yó abhigṛṇáti rā́dhasā.* Here Sk. says : उक्थशब्दः स्तोत्रवचनः, तृतीयाबहुवचनस्यायमाचारः। That is of course impossible. (On this page there are three typographical mistakes, one of which has not been noted in the list of errata.) Lastly I should like to point out a few of those numerous cases in which Skandasvāmin's interpretation is distinctly better than Sāyaṇa's. Commenting on the second pāda of I, 1. 2, Skandasvāmin makes the following remark which proves his insight into Vedic syntax : एवमस्यार्धर्चस्य पूर्वयर्चैकवाक्यता, अपरः पादो भिन्नं वाक्यम्। The point in the third pāda of I, 1. 6 (*táv'ét tát satyám aṅgiraḥ*) is better brought out by Skandasvāmin who says : तवेत् तवैव तत्। यद्यजमानाय भद्रं दास्यसि स यज्ञान्तरे तत्तुभ्यं दास्यति। तस्मात्तवैव। As is well-known, Sāyaṇa gives a wrong interpretation of *dóṣāvastar* in I, 1. 7 ; Skandasvāmin gives a better if not the correct meaning : दोषावस्तः रात्रौ स्वेन ज्योतिषा तमसामाच्छादयितः ; दोषा रात्रिः वस आच्छादने। commenting on I, 3. 3, our commentator says : अश्विनोरेकः दस्रः नासत्यः अपरः। उभाभ्यां सभौ उच्येते। This might be true for the later period. But in the verse here *dásra* is probably a pure adjective. Throughout the commentary Skandasvāmin goes on in this way throwing out valuable suggestions. All of them need not be accepted as true ; but each of them observes careful consideration.—In marked contrast to Sāyaṇa, Skandasvāmin's preface is short and to the point, in which he has tried to prove that every kind of *mantra* needs to be properly understood,—a fact which makes obvious the utility of a commentary.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

THE BUDDHIST CONCEPTION OF SPIRITS, by Bimala Churn Law, Ph.D., etc., Law's Research Series, 2nd Edition, revised and enlarged, pp. xii, 114. London : Luzac & Co., 1936.

The author has asked me to say a few words on the recent reproduction of his little study published at Calcutta 10 years earlier. The addition to bulk is very slight, but the original two chapters have been resolved into six, presenting a maturer study of Buddhist *peta*-belief as revealed in Pali literature—no, I would still say *peta*, which is good Pali, though Dr. Law has substituted *preta*.

In the new chapters we get *pretas* discussed with *pitara*, the earliest mention of the Piṭakan *peta*-belief, its formal, by which I gather is meant, its orthodox, expression, and lastly the doctrinal bearing of the Peta-vatthu stories, this being virtually the Concluding Remarks in the First Edition.

The author has again and all the more earned our gratitude for this developed study of a subject which belongs to the genuine and essential bearings taken by early Buddhism. It is still too much ignored to what an extent the early teaching included a new and closer interest in man's life as a whole, that is, in that life as a Way coming from a long past going on to a long future. It is true, that the later evolved theory of the arahan presented a possible short-cut in that future, but I am looking behind that theory. That original Buddhism concentrated man's attention on this one earth-life only is an illusion which I have seen cheerfully

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accepted by Asiatics and Europeans who ought to have known better. The Founders were far too wise to do anything of the kind. For them the ' art of living ' was not bound up living just here and now, or with the growth only of man's instruments, body and mind. It was the aftermen who sinned in these respects. I am not meaning, that interest in the hereafter, as a guide and check to conduct here, lost its force even with later generations. In that curious *saga* of Ceylon the Mahāvaṃsa, it is recorded that Mahinda made a recital of the Petavatthu the second of the twelve Piṭakan discourses imputed to him—a strange betrayal of changed values, especially when we also find the original chart of teaching, the first utterance, the Way, the ' Wheel-turning ', appearing as the last only of the twelve ! But the larger perspective in life was very certainly a contribution to Indian religion made by Buddhism, however much this is overlooked. Hence our debt to such work as Dr. Law here gives us. Indeed I regret that he has repeated the little colloquialism made in a personal letter to him long ago, in response to his request for guidance about his work, and has agreed with it as it stands in his preface. If I remember, I meant that, with so much more important stuff awaiting the translator (e.g. most of the Four Nikāyas), the two little anthologies are relatively of slight value. But even in a letter I should not say so now.

In revising, the author has made one little change that is regrettable. On p. 106 he has omitted after ' author ', the words ' of the Paramatthadīpanī ', namely, of the Commentary, making it appear that there was an author of the Petavatthu. Buddhist Buddha-worship has indeed explicitly ascribed the anthology itself to the Founder, but the historical critic would be hard put to it to trace its doubtless many parents. Again, the Tirokudda verses of the Khuddakapāṭha, as well as the Lakkhaṇa Saṃyutta (No. XIX) should have been introduced for purposes of comparison in Chapter III. Finally, I note that (p. 108), the *vimānas* of the Vimānavatthu are placed ' in the sky '. I would gratefully learn from the author whether this is a textual, or a Commentary context, since I have given it as my belief, that an ' aloft ', as the hereafter, is nowhere found in the Piṭakas, but only in later literature, e.g. Milindapañha. For the first Buddhists—and here psychic research will bear them out—the world of the hereafter is co-present with us of earth. Or am I mistaken ?

C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

NASKALNIE IZOBRAZHENIYA ONEZHSKOGO OZERA I BELOGO MORIYA (RUSSIAN), by W. J. Ravdonikas, publication of the Institute of Anthropology, Archæology and Ethnography, Vol. IX ; Archæological Series, No. 1 ; Academy of Sciences of U.R.S.S., Moscow-Leningrad, 1936 ; along with a supplement by B. F. Zemliakov on the Neolithic Stations on the Eastern Shore of Lake Onega, pp. 205, with 82 plates.

In this splendid publication of the Russian Academy of Sciences Mr. Ravdonikas has given a detailed description of the ancient petroglyphs of neolithic age on the banks of the lake Onega, which throw a flood of light on the early culture of Eastern Europe. The author has done his work very well indeed. For altogether the author has copied and photographed more than 700 figures, of which at least 150 have been discovered by him for the first time, and his description of them is also accurate and exhaustive. Mr. Ravdonikas has of course given his own interpretation of these ancient petroglyphs, but, what is more, he has presented his material in such a way that every competent scholar can confidently draw his own conclusion from them. In interpreting these figures Mr. Ravdonikas has been careful to avoid the mistake of his predecessors in the field who failed to realize that these figures were primarily

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of magical significance and not a faithful reproduction of reality, and the author pertinently insists that before proceeding to draw inferences about the neolithic culture of this region from these petroglyphs it is necessary to ascertain as far as possible the cast of mind of those peoples. But as for this again we have to depend on these same petroglyphs we are caught in a pretty close vicious circle. The author has wisely left the question of affiliating these petroglyphs quite open, though some scholars before him wanted to connect them with Egypt!

Of the figures engraved the most frequent are those of animals and birds, such as bear, wolf, dog, swan, goose, etc. Fish is rare, but there are lizards of enormous size as well as serpents. Also human figures are there, both from front or in profile, and the sex is indicated in most cases. Of great importance is a group of semi-human or semi-animal figures, which, in author's opinion, prove the existence of totemism among the neolithic inhabitants of this region. There are numerous representations of a circle or a crescent enclosed within two converging straight lines, which, in the opinion of the author, are nothing but solar and lunar symbols. The frequent figuration of boats with the head of rein-deer on the prow is likewise explained as a solar symbol.

As an appendix, Mr. Zemliakov gives a short geological study of the eastern bank of the lake Onega which goes to corroborate the results independently arrived at by Mr. Ravdonikas.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

LINGUISTIC INTRODUCTION TO SANSKRIT, by Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, Dr.Phil. (Münich), D.Litt. (Paris), Lecturer, University of Calcutta (Being No. 1 of the Linguistic Series published by the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, Price Rs.5.).

The work does credit to the Institute that has published it and also to the author. The book is bound to be useful to students who desire to study Sanskrit language in the light of modern linguistic research. There is so much material available that for an elementary book there is a difficulty in choosing. The author has been judicious in this respect and has chosen his topics with discrimination. He has put the material he has chosen in an attractive form and has also done it in such a way as to make the student long for more. The book is, by no means, an easy book for a beginner. Unfortunately in our country very few Universities have a proper curriculum for language study as such. Grammar—particularly Sanskrit Grammar—is taught even to-day in the old old way, and this necessarily gives the student wrong notions about the structure of languages. The subjects Dr. Ghosh has chosen he has treated in the light of the latest research and in the correct manner. The reviewer wishes some other aspects of Sanskrit Grammar—e.g. Syntax, Indeclinables—had been treated in some detail. An Index is indispensable for such a work and its absence is a serious defect. We hope we may have more learned works from the pen of Batakrishna Ghosh.

DR. I. J. S. TARAPOREWALLA.

HISTORY OF HINDU MATHEMATICS, Part I, Numeral Notation and Arithmetic, by Bibhuti Bhusan Datta and Avadesh Narayan Singh, published by Motilal Banarsi Das, Lahore, 1935.

The Authors are well-known for their numerous contributions on various subjects comprised in the term *Mathematics*. Dr. Bibhuti Bhusan Datta has in addition

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contributed a large number of papers on Indian Mathematics, published in the Journals of the various learned Societies all over the world, e.g. American Mathematical Monthly, Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Indian Historical Quarterly, etc. It is therefore with particular pleasure that we welcome this publication by two of the veteran Indian scholars who have established their claim to reputed scholarship in this field.

We learn from the Preface that the Authors intend to bring out the History of Hindu Mathematics in three Parts, each complete in itself, namely—

Part I : Numeral Notation and Arithmetic ;
Part II : Algebra ; and
Part III : History of Geometry, Trigonometry, Calculus, theory of Series, Permutations and Combinations, etc. ;

of these the first Part has now been published.

The characteristic feature of the present treatise is that under each topic are collected together and set forth in chronological order translations of relevant Sanskrit texts as found in the Hindu works. The same rule has been sometimes repeated in order to emphasize the continuity and gradual evolution of mathematical thought and terminology in India. A comparative study of this kind has helped the authors to throw light on many obscure Sanskrit passages and technical terms whose full significance was not understood before. This plan has the advantage of placing before those who have no access to the Sanskrit sources all evidence, favourable as well as unfavourable, so that they can judge for themselves the claims of Hindu mathematics.

The authors, in search of material for the book, have examined the literature of the Hindus, non-mathematical as well as mathematical, whether in Sanskrit or in Prakrit (Pali and Ardha Magadhi), religious (Vedas, Brahmanas and Upanishads) and secular (Srauta Sutra, Sulba Sutra, etc.) ; and also the literature of the Buddhists and the Jainas. They have thus brought to bear on the treatise a very wide and extensive knowledge of the subject, rich in material and diverse in particulars. They have also collected as many manuscripts on the topics discussed as they could from the various libraries of the world. A bibliography of the Sanskrit mathematical works appended to the treatise is of special interest.

Part I, which has been published, is divided into two Chapters. Chapter I gives an account of the various devices employed by the Hindus for denoting numbers. The gradual evolution of the decimal place-value system of notation has been traced and all evidence relating to its use in India collected together for the first time. This evidence shows that the system was in use in India during the earliest centuries of the Christian era, if not earlier. The facts set forth in this chapter will, we are sure, finally set at rest the controversy about its place of origin. A brief account has also been included of the introduction of the Hindu numerals into Arabia, Northern Africa and Europe.

Chapter II deals with arithmetic in general. We have become so familiar with our methods of performing the fundamental arithmetical operations of addition, substraction, multiplication, division and the extraction of roots that we seldom pause to think how and when these methods were invented. The problem, however, has deep interest for the teacher and historian of mathematics. And an account of the evolution of these methods in the land of their birth should be welcome. Details and illustrations have been given of different methods of performing these operations on a *Pati*, (' board '), as followed in India from the fifth century onwards. It has been shown that our present methods are simple variations of those of the ancient Hindus. The rule of three, the rules of supposition and false position, and rules relating to calculations involving interest, exchange of commodities, fineness

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of gold, etc., are all due to the Hindus. In fact, practically the whole of elementary arithmetic can be traced back to them. Thus the importance of Chapter II cannot be over-emphasized.

Little was till now known to historians of mathematics regarding the achievements of the early Hindu Mathematicians and our indebtedness to them. This was due to the lack of a reliable and authentic history of Hindu Mathematics. The present treatise will go a long way towards removing this want and is thus on the whole a very welcome and useful publication.

We shall await with keen interest the publication of the other two parts.

N. K. MAJUMDAR.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE GOVERNMENT COLLECTIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS DEPOSITED AT THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE; Vol. XII: Alaṁkāra, Saṁgīta and Nāṭya. Compiled by Parashuram Krishna Gode, M.A., Curator, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XVII: Jain Literature and Philosophy; Part I: (*a*) Āgamika Literature, Part II: (*a*) Āgamika Literature. Compiled by Hiralal Rasikdas Kapadia, M.A. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

It is gratifying to note that arrangements have been made for the speedy preparation and publication of a Descriptive Catalogue of the huge collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts acquired on behalf of the Government of Bombay during a period of about half a century beginning from the sixties of the last century. The work is proposed to be prepared and published under the supervision of the Manuscripts Department of the Bhandarkar Institute to which the collection, originally deposited in the Deccan College, has been transferred. It is understood that particular sections of the work have been entrusted to scholars who have specialized in those sections. Under these arrangements three parts of the work have been published in rapid succession after the lapse of twenty long years since the publication of the first volume of the series (*Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collections of Manuscripts, deposited at the Deccan College, Poona*, Volume I: Vedic Literature, Part I: Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas, Bombay, 1916). These comprise Volume XII complete in one part which deals with Alaṁkāra, Saṁgīta and Nāṭya MSS. numbering 347 in all and Volume XVII to be completed in three parts of which two parts have been issued dealing with 643 Āgamika MSS. of the literature of the Śvetāmbara Jains. The first part of the latter volume describes MSS. of works, as also their commentaries, coming under 11 Aṅgas, 12 Upāṅgas, 10 Prakīrṇas, and supplementary Prakīrṇas while the second part contains the description of MSS. of works falling under 6 Chhedasūtras and 2 Culikāsūtras. Though in charge of different editors the various parts are found to follow one uniform system, e.g., the one followed in the first volume already referred to. The information with regard to every MS. has been presented under separate headings like size, extent, description, age, author, beginning, end, reference and in certain cases subject-matter, the indication of which has occasionally been very brief and obscure particularly in Vol. XII. A systematic adherence to these headings has led at times to repetition of the same matter in the case of the description of the MSS. of the same work. A passing reference to their distinctive features, if any, as well as a proper arrangement of them according to certain well-defined principles is more useful and welcome to scholars than the repetition of mere mechanical descriptions giving little new information. A very important section in these catalogues is the one on reference which refers to MSS. mentioned in other catalogues and to the printed edition or editions

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of, as also important studies on the works contained therein. In this section in Vol. XII reference is made to MSS. mentioned principally in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* though a number of important catalogues have been published since the publication of the last part of this stupendous work in 1903. It is obviously difficult to make the reference to printed editions complete, but it is unfortunate if editions in well-known series like the *Bibliotheca Indica* escape notice as in the case of the *Kavikalpalatā* (Vol. XII, No. 47ff.) which was published in the above-mentioned series. It needs however to be pointed out that such omissions and imperfections were noticed but rarely, and on the whole the works testify to the deep scholarship and hard labour of the learned compilers.

There are in the volumes under review profuse appendices including indices of authors and works, charts of Jain and Non-Jain characters, typical symbols, characters and letter-numerals from Jain Manuscripts; but a short introduction drawing pointed attention to the more important MSS.—especially to MSS. of works that are little-known or are not mentioned in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* is a keenly felt desideratum in each of these volumes which are otherwise highly useful and important publications. There may yet be time to remove this minor shortcoming from the volume entrusted to Mr. Kapadia by the inclusion of such an introduction in the concluding part of it and thereby enhancing the utility of this valuable mine of knowledge, especially in view of the fact that the collection is reported to contain one of the richest stores of Jain Manuscripts.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.

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THE ṚGVEDA AND MOHENJO-DARO[1]

By LAKSHMAN SARUP

I am going to speak to-day on the Ṛgveda and Mohenjo-daro. While speaking on this subject, I feel very diffident, for my views radically differ from the views of Sir John Marshall, ex-Director-General of Archæology in India and E. Mackay, an authority on Mohenjo-daro. The former has edited the result of excavations at Mohenjo-daro in three magnificent volumes,[2] in 1931. The latter has written a very interesting booklet, on the subject.[3] It might be considered rashness, on my part, to differ from universally recognized authorities. We see, people sometimes differ from great authorities so that they may become notorious. I assure you I have no desire of winning cheap notoriety by a simple process of disagreeing with great scholars. There are also people who would do anything to see their name printed in the press. I read, some time ago, that a certain individual set the most ancient cathedral of Paris—Notre Dame—on fire. He was caught red-handed. When questioned as to what led him to commit this act of arson, he is reported to have stated that he wanted to see his name printed in the columns of the daily newspapers. I am not actuated by any such motive. It is unnecessary for me to go to the extent of disagreeing with Sir John Marshall for the sake of seeing my name printed in the press. Moreover, disagreement with Sir John Marshall is not such a sensational event as to bring any notoriety in its wake. It is doubtful if the press will take any notice of it. I differ from the above-mentioned authorities because my studies have led me to different conclusions. I feel, I shall not be true to myself if I suppress

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[1] A note on the pronunciation of Mohenjo-daro. It is a Sindhi word. The correct pronunciation of the second part *daro* should, according to Sindhi language, be *daḍo*. Ḍ in the second syllable is a cerebral consonant and has the sound of *ḍ* in the Hindi word *Karoḍa* meaning 'ten million'. The prevalent pronunciation has however become *dāro*. The vowel in the first syllable is pronounced long. The cerebral consonant of the second syllable has, in actual prevalent pronunciation, lost its original character of a cerebral consonant and assumed the character of a semi-vowel. Although it is the prevalent pronunciation, it is incorrect. Mohenjo-daro means in Sindhi, 'a mound of the dead'.

[2] Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, published by A. Probsthain, London.

[3] *The Indus Civilization*, published by Lovet Dickenson and Thompson, London, 1935.

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my views, simply because they happen to differ from the generally accepted views. One should not fail to give expression to a conclusion, to which one has arrived after a careful and critical study of the problem. It is not in a light-hearted manner that I have embarked on this subject to-day. All that I ask you is therefore to give me a patient hearing and to critically examine the evidence that I am going to put before you and to judge whether or not the evidence, adduced in support of my thesis, is adequate, convincing or cogent.

For the sake of convenience, I have divided my paper in two parts. The first part offers some criticism to the theories advanced so far. It may be called the negative part.

The second part brings forth some evidence in support of my main thesis. It may therefore be called the positive part.

Excavations at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa have revolutionized our ideas with regard to the history and civilization of ancient India. The first question, which suggests itself, is with regard to the character of the civilization as revealed by explorations at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Is it Aryan or non-Aryan in character ?

It is generally believed that the character of civilization of the Indus Valley is non-Aryan. It has been suggested that it might be Dravidian. Attempts have also been made to establish an ethnic relationship between the Dravidians and the Sumerians, who, according to Dr. H. R. Hall, ' might belong to the same ethnic type as the Dravidians of India who, though now restricted to the south of India, are believed on linguistic and ethnological grounds to have once populated virtually the whole of the peninsula, including the Punjab, Sind, and Baluchistan, where, as is well known, the Dravidian speech is still preserved in the language of the Brahuis '.[1]

Evidence of Anthropology

A few skulls of Mohenjo-daro are of the same type as have been un-earthed in Mesopotamia. The close resemblance of the Mohenjo-daro skulls with the skulls discovered by Dr. Woolley at Al'Ubaid and by Mr. E. Mackay at Kish is very remarkable. The skulls of Mesopotamia are assigned to a very early date. This will show that the people of Mohenjo-daro were racially related to the people of Mesopotamia. The following remark of Mr. E. Mackay shows that he accepts the theory of ethnic relationship between the people of Indus Valley and Mesopotamia : ' It may therefore be assumed provisionally that the Proto-Elamites, the dwellers in the Indus

[1] Sir John Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. i, 109.

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Valley brick-built cities, and perhaps also the Sumerians, had a common ancestry ; but beyond this it is not possible to go until further sites have been explored in India, Baluchistan, and the high lands of Persia and more information is forthcoming with regard to the origin and lines of development of these early peoples '.[1]

Sir John Marshall is of opinion that the language of the seals, excavated at Mohenjo-daro, might be Dravidian. His statement is the following : ' Of the language of these texts little more can be said at present than that there is no reason for connecting it in any way with Sanskrit. The Indus civilization was pre-Aryan, and the Indus language or languages must have been pre-Aryan also. Possibly, one or other of them (if, as seems likely, there was more than one) was Dravidic. This, for three reasons, seems a most likely conjecture—first, because Dravidic-speaking people were the precursors of the Aryans over most of Northern India and were the only people likely to have been in possession of a culture as advanced as the Indus culture ; secondly, because . . . . . at no great distance from the Indus Valley the Brahuis of Baluchistan have preserved among themselves an island of Dravidic speech which may well be a relic from prè-Aryan times, when Dravidic was perhaps the common language of these parts ; thirdly, because the Dravidic languages being agglutinative, it is not unreasonable to look for a possible connection between them and the agglutinative language of Sumer in the Indus Valley, which as we know had many other close ties with Sumer.' [2] The seals have not hitherto been deciphered. The opinion expressed in the passage quoted above can only be a conjecture. No one can say what the language of the Indus Valley civilization was as long as the inscriptions on the seals remain a sealed book to us. It is only after the decipherment of the seal inscriptions that one would be in a position to express an opinion with regard to the language. At present, Sir John Marshall cannot adduce the slightest piece of evidence in support of his statement. His first argument that Dravidians were the precursors of the Aryans over most of Northern India is not universally accepted. His second argument that Dravidic was perhaps the common language of these parts in ancient times is without any evidence. The third argument is equally without foundation. In other words, Sir John Marshall's statement is tantamount to saying that the Dravidians were the authors of the Indus Valley civilization. The evidence of anthropology, however, does not lend any support to this contention. The authors probably belonged to several races. The skulls

[1] E. Mackay, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.
[2] Sir John Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. i. 42.

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discovered at Mohenjo-daro have been examined by Col. Sewell and Dr. Guha. Four distinct types have been identified: (1) the proto-Australoid, (2) the Mediterranean type, (3) the Mongolian branch of the Alpine stock and lastly (4) the Alpine type. The first type has dolichocranial skull. The second type is similar to the first but has much less brain capacity. The third type has the mesaticranial skull. The fourth is represented by a single specimen—the skull of a child, but which is clearly brachycranial. None of these types represent the Dravidian type. The skulls and skeletons, twenty-four in number, belong to the chalcolithic age. Let us suppose that the skulls and skeletons excavated at Mohenjo-daro are the remains of the population. They must represent the residents of that city. It is clear therefore that Mohenjo-daro population was cosmopolitan and several races contributed to its composition. If the Dravidians were the supposed authors of the Mohenjo-daro civilization, they must have constituted the bulk of the population. It is therefore strange not to find the Dravidian type among the skeletal remains and skulls of Mohenjo-daro.

The evidence of anthropology does not support the theory of the Dravidian character of the Indus Valley civilization.

Evidence of Plastic Art

No specimens of pictorial art have been discovered at Mohenjo-daro. There are no mural or fresco paintings, which could give us an idea of the features of the people. There is of course pottery painted in monochrome, even in polychrome. The ornamental designs consist of intersected circles, the tree decoration, the chess-board pattern in which black squares alternate with red ones. Triangles, figures of animals, birds, snakes, set in natural surroundings like grass or bushes, are also met with. But human pictures are not found on the Mohenjo-daro pottery. There is only one exception. A potsherd excavated at Harappa has a pictorial representation of a man and a child.

Several examples of plastic art are, however, supplied by the explorations at Mohenjo-daro. They consist of (1) clay figurines, supposed to be deities, of both male and female persons; (2) representations of male and female figures on various seals or amulets; (3) a few limestone heads; (4) a bronze statue of a dancing girl; and lastly (5) a soapstone statue of a bearded male.

(1) *Clay Figurines*

A common figure is that of an almost nude female. The dress worn is extremely scanty. A very short skirt fastened with a

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belt is wrapped round the loins. Headdress is fan-shaped with two circular cup-like objects on either side, and is out of all proportion with the head, which is quite small. The mouth again is very large. Necklaces are worn but there are no bracelets on arms. Male clay figures are not numerous. They are entirely nude. Jewellery is sometimes but not always worn. Hair is long, gathered in a sort of bun or loop behind the head with a fillet round the forehead. A long beard with the upper lip shaved, seems to have been the fashion. One peculiarity of the male figures is that they wear horns on their head. These clay figurines have been made with great care by hand. They are coloured, smoothed and polished. Noses are pinched out of clay. Two small pellets of clay serve for the eyes. Mouth is indicated by a strip, applied to the face, deep indents showing the lips.

(2) *Human Figures on Seals*

One seal represents a nude, three-faced figure with horns on the head. The figure is seated and surrounded by six animals, two deer, an elephant, a tiger, a buffalo and a rhinoceros. Numerous bangles are worn on either arm. A similar nude figure is depicted on three other seals, but with one face only on one of them. Another seal represents a female in the midst of a tree, wearing horns, a long plait of hair, and many bracelets. A spray rises on the head between the horns. A similar figure is in a kneeling posture. Behind the kneeling figures is an animal with a human face. At the bottom, there are seven figures, also wearing long plaits of hair, bangles, etc., but without horns. Another seal depicts on *the recto* two men. Each is holding a part of a tree. On *the verso*, there is the figure of a kneeling man. On another seal, a man is being overthrown by a buffalo. There is also the representation of a horned human figure with the feet and tail of a bull on a seal. He is shown struggling with a tiger. A similar figure occurs on three other seals, where he is struggling with two tigers. On another seal, there are depicted a man who has climbed up a tree and a tiger who is waiting below. The figure of a woman or a woman with a child at her breast is also found on some of the seals. Two infants are also shown as crawling on the ground. One seal has preserved a dancing scene. One man is beating a drum and others are dancing to the tune. On one seal from Harappa, a man is playing on a drum before a tiger. On another, a woman is dancing. In one case, a male figure has a drum hung round his neck. On two seals, men are represented with bows and arrows, in an act of shooting. Thus both male and female figures are depicted in various situations.

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(3) *Stone Heads*

Several limestone statues have been excavated at Mohenjo-daro. Of the best preserved are three heads. Two of them are supposed to be actual portraits. Facially they are Mongolian in appearance.

(4) *The Bronze Statue of a Dancing Girl*

This bronze statue of a dancing girl was discovered by R.B. Daya Ram Sahni. It is an excellent statue and represents perfect casting. The figure is nude and wears a large number of bangles on one arm. There is an expression of scorn on the face. From the features, she is supposed to belong to the aboriginal type.

(5) *The Soapstone Statue of a Bearded Male*

This stone statue consists of a head and a bust. The lower part is missing. This image represents the high watermark of the art of sculpture of Mohenjo-daro. The figure is wearing an embroidered robe, which is carried over the left shoulder. He has a short beard. The upper lip is clean shaven. The hair is short and parted in the middle. A fillet goes round the forehead with its loose ends hanging down behind the head. Eyes are half closed. Mouth is expressive. Lips are full. Nose is broken but seems to be of normal size. The forehead is rather low.[1]

Some of these statues and figurines are supposed to depict deities. But as images of gods and goddesses are based on the conception of man, these statues and figurines are the anthropomorphic representations in plastic art. Art derives its inspiration from life. Artists, whether votaries of the pictorial or the plastic, reproduce consciously or unconsciously the type best known to them. These statues and clay figures, whether they are gods or human beings, give us a good idea of the types of the population. None of them represent the typical Dravidian type, which is officially described as being, ' Of short stature, complexion very dark, approaching black, hair plentiful with an occasional tendency to curl ; eyes dark, head long, nose very broad, sometimes depressed at the root but not so as to make the face appear flat '.[2] It is of course difficult to say whether this description would be exactly applicable to the Dravidian stock 5,000 years ago. But assuming the type has preserved its distinguishing features, the evidence of the plastic art does not

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[1] For a detailed study, see Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*; E. Mackay, *The Indus Civilization*.

[2] Sir John Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. i. 109.

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support the suggestion that the Dravidians were the authors of the Indus Valley civilization. There is undoubtedly some resemblance between the statuary of Sumer and that of Mohenjo-daro, as summed up in the following remark of Mr. Mackay: 'The men wore their hair in the same way, i.e. gathered up in a bun at the back of the head and secured by a silver or gold or woven fillet worn round the forehead; and on one supposedly portrait head from Mohenjo-daro, a pin is represented as stuck through the bun. Of these statue heads the upper lip is shaved, a practice that was also common in Sumer'.[1] But the evidence of the stone heads and clay figures, on the contrary, shows that there was probably a Mongolian strain among the population. This is further supported by the discovery of a skull of Mongolian type among the skeletal remains of Mohenjo-daro.

Priority of the Ṛgveda to Mohenjo-daro

The Ṛgveda is the most sacred scripture of the Hindus. It is the earliest literary monument of the Aryan race. All its hymns could not have been composed simultaneously. They must have covered a long period. Early and late strata can be distinguished in the stanzas themselves. It is not merely a book. It is literature itself. The state of the civilization of a particular community can be fairly reconstructed from a critical study of the literature of that particular period. Literature serves the purpose of a mirror, in which a particular epoch finds itself reflected. Hence a critical study of the Ṛgveda can be utilized to reconstruct the state of civilization of the Ṛgvedic period. Not only can we reproduce the state of the civilization of the Aryans of the Ṛgvedic epoch but also the stage of the civilization of the non-Aryans, with whom the Aryans came in contact. In the following few lines, the state of the Aryan and the non-Aryan civilizations as revealed by the hymns of the Ṛgveda itself, is briefly depicted. The first thing which strikes a critical student of the Ṛgveda is that the Ṛgveda does not contain the slightest, direct or indirect, reference to any migration of the Aryans into India, from outside. From the evidence of the RV. itself, it will be impossible to say that the Aryans were not indigenous people of India or that they migrated into India, from outside. The Ṛgveda reveals to us a people who were living in the valleys of the Swat, the Kabul, the Indus, the five rivers of the present Punjab, and parts of regions, watered by the Sarasvati, the Ganges and the Jamuna. If they had come from outside, the

[1] E. Mackay, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

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migration must have taken place in a remote past. All memories of an ancient migration had been forgotten by the time of the Ṛgveda. There is nothing in the RV. to show that the settlements of the Aryans in the valleys of the above-mentioned rivers were recent and had not been there from time immemorial. The evidence of the RV. shows that the Aryans were not foreigners who had come from outside and settled into the valleys of the various rivers. The people of the Ṛgvedic period were partly agricultural, partly pastoral. Great importance was attached to the cultivation of the soil. In a hymn (X, 34) there is a graphic description of the miseries of a gambler's life. In stanza No. 13, gambling is condemned and agriculture is highly commended. The stanza is the following :

'Do not play with the dice: cultivate indeed the tillage. (Thus) very much held in esteem, enjoy wealth. In that line, (lit. there) O gambler ! are cattle, there a wife '.[1]

Agriculture is further praised in the following stanzas :

'The wise ones yoke the ploughs and separately spread the teams (of oxen) : the steadfast among the gods, by their good will.'[2] RV. X. 101. 4.

'With the hope, indeed, of thy (succor) O Indra, I have certainly taken the sickle in my hand. This day, O Maghavan ! fill the granary with the stored grain (Barley) '.[3] RV. VIII. 78. 10.

'Yoke the plough, spread the teams (of oxen) ; when the land (*yoni*) is ploughed and harrowed (*Kṛta*, lit. prepared) sow here the seed . . . . let the sickles be near at hand. May the ripe (crop) come to us '.[4] RV. X. 101. 3.

A whole hymn (IV, 57. 1–8) is devoted to agriculture. Quotations can be multiplied. But what has already been cited will be enough to show the importance in which agriculture was held. Further references to agriculture are found in the following stanzas :

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1 अक्षै मा दीव्यः कृषिमित्कृषस्व वित्ते रमस्व बहु मन्यमानः ।
तत्र गावः कितव तत्र जाया तन्मे वि चष्टे सवितायमर्यः ॥ RV. X, 34. 13.

2 सीरा युञ्जन्ति कवयो युगा वि तन्वते पृथक् ।
धीरा देवेषु सुम्नया ॥ RV. X, 101. 4.

3 तवेदिन्द्राहमाशसा हस्ते दात्रं चना ददे ।
दिनस्य वा मघवन्त्सप्तेनस्य वा पूर्धि यवस्य काशिना ॥ RV. VIII, 78. 10.

4 युनक्त सीरा वि युगा तनुध्वं कृते योनौ वपतेह बीजम् ।
गिरा च श्रुष्टिः सभरा असन्नो नेदीय इत्सृण्यः पक्वमेयात् ॥ RV. X, 101. 3.

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I, 23. 15; 117. 21; 176. 2; II, 14. 11; V, 53. 13; VI, 6. 4; X, 117. 7; 146. 6. This is, by no means, an exhaustive list. Even similes are drawn from the processes of agriculture, cf. e.g. VIII, 20. 19; 22. 6; X, 48. 7; 85. 37; X, 94. 13. Thus it is clear, the society in the Ṛgvedic period was an agriculturist community.

The hymns of the RV. also reveal to us the state of a pastoral society. Breeding of cattle was one of the chief occupations. Wealth was counted in kine (RV. V, 4. 11) in kine and horses (VII, 77. 5). Constant prayers were offered for herds of cattle. They were the centre of the economic life of the people. Gods are invoked to look after the kine, horses, etc.

'May Pūṣan go after our kine, may Pūṣan protect our horses. May Pūṣan obtain food for us.'[1] RV. VI, 54. 5.

'Go forth after the kine, O Pūṣan, of the sacrificer, who presses soma and of us, the praisers.'[2] RV. VI, 54. 6.

'Let no one be lost, let no one be injured, let no one be crushed in a pit; now come back with all uninjured.'[3] RV. VI, 54. 7.

According to A. A. Macdonell, 'No sight gladdened the eye of the Vedic Indian more than the cow returning from the pasture and licking her calf fastened by a cord; no sound was more musical to his ear than the lowing of milch kine'. Hence the poet exclaims, 'As cows low to their calves near the stalls, so we will praise Indra with our hymns.'[4]

One great desire of the people was to have pastures and fields for the grazing of the herds of cattle. Prayers are constantly offered for wide pastures, *Urvī́m gávyūtim*, RV. VII, 77. 4. An agricultural and pastoral community depends on rain for its very existence. So we find fervent prayers for rain.

'O Maruts, give us the rain from heaven, pour forth the streams of the stallion. Come forward with this thunder, pouring down the waters—our divine father.'[5] RV. V, 83. 6.

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1 पू॒षा गा अन्वे॑तु नः पू॒षा र॑क्ष॒त्वर्व॑तः ।
पू॒षा वाजं॑ सनोतु नः ॥ RV. VI, 54. 5.

2 पूष॒न्ननु॒ प्र गा इ॑हि॒ यज॑मानस्य सुन्व॒तः ।
अ॒स्माकं॑ स्तुव॒तामु॒त ॥ RV. VI. 54. 6.

3 माकि॑र्नेशन्माकीं॑ रिषन् माकीं॒ सं शा॑रि॒ केव॑टे ।
अथारि॑ष्टाभि॒रा ग॑हि ॥ RV. VI, 54. 7.

4 A. A. Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 149.

5 दि॒वो नो॑ वृ॒ष्टिं म॑रुतो ररीध्वं॒ प्र पि॑न्वत वृष्णो॒ अश्व॑स्य॒ धाराः॑ ।
अ॒र्वाङे॒तेन॑ स्तनयि॒त्नुनेह्यपो निषि॒ञ्चन्नसु॑रः पि॒ता नः॑ ॥ RV. V, 83. 6.

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'Bellow forth, thunder, impregnate. Fly around with thy watery chariot. Drag well the (water-)skin, unfastened downwards. Let elevations and depressions be of the same level.'[1] RV. V, 83. 7.

'Lift up the great bucket, pour it down. Let the released streams flow forward. Drench heaven and earth with clarified butter. May there be a good drinking place for the kine.'[2] RV. V, 83. 8. Rain water is described as clarified butter.

Warfare and performance of sacrifices were the two most important activities. The tribes of the Ṛgvedic period belonged to a martial race. There were inter-tribal wars. In their struggle for supremacy, one tribe declared war on another. Aryan settlers fought among themselves. There were military alliances and coalitions among them. The most important coalition was of ten kings against Sudās, king of the Bhāratas.

Aryans also fought against the tribes called Dāsas, Asuras, Dasyus, Piśācas, Rākṣasas, Kīkaṭās, Paṇis, etc. Non-Aryans are described as black in colour and flat-nosed. At the time of the Ṛgveda, the barbarians or the non-Aryans lived in the mountainous regions, where they built their strongholds and forts. But these 'forts' could not resist the might of the Aryans. Hundreds of them fell easily before the conquering Aryan: अध्वर्यवो यः घृतं घृम्बरस्य पुरो बिभेदाश्मनेव पूर्वीः। RV. II, 14. 6.

The state of the civilization of the non-Aryans as gleaned from the hymns of the RV. is, in the words of Sir John Marshall, 'that of a black-skinned, flat-nosed barbarians, as different from the fair Aryans in physical aspect as they were in speech and religion'.[3] They were the contemptible barbarians. It is impossible to see, in this description, the picture of the highly developed civilization of the Indus Valley. The Ṛgvedic civilization was essentially a village, agricultural and pastoral civilization. The Mohenjo-daro civilization was a city and a commercial civilization. People in Mohenjo-daro lived in well-built cities of bricks, burnt in kilns. Their town-planning, architecture and sanitation had attained a remarkable development. Architecture in the Ṛgvedic period was

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1 अभि क्रन्द स्तनय गर्भमा धा उदन्वता परिदीया रथेन।
दृतिं सु कर्ष विषितं न्यञ्चं समा भवन्तूद्वतो निपादाः॥ RV. 83. 7.

2 महान्तं कोशमुदचा नि षिञ्च स्यन्दन्तां कुल्या विषिताः पुरस्तात्।
घृतेन द्यावापृथिवी व्युन्धि सुप्रपाणं भवत्वघ्न्याभ्यः॥ RV. 83. 8.

3 Sir John Marshall, *op. cit.*, Preface V.

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rather primitive. Large commercial cities had not as yet sprung into existence. The evolution in civilization is from the village to the city civilization and not vice versa. We have therefore to conclude that Ṛgveda represents a period earlier than the Indus Valley civilization.

Evidence of Phallic Worship

Numerous phallic emblems, which have been found in Mohenjo-daro, show that phallic worship prevailed in that city. I cannot do better than quote the words of Sir John Marshall: 'We may now return to consider the phallic emblems—the Yonī and liṅga ..... Two of these are unquestionably phalli, more or less realistically modelled and prove conclusively that phallism in India had a pre-Aryan origin ..... Further evidence on the same point is furnished by two realistic specimens of the same kind—one a liṅga or phallus and the other a Yonī or vulva .... Indeed, the only explanation applicable to them all is that they were sacred objects of some sort, the large ones serving as aniconic agalmata for cult purposes ....' (*op. cit.*, i. 58, 59).

In the RV. phallic worship is mentioned twice, in VII, 21. 5 and X, 99. 3. स श॑र्धद॒र्यो विषु॑णस्य ज॒न्तोर्मा शि॒श्नदे॑वा॒ अपि॑ गुर्ऋ॒तं नः॑। (VII, 21. 5) and अ॒न॒र्वा यच्छ॒तदु॑रस्य॒ वेदो॒ घ्नञ्छि॒श्नदे॑वाँ अ॒भि वर्प॑सा॒ भूत्।

It is the second hemistich in VII, 21. 5 which mentions phallic worship with disapproval. It can be translated as follows: 'May he, the noble one, defy the manifold creatures. Let those whose deity is phallus not penetrate our sanctuary.'

In both places, the compound *Śiśnádevāḥ* is accented on the first member. It is therefore a *bahuvrīhi* compound and can only mean 'those whose deity is phallus'. Yāska's explanation of this compound as *abrahmacaryāḥ* is not correct and cannot be accepted (N. 4. 19).

Up till now it has been generally believed that the above compound has preserved a contemptuous reference to the barbarian aborigines. But I think it refers to the Aryan phallic worshippers. The barbarians or the non-Aryans were beyond the pale of the Aryan *dharma* and could not therefore penetrate to the sanctuary of the Aryans. The prayer is against persons of the Aryan race who had adopted phallus as their deity and who had otherwise a right to penetrate the sanctuary. Just as at present, all the Aryan inhabitants of the ancient times could not have owed allegiance to one set of religious beliefs only. There must have been numerous sects.

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The internal evidence of the RV. itself reveals the existence of several religious sects. I should like to quote the following stanza, in support of my statement.

'They ask of him, the terrible one, "where is he?" They also say about him, "he does not exist". Like a conqueror, he destroys the prosperity of the enemy. Put (your) faith in him. He, O men! is Indra.'[1] RV. II, 12. 5.

The stanza shows that there were atheists who denied the very existence of god. 'How dare the enemies who do not worship Indra, revile me'[2]—RV. X, 48. 7, indicates that Indra was not worshipped by all. The stanza, RV. X, 86. 1 नेन्द्रं देवममंसत 'They did not recognize Indra as a god', also shows that some did not pay homage to Indra.

With this, the following stanza may be compared :

> 'They call him Agni, Indra, Mitra, and Varuṇa; they also say that he is the divine Garutman of beautiful wings. The sages speak of him who is one in various ways; they call him Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan.'[3] RV. I, 164. 46.

This stanza shows the prevalence of monotheism of an exalted type. In addition, there were followers of polytheism, pantheism, kathenotheism, etc.

There was not even a uniform customary law among the Aryans of the RV. period. Differences in customary law have been recorded in the RV. itself.

The following stanza constitutes a protest against the adoption of a stranger as a son : 'The treasure of the stranger is indeed to be avoided, may we be masters of eternal wealth. (The child) begotten by another is no son; he is so for the fool (only); O Agni, do not corrupt our paths.'[4] RV. VII, 4. 7.

It is evident that some people had begun to adopt children begotten by others, i.e. *Kṣetraja* as a son. Obviously barbarians or

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1 यं त्वा पृच्छन्ति कुह सेति घोरमुतेमाहुर्नैषो अस्तीत्येनम्।
सो अर्यः पुष्टीर्विज इवा मिनाति श्रदस्मै धत्त स जनास इन्द्रः॥ RV. II, 12. 5.

2 किं मा निन्दन्ति मघवोऽनिन्द्राः। RV. X, 48. 7.

3 इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निमाहुरथो दिव्यः स सुपर्णो गरुत्मान्।
एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्त्यग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः॥ RV. I, 164. 46.

4 परिषद्यं ह्यरणस्य रेक्णो नित्यस्य रायः पतयः स्याम।
न शेषो अग्ने अन्यजातमस्त्यचेतानस्य मा पथो वि दुक्षः॥ RV. VII, 4. 7.

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aborigines cannot be meant here. The reference is clearly to the Aryans who were guilty of the practice of adoption.

'The stranger, however delightful, should not be adopted, begotten in another's womb; he should not be regarded (as one's own) even in thought. To his own abode he certainly goes back. Let the new (hero), impetuous and irresistible, come to us.'[1] RV. VII, 4. 8.

It is clear that there can be no reference to the aborigines or non-Aryan tribes. The poet is speaking of Aryan tribes. So there were differences of customary law and even of worship among the Aryans themselves. To my mind the two *pādas*: मा पुरो वि दुक्षः। and मा मिश्रदेवा अपि गुर्ऋतं नः। are almost identical in spirit. They both represent a puritanical protest against the slightest departure from tradition.

I have already shown that the Aryans did not follow a universally acknowledged or uniform set of religious beliefs. There were several sects among them. If we study the history of religions or take into consideration the struggle between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism or between Hinduism and Buddhism, or between the Shias, Sunnis, or Ahmadia sects of Islam, we find that the struggle is not only long but it often includes war, bloodshed and massacre. So it is clear that among the Indians of Ṛgvedic times, a certain amount of rivalry, opposition, even enmity must have existed among various sects.

I think the cult of phallic worship was in its infancy during the period of the RV. But in course of time, it grew in popularity and importance. So much so that by the time of the Yajurveda, phallic worship had acquired so much power and prestige that it could no longer be ignored and that official recognition could no longer be withheld. It was even adopted as a partial ceremony, constituting an integral part of the most important of the soma-sacrifices—I mean the *aśvamedha*, which became, during the classical period, a symbolic representation of full Hindu sovereignty. There must have been a gradual evolution in the status of phallic worship. The first stage is represented by the RV. where it is mentioned with disapproval. It then slowly grew till by the time of the later *Saṁhitās* it became so widespread and powerful that it was actually partially embodied in the sacrificial ritual itself. That it became a part of

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1 नहि प्रभायारणः सुशेवो ज्योदर्या मनसा मन्नवा उ।
अधा चिदोकः पुनरित्स एत्या नो वाज्यभीषाळेति नव्यः॥ RV. VII, 4. 8.

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sacrifice is shown by the following stanzas of the *Saṁhitās* of the Yajurveda, their Brāhmaṇas and their Śrauta sūtras :

आहमजानि गर्भधमा त्वमजासि गर्भधम् ।

VS., 23. 19 ; TS., 7. 4. 19. 1 ; MS., 3. 12. 20 ; 166. 12 ; KSA., 4. 8 ; ŚB., 13. 2. 8. 5 ; TB., 3. 9. 6. 4. मानवश्रौतसूत्र 9. 2. 4 ; कात्यायन-श्रौतसूत्र 20. 6. 14.

'महिषी अश्वमुपसंविशति । आहमजानि—आक्षष्य अहं ... ... क्षिपामि ... ... गर्भस्य धारयिष्ट रेतः ... ... आक्षष्य च त्वं हे अश्व ... ... क्षिपसि गर्भधं रेतः' । उव्वटः ।

'महिषी अश्वसमीपे शेते । अश्वदेवत्यम् । हे अश्व गर्भधं गर्भं दधाति गर्भधारकं रेतः अहं... ...आक्षष्य क्षिपामि... ...तं च गर्भधं रेतः... ...आक्षष्य क्षिपसि' । महीधरः ।

ता उभौ चतुरः पदः संप्रसारयाव स्वर्गे लोके प्रोर्णुवाथां वृषा वाजी रेतोधा रेतो दधातु । VS., 23. 20 ; ŚB., 13. 2. 8. 5 ; cf. तौ सह चतुरः पदः सं प्र सारयावहै TS. 7. 4. 19. 1 ; KSA., 4. 8 ; APŚS., 20. 18. 2 ; तौ सह.....प्र सारयावः MS., 3. 12. 20 : 167. 1 ; cf. तत्रेमाश्च चतुरः पदो व्यतिषज्य शयावहै APŚS. 20. 18. 1. ... ...

'प्रोर्णुवनं कुरुतमित्यध्वर्युराह । अश्वशिश्नमुपस्थे कुरुते । वृषा वाजी वृषा सेक्ता वाजी अश्वः रेतोधाः रेतसः धारयिता रेतो दधातु आसिञ्चतु' । उव्वटः ।

'... ... अधीवासेनाश्वमहिष्यौ छादयति ... ... अश्वदेवत्यम् । अध्वर्युर्वदति ... ... प्रोर्णुवाथां ... ... महिषी स्वयमेवाश्वशिश्नमाक्षष्य स्वयोनौ स्थापयति ... ... वाजी अश्वो रेतो दधातु मयि वीर्यं स्थापयतु ... ...' । महीधरः ।

उत्सक्थ्या अवगुदं धेहि समञ्जिं चारया वृषन् ।
यः स्त्रीणां जीवभोजनः ॥

VS., 23. 21 ; cf. TS., 7. 4. 19. 1 ; cf. KSA., 4. 8 ; ŚB., 13. 5. 2. 3 ; शांखायन-श्रौतसूत्र 16. 3. 36. cf. आपस्तम्बश्रौतसूत्र 20. 18. 4 ; कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्र 20. 6. 17. Cf. अधाम सक्थ्योरव गुदं धेहि । वैतानसूत्र 36. 30.

'अश्वं यजमानोऽभिमन्त्रयते । उद्वृते सक्थिनी यस्याः सा ... ... तस्या उत्सक्थ्या महिष्याः ... ... गुदं रेतो धेहि सिञ्च ... ... वृषन् संचारय अञ्जिम् । अनक्ति व्यनक्ति पुंस्त्वमित्यञ्जिः पुंस्त्वजननमुक्तम् । हे वृषन् सेक्तः ... ... उव्वटः' ।

'अश्वं यजमानोऽभिमन्त्रयते । ... ... अश्वदेवत्या गायत्री । हे वृषन् सेक्तः, अश्व, महिष्या गुदोपरि रेतो ... ... वीर्यं धारय । ... ... उत् ऊर्ध्वे सक्थिनी ऊरू यस्याः ... ... अञ्जिं लिङ्गं सञ्चारय ... ... लिङ्गं योनौ प्रवेशय ... ... यस्मिन् लिङ्गे योनौ प्रविष्टे स्त्रियो जीवन्ति भोगांश्च लभन्ते तं प्रवेशय' । महीधरः ।

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यकाऽसकौ शकुन्तिकाऽऽहलगिति वक्षति ।
आहन्ति गभे पसो निगल्गलीति धारका ॥

VS., 23. 22; ŚB., 13. 2. 9. 6; 5. 2. 4; कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्र 20. 6. 18; cf. इयं यका शकुन्तिका TS., 7. 4. 19. 3; KSA., 4. 8; TB., 3. 9. 7. 3; cf. यासकौ शकुन्तिका MS., 3. 13. 1; 168. 3.

'... ... अध्वर्युः कुमारीमभिमेथयति ... ... अङ्गुल्या प्रदर्शयन्नाह ... ... अल्पीयसी पक्षिणीव ... ... हले हले इति ब्रुवन्ती ... ... भगे शिश्नमाहन्तीत्यर्थः । अथ तदा निगल्गलीति अत्यर्थं शुक्रं मुञ्चति धारका योनिः । यद्वा ... ... निगिरति शिश्नं योनिः'। उव्वटः ।

'... ... तत्र प्रथममध्वर्युः कुमारीं पृच्छति ... ... अङ्गुल्या योनिं प्रदर्शयन्नाह ... ... हले हले इति शब्दयन्ती ... ... गच्छति । स्त्रीणां शीघ्रगमने योनौ हलहलाशब्दो भवति ... ... यदा भगे शिश्नमागच्छति तदा धारका धरति लिङ्गमिति धारका योनिर्निगल्गलीति नितरां गलति वीर्यं क्षरति । यद्वानुकरणं गल्गलेति शब्दं करोति'। महीधरः ।

यकोऽसकौ शकुन्तक आहलगिति वक्षति ।
विवक्षत इव ते मुखमध्वर्यो मा नस्त्वमभिभाषथाः ॥

VS., 23. 23; ŚB., 13. 5. 2. 4.

'अध्वर्युं प्रत्याह कुमारी ... ... यः असौ शकुन्तक इव आहलगिति वक्षति । तस्याश्लीलं भाषिणः किमन्यत् ब्रवीमिः ... ...'। उव्वटः ।

'कुमारी अध्वर्यं प्रत्याह । अङ्गुल्या शिश्नं प्रदर्शयन्त्याह । हे अध्वर्यो यः ... ... असौ ... ...पक्षीव विवक्षतः वक्तुमिच्छतस्ते तव मुखमिव आहलगिति वक्षति इतस्ततश्चलति अग्रभागे सच्छिद्रं लिङ्गं तव मुखमिव भाषते ... ...'। महीधर ।

माता च ते पिता च ते ऽग्रं वृक्षस्य रोहतः ।
प्रतिलामीति ते पिता गभे मुष्टिमतंसयत् ॥

VS., 23. 24, 25; TS., 7. 4. 19. 3; MS., 3. 13. 1: 168. 5; KSA., 4. 8; ŚB., 13. 2. 9. 7; TB., 3. 9. 7. 4; आश्वलायनश्रौतसूत्र 10. 8. 10; शांखायनश्रौतसूत्र 16. 4. 1; cf. बृहद्देवता 1. 48.

'ब्रह्मा महिषीमभिमेथयति... ...हे महिषि यदा माता च तव पिता च तव ... पर्यङ्कस्य उपरितनं भागं ... ... मैथुनार्थमेकं पर्यङ्कमारोहतः ... ... तदा ... ... तव पिता ... ... भगे ... ... मुष्ट्याकारं शिश्नं ... ... अक्षिपत्'। उव्वटः ।

'ब्रह्मा महिषीमाह ... ... हे महिषि ते तव माता च पुनः ते पिता यदा ... ... काष्ठमयस्य मञ्चकस्याग्रमुपरिभागं रोहतः आरोहतः तदा ते पिता ... ... भगे ... ... मुष्टितुल्यं लिङ्गं ... ... प्रक्षिपति ... ...'। महीधरः ।

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ऊर्ध्वामेनामुच्छ्रापय गिरौ भारं हरन्निव ।
अथास्यै मध्यमेधतां शीते वाते पुनन्निव ॥

VS., 23. 26, 27 ; TS., 7. 4. 19. 2 ; MS., 3. 13. 1 : 168. 1 ; KSA., 4. 8 ; ŚB., 13. 2. 9. 2 ; TB., 3. 9. 7. 1 ; आपस्तम्बश्रौतसूत्र 10. 8. 12, 13 ; ŚŚS., 16. 4. 2 ; वैतानसूत्र 36. 31 ; लाट्यायनश्रौतसूत्र 9. 10. 3, 4 ; आपस्तम्बश्रौतसूत्र 20. 18. 5.

'उद्गाता वावातामभिमेथयति ... ... एनां मध्ये निगृह्य ऊर्ध्वामुच्छ्रापय ... ... यथा अस्याः ... ... मध्यं योनिप्रदेशः ... ... वृद्धिं यायात् ... ...' । उव्वटः ।

'उद्गाता वावातामाह ... ... तथैनामूर्ध्वां कुरु ... ... यथा ... ... अस्याः ... ... मध्यमेधतां योनिप्रदेशो वृद्धिं यायात् । यथा योनिर्विशाला भवति ... ...' । महीधरः ।

यदस्या अंशुभेद्याः क्षुध स्थूलमुपातसत् ।
मुष्काविदस्या एजतो गोशफे शकुलाविव ॥

VS., 23. 28 ; AV. 20. 136. 1 ; GB., 2. 6. 15 ; ŚB., 13. 5. 2. 7 ; आश्वलायन-श्रौतसूत्र 8. 3. 28 ; शांखायनश्रौतसूत्र 12. 24. 2. 2 ; वैतानसूत्र 32. 31 ; cf. लाट्यायन-श्रौतसूत्र 9. 10. 5. Cf. AB., 6. 36. 4 ; KB., 30. 5 ; ऋग्विधान 3. 24. 4.

'होता परिवृक्तामभिमेथयति ... ... यदा अस्याः ... ... अल्पयोनेः ... ... क्रसं शिश्नं स्थूलं च ... ... उपसङ्गच्छेत् । अथ तदा अल्पत्वाद् योनेः स्थूलत्वात् क्रसत्वाच्च दुःप्रजननस्य मुष्कौ वृषणौ ... ... अस्याः प्रजननस्योपरि एजतः ... ...' । उव्वटः ।

'होता परिवृक्तामाह ... ... यदा अस्याः क्रसं स्थूलं च शिश्नमुपगच्छेत् योनिं ... ... तदा ... ... वृषणौ ... ... अस्याः योनेरुपरि एजतः कम्पेते । लिङ्गस्य स्थूलत्वाद्योनेरल्प-त्वाद् वृषणौ बहिस्तिष्ठत इत्यर्थः' । महीधरः ।

यद्देवासो ललामगुं प्रविष्टीमिनमाविषुः ।
सक्ष्णा देदिश्यते नारी सत्यस्यात्तिभुवो यथा ॥

VS., 23. 29 ; AV., 20. 136. 4 ; ŚB., 13. 5. 2. 7 ; शांखायनश्रौतसूत्र 12. 24. 2. 1 ; 16. 4. 6 ; cf. यं देवासो ललामगुम् । लाट्यायनश्रौतसूत्र 9. 10. 6.

'परिवृक्ता प्रत्याह ..... यदा एते देवासः शिश्नदेवाः शिश्नक्रीडनाः ... ... शिश्नं ... ... प्रवेश्य विस्रभ्य च ... ... आलिङ्गनचुम्बनादिभिर्निगृह्णीयुर्नारीम् । अथ तदा सक्ष्णा ... ... निर्दिश्यते लक्ष्यते नारी । न हि तस्याः किञ्चिदव्यात्तं पुरुषेण भवति ... ...' । उव्वटः ।

'परिवृक्ता होतारमाह । यत् यदा देवासः देवाः दीव्यन्ति क्रीडन्ति देवा होत्रादय ऋत्विजो ललामगुं लिङ्गं प्र आविषुः योनौ प्रवेशयन्ति ... ... यदा देवाः शिश्नक्रीडिनो भवन्तो ललामगुं योनौ प्रवेशयन्ति तदा नारी सक्ष्णा ऊरुणा ऊरुभ्यां देदिश्यते निर्दिश्यते अत्यन्तं

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लक्ष्यते ... ... भोगसमये सर्वस्य नार्यङ्गस्य नरेण व्याप्तत्वादूरुमात्रं लक्ष्यते इयं नारीत्यर्थः'। महीधरः।

यद्ध॒रि॒णो यव॒मत्ति॒ न पु॒ष्टं प॒शु म॑न्यते।
शू॒द्रा यद॑र्य॒जारा॒ न पोषा॑य धनायति॥

VS., 23. 30, 31; TS., 7. 4. 19. 2; MS., 3. 13. 1: 168. 7; KSA., 4. 8; ŚB., 13. 2. 9. 8; TB., 3. 9. 7. 2; आश्वलायनश्रौतसूत्र 16. 4. 4, 6.

'क्षत्ता पालागलीमभिमेथयति ..... यदा हरिणो मृगः यवं सस्यं अत्ति भक्षयति ..... अर्यजारा अर्यः वैश्यः जारो यस्याः सा अर्यजारा भवेत् तदा स शूद्रः क्षेत्रौ .....'। उव्वटः।

'क्षत्ता पालागलीमाह। यत् यदा हरिणो यवमत्ति मृगो यदा क्षेत्रस्थं धान्यं भक्षयति तदा क्षेत्री पशु पशुं हरिणं पुष्टं न मन्यते ... ... किन्तु मदीयं क्षेत्रं भक्षितमिति दुःखी-भवतीत्यर्थः। ... ... वैश्यो यदा शूद्रां गच्छति तदा शूद्रः पोषाय न धनायते पुष्टिं न गच्छति मद्भार्या वैश्येन भुक्ता सती पुष्टा जातेति न मन्यते किन्तु व्यभिचारिणी जातेति दुःखितो भवति ... ...'। महीधरः।

These passages clearly show that the phallic cult came to be incorporated, later on, into the very sacerdotal ritualism. But the period of the RV. is far removed from this later development. As the Mohenjo-daro period shows the wide prevalence of the phallic cult, it shows the posteriority of Mohenjo-daro to the Ṛgveda.

Further, Śiva was worshipped at Mohenjo-daro. Again, I should like to quote the remarks of Sir John Marshall: '..... there appears at Mohenjo-daro a male god, who is recognizable at once as a prototype of the historic Śiva ..... The god, who is three-faced, is seated on a low Indian throne in a typical attitude of Yoga .... the attributes of the deity are peculiarly distinctive. In the first place, he is three-faced (*trimukha*) and we are at once reminded that in historic times Śiva was portrayed with one, three, four or five faces and always with three eyes and that the familiar triad of Śiva .... is habitually represented by a threefold image. Of the three-faced Śiva—that is, Śiva without Brahmā and Viṣṇu—there is a fine example among the ruined temples of Devāṅgaṇa near Mount Abu ...'[1] Again, the worship of Śiva can be traced to a very remote antiquity. Sir John Marshall remarks, 'Among the many revelations that Mohenjo-daro and Harappa have had in store for us, none perhaps is more remarkable than this discovery that Śaivism has a history going back to the Chalcolithic Age or perhaps even further still, and that it thus takes its places as the most ancient living faith in the world' (*op. cit.*, Preface VII).

[1] Sir John Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. i. 52, 53.

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I should like to submit that Śiva is an Aryan deity. Although Śiva occupies a subordinate place in the RV. he nevertheless is a member of the Vedic pantheon.

Śiva-Rudra is celebrated in three hymns and a few stanzas only in the RV., namely, I, 43. 1, 2, 4–6 ; I, 114 ; II, 33 ; V, 42. 11 ; VII, 46 ; X, 64. 8.

But there is an evolution in the status of Śiva as we come down from the time of the RV. to the period of the Epics. In the Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā, a whole chapter is devoted to Śiva-Rudra, namely the 16th, which contains the well-known Śatarudrīya. He is called Nīlagrīva, Sahasrākṣa, Śiva, Paśupati, Bhava, Giricara, Girīśa, Gaṇapati, Virūpa, Viśvarūpa, Śarva, Śiti-Kaṇṭha, Śambhu, Śaṅkara, Nīlalohita, etc.—names with which Śiva is celebrated in the classical period. From the period of the Yajurveda, Śiva went on steadily assuming greater and greater importance. During the period of the Brāhmaṇas, great importance came to be attached to Śiva. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, III, 33, Prajāpati is slain by Śiva in the form of Bhūtapati, showing his greater power. In V, 14, a very large share in the sacrifice is allowed to Śiva. In the Kauṣitaki Brāhmaṇa, there is a long section VI, 1. 9, devoted to the panegyric of Śiva. He is praised under the distinctive names of Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugradeva, Mahādeva, Īśāna, etc. There is no doubt that Śaivism was gaining ground. Prof. A. B. Keith finds clear proof in the Brāhmaṇas, ' of the great importance of the figure of Rudra—It is impossible not to feel in both Brāhmaṇas as also in the Śatapatha, that the figure of Rudra has a very different reality from that possessed by the more normal members of the pantheon, or by Prajāpati as creator, with whom as lord of creatures he successfully contends '.[1]

The culmination in the evolution of the status of Śiva is attained in the epic period when Śiva becomes one of the three most supreme deities and a member of Hindu Holy Trinity—Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśa.

It has already been said that Śiva was worshipped at Mohenjo-daro. The similarity of Śiva worship at Mohenjo-daro with the modern worship is very remarkable. Sir John Marshall says, ' But, taken as a whole, their religion is so characteristically Indian as hardly to be distinguishable from still living Hinduism or at last from that aspect of it which is bound up with animism and the cults of Śiva . . . . ' (*op. cit.*, Preface VII). This shows Śiva of Mohenjo-daro is identical with Śiva of Hinduism. An evolution in his status can be traced from the Ṛgveda to the Epics. From a minor deity in the Ṛgveda, he gradually rose and became one of the most powerful

[1] A. B. Keith, *Rigveda Brahmanas*, Introduction, pp. 25, 26.

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deities of the epic period. As he had already attained a high status at Mohenjo-daro, Mohenjo-daro represents therefore a later period than that of the RV., wherein Śiva is but a secondary deity.

It may be objected that Śiva is not an Aryan deity at all and that it was adopted by the Aryans from the non-Aryans, when the former came in contact with the latter. To this objection, it may be pointed out that when borrowing takes place, the most important deity is borrowed and highest rank is bestowed on the borrowed deity from the very beginning. The evolution of the status of Śiva from the time of the Ṛgveda to the period of Epics shows that it was not borrowed otherwise we should have expected Śiva to have been a supreme deity from the earliest times. Śiva gradually evolved himself and attained the highest rank after a long career.

Further, a similar evolution can also be traced in the status of of Viṣṇu. In the Ṛgveda, Viṣṇu is a minor deity but becomes a supreme deity in the epic period. Later on, he is a member of the Hindu holy trinity. The career of Viṣṇu is parallel to that of Śiva. Both are quite insignificant deities in the beginning but gradually assume more importance and greater power till the zenith is reached in the epic period. The same thing can more or less be said about the third member of the trinity, i.e. Brahmā. If Śiva is a non-Aryan deity borrowed by the Aryans, then it will have to be assumed that both Viṣṇu and Brahmā were also non-Aryan deities, borrowed by the Aryans. The conclusion will then be irresistible that the whole of the Hinduism was non-Aryan in its origin, which will be absurd on the face of it.

The only right hypothesis will therefore be to assume that Śiva is not a non-Aryan but an Aryan deity, as mentioned in the Ṛgveda. He was not borrowed from the aborigines but gradually evolved himself from a humble origin to its most remarkable supremacy in the epic period.

Again, we find that gods at Mohenjo-daro had been completely anthropomorphized, but this process had not gone very far during the period of the RV. In the mythology of the RV. gods had not been invested with a distinct and clear-cut individuality as in the later epic and Pauranic period. Their personality was in a nebulous state. One god is praised with the same epithets as another. In II, 1, Agni is everything :

त्वमग्न इन्द्रो वृषभः सतामसि त्वं विष्णुरुरुगायो नमस्यः ।
त्वं ब्रह्मा रयिविद्ब्रह्मणस्ते त्वं विधर्तः सचसे पुरन्ध्या ॥ ३ ॥
त्वमग्ने राजा वरुणो धृतव्रतस्त्वं मित्रो भवसि दस्म ईड्यः ।
त्वमर्यमा सत्पतिर् ... ... ॥ ४ ॥

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Agni is praised as Indra, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Brahmaṇaspati, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, etc. In II, 1. 8, Agni is described as the king.

In II, 27. 10, Varuṇa is described as the king of all,—gods and men : त्वं विश्वेषां वरुणासि राजा ये च देवा असुर ये च मर्ताः । Similarly in VII, 87. 5-6, Varuṇa is again spoken of as a king.

In IX, 59. 4, Soma is described as great and supreme over all. In IX, 96. 10, Soma is the king of the universe भुवनस्य राजा । In IX, 96. 5, Soma is the creator of heaven and earth. He is the generator of Agni, Sūrya, Indra, Viṣṇu, etc. He prolongs age (IX, 96. 14) प्र तिरन्न आयुः । In VII, 77. 5, Uṣas also prolongs life प्र तिरन्ती न आयुः । In X, 86, Indra is described as superior to all विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः । and so on. Yāska, the author of *the Nirukta*, has the following remark about the Vedic gods :

'On account of the super-eminence of the deity, a single soul is praised in various ways. Other gods are the individual limbs of a single soul. Or else, as people say, seers praise objects according to the multiplicities of their original nature, as well as from its universality. They are produced from each other. They are the original forms of each other' (*N.* 7. 4). Each god is supreme. No god is subordinate to another. There is no hierarchy among the gods of Ṛgveda as in Greek or Roman mythology. No god is superior or inferior to any one else. Each god is absolute. This is stated in so many words in the Ṛgveda itself. The following stanza has expressed this idea in clear words :

नहि वो अस्त्यर्भको देवासो न कुमारकः ।
विश्वे सतो महान्त इत् ॥ RV. VIII, 30. 1.

'Among ye, O gods ! there is none that is small, none that is immature (lit. a youth). All indeed are great.'

The supremacy of each god is due to the fact that the process of anthropomorphism was still in its infancy, during the period of the Ṛgveda, whereas this process was complete by the time of Mohenjo-daro. This also shows that Ṛgveda is anterior to Mohenjo-daro period.

At Mohenjo-daro, gods were worshipped in their shrines. Temples must have been built to house the idols. But no shrines or temples are mentioned in the RV. None existed during that period.

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Building of temples and shrines was a later phase of Hinduism, as shown by the Epics. This also shows that the RV. should be assigned to a period earlier than Mohenjo-daro.

Art of Writing

Numerous seals have been excavated at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. These seals are inscribed. The inscriptions on these seals have not been deciphered as yet. We do not know definitely at present whether the script was written from right to left or from left to right. We have no evidence, beyond a conjecture, to express any opinion with regard to the character of the language, preserved in the seals. It is not possible to state whether the language was agglutinative, synthetic or otherwise. It is equally difficult to hazard an opinion, in the present state of our knowledge, whether the speech was of an Aryan or non-Aryan character. But one thing can be clearly stated. These inscribed seals prove that the art of writing had been invented by the time of the Indus Valley civilization, whereas the art of writing had not been invented during the Ṛgvedic period. The sacred hymns of the Vedas were therefore handed down from generation to generation, by means of an oral tradition. As the sacred text of the hymns was heard from the lips of a teacher and not read from a written book manuscript, the Vedas were therefore called *Śruti*, i.e. ' that which is heard '. At a later period in the Indian history, the art of writing was invented and extensively used. This is supported by the following statement of Yāska, the author of *The Nirukta*, one of the six auxiliary treatises of the Vedas: ' (Primeval) seers had direct intuitive insight into duty. They, by oral instruction, handed down the hymns to later generations, who were destitute of the direct intuitive insight. The later generations, declining in (power of) oral communication compiled this work—in order to comprehend their meaning '(*The Nirukta*, 1. 20).

The art of writing had been invented when the Mohenjo-daro civilization was in a flourishing state but the art of writing had not been invented during the period of the Ṛgveda. This shows the priority of the Ṛgveda to the Indus Valley civilization.

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THE EPOCH OF THE GĀṄGA ERA

By R. C. MAJUMDAR

The Gāṅga kings of Kaliṅga used in their charters an era which is variously referred to as '*Gāṅgeya-Vaṁśa-pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara*', '*Gāṅga-pravarddhavijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara*', etc., or simply as '*Pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara*' with reference to a Gāṅga king.

This era is now usually referred to as the Gāṅga or Gāṅgeya Era. But although its use has been fairly extensive both in space and time, it has not yet been possible to ascertain its epoch or origin.

The important bearing of this point in determining the chronology of the early kings of Kaliṅga has led many scholars to propound different views on this subject. I shall therefore briefly discuss them before offering my own suggestions.

Dr. Fleet was the first to propose a definite view about the epoch of the Gāṅga Era.[1] He found a key to the solution of the problem in the Godāvarī Grant of Rājā Pṛithivīmula. We learn from this record that Adhirāja Indra combined with certain other chiefs and overthrew a certain Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka. Fleet held that the latter prince must be the Eastern Cālukyan prince Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka, the younger brother of Jayasiṁha I (Śaka 549 to 579 or 582), and the father of Viṣṇuvardhana II (Śaka 579 to 586 or Śaka 582 to 591). Therefore Adhirāja Indra must have flourished between Śaka years 549 and 591 or A.D. 627 and 670 A.D. While editing the Chicacole Grant of Indravarman dated in G.E. 128, Fleet identified this Adhirāja Indra with the Kaliṅga king Indravarman of the Chicacole Grant who also issued a charter in the year 146 of the Gāṅga Era. Later, while editing the Parlakimidi Grant of Indravarman, dated G.E. 91, he thought it also possible that Adhirāja Indra might be identified with this earlier Gāṅga king. In that case the date of the earlier Indravarman of Kaliṅga would fall between 627 and 670 A.D., and that of the later Indravarman would be fifty-five years later (difference between 91 and 146), i.e. 725 A.D.

As the Grant of Indravarman, dated 128, refers to an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Mārgaśira, he thought that this

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[1] Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 131. The abbreviation G.E. has been used to denote this era.

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date must have been equivalent to one of the fifteen years (noted by him in detail) between 627 and 725 A.D. on which there was a lunar eclipse in Mārgaśira. He thought that the date might be more precisely determined with the help of another astronomical datum in the Parlakimidi Grant of G.E. 91, viz. that the month of Māgha included thirty solar days.

Fleet left the question at that, but remarked that on palæographical grounds all the three grants issued in the name of Indravarman (of Kaliṅga) may be allotted to the period indicated by him, viz. 627 to 725 A.D. This would mean that the two extreme dates for the epoch of the Gāṅga Era would be A.D. 481 (627 *minus* 146) and 634 (725 *minus* 91). Roughly speaking, according to Fleet's view the epoch of the Gāṅga Era would fall in the sixth century A.D.

Dr. Fleet's view has been rendered obsolete by the discovery of the record of an earlier king Indravarman, dated in the year 39.[1] But even apart from this, Fleet's view has been adversely criticized by several scholars. Mr. G. Ramadas has tried to show that none of the fifteen years suggested by Fleet would satisfy the astronomical data found in other Kaliṅga records.[2] Professor Dubreuil holds[3] that the king Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka, mentioned in the Godāvarī Plates of Pṛithivīmūla, was not the Eastern Cālukya prince, as Fleet supposed, but the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king of that name. This view has been supported by Mr. D. C. Sircar.[4] It would thus appear that Dr. Fleet's views have no sure basis to stand upon.

Mr. Ramadas who rejected the views of Dr. Fleet on astronomical grounds propounded a new theory about the epoch of the Gāṅga Era.[5] He laid stress on the wordings of the era, viz. *pravardhamāna-vijayarājya-saṁvatsara* ' (' prosperous victorious era '), and concluded that it must commemorate some grand victory. His further views may be summed up in his own words.

' It is also stated in this *praśeśti* (*sic*) (Allahabad Pillar Ins.) that Swamidatta was the king of both Pishthapura (*sic*) and Kaliṅga .....

' The victory commemorated by the Kaliṅga Era may be the one that released the country from the foreign rule of Pishthapura. That victory may be the victory of Samudragupta over the king Svāmidatta. Perhaps Samudragupta captured Kaliṅga and con-

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[1] Jirjinga Grant, J.A.H.R.S., Vol. III, p. 49.
[2] J.B.O.R.S., Vol. IX, pp. 402-3.
[3] Ancient History of the Deccan, p. 91.
[4] Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Eastern Deccan, p. 98.
[5] J.B.O.R.S., Vol. IX, pp. 398ff.

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ferred it on one of the warriors that had been following him in the expedition ; and having received it, might have founded the Gāṅga dynasty '.[1]

Thus the initial date of the Gāṅga Era would fall somewhere in Samudragupta's reign, i.e. between *c.* 330 and 380 A.D., or shortly after it. This is corroborated in the opinion of Mr. Ramadas by the two following facts :—

(*a*) Kāmārṇava, the founder of the later Gāṅga family, is said to have taken possession of the Kaliṅga countries. So this must have taken place after the death of Satyavarmā who issued the Chicacole Plates, dated 351. The statements in the Vizagapatam Plates of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga shows that Kāmārṇava came to the throne in Śaka 651. As, therefore, 651 Śaka comes later than 351 G.E., 1 G.E. is later than 300 Śaka or 378 A.D.

(*b*) From the close resemblance of the letters of several Gāṅga plates with those of records of known dates, it appears that the initial year of the Gāṅga Era falls some time about the fourth century A.D.

Having thus fixed up A.D. 330 and 400 as the limits of the period during which the Gāṅga Era was established, Mr. Ramadas applied the astronomical tests and determined Śaka 271 (A.D. 349-50) as the year when the Gāṅga Era was started.

It is needless to criticize the view in detail. It rests upon a very weak foundation of historical assumptions, and it has been shown by Mr. Rajaguru that Mr. Ramadas' theory also fails to satisfy the astronomical data.[2]

As regards his palæographical arguments, Mr. R. D. Banerji pointed out that none of the three Kaliṅga Plates referred to by him (dated 183, 193, 195) can be regarded as earlier than the Ganjām Plates of 300 Gupta Era (=619 A.D.).[3]

Before leaving this topic I may refer to the conflicting views put forth in different parts of his paper by Mr. Ramadas. On p. 406, he says that ' the earliest date that can be allotted to the founding of the era is Śaka 300 or 378 A.D.' Five pages later, he says that the Kaliṅga Era was initiated in A.D. 349.

From the theory of Mr. Ramadas which places the epoch of the G.E. at too early a period we may proceed to some of the extreme views on the other side. The late Robert Sewell held that the

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[1] J.B.O.R.S., pp. 404-5.
[2] J.A.H.R.S., Vol. IV, pp. 9ff.
[3] History of Orissa, p. 241.

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era was started from the accession of Kāmārṇava III in A.D. 877-78.[1] Mr. R. D. Banerji was of opinion that the initial date of the Gāṅga Era falls in the first half of the eighth century A.D.[2] Mr. B. C. Majumdar places the epoch of the era in 772 A.D.[3] None of these views was based on any positive data of satisfactory character and need not be criticized in detail.

To Mr. R. Subba Rao belongs the credit of bringing to light positive evidences of a satisfactory character which may perhaps lead to the solution of the vexed problem. But, unfortunately, Mr. Subba Rao's deductions and inferences do not appear to be quite correct. I would, therefore, first give a clear exposition of the materials together with the views formulated thereon by Mr. Subba Rao, and then proceed to draw my own conclusions from the same.

The new materials are furnished by two inscriptions of Dharmakheḍi, son of Bhāmakheḍi, a feudatory ruler of the Kadamba family. The Siṁhapura copperplate grant[4] describes him as the Mahāmāṇḍalika of Debendrabrahma (°varman) of the Gāṅga family. He granted a village in the year 520 of the Gāṅga-Kadamba Era (Gāṅga-kadamba-vaṁśa-pravarddhamāna-vijayarājya saṁvatsara).

The Mandasa Plates[5] refer to a grant of Dharmakheḍi during the reign of Anantavarama (°varman) of the Gāṅga family. The date of the grant is expressed as '*Śakābda navaśataka saptarasamata*'. This was originally translated as Śaka 976, but Mr. G. Ramadas took it to mean 913.[6] The regnal year is given as 15.

Mr. Subba Rao regarded Gāṅga-Kadamba Era of the Siṁhapura Plate as identical with the Gāṅga Era, and this may be regarded as unexceptionable. He then proceeded to show that as Dharmakheḍi ruled both in G.E. 520 and Śaka 913, the initial year of the Gāṅga Era would fall somewhere about A.D. 471.

I need not follow Mr. Subba Rao in the further amplification of his theory by means of which he fixes the initial date of the Gāṅga Era as 494 A.D.[7], nor the modification suggested by Mr. J. C. Ghosh,[8] who places it in 496 A.D. The main basis of Mr. Subba Rao's theory appears to me to be wrong. There is in my opinion no warrant for the assumption that the date of the Mandase Plates is 'clearly 913'. The words *sapta* and *rasa* undoubtedly mean 'seven' and 'six', and it is more reasonable to take the date as 976 or 967 (if

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[1] The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, edited by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, p. 357.
[2] History of Orissa, p. 239.
[3] J.B.O.R.S., Vol. II, pp. 361-2.
[4] J.A.H.R.S., Vol. III, pp. 171–180.
[5] J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XVII, pp. 175ff.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 179.
[7] J.A.H.R.S., Vol. V, pp. 272–4.
[8] Ind. Ant., 1932, p. 237.

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we follow the principle *aṅkasya vāmā gatiḥ*). This point has been already noted by Mr. J. C. Ghosh[1] though, strangely enough, he maintains at the same time that Dharmakheḍi was a contemporary of Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman-Vajrahasta, who ascended the throne in 902 Śaka.[2] But the correctness of this interpretation of the date is also vouchsafed by the name of the Gāṅga king. According to Siṁhapura Plates, the overlord of Dharmakheḍi was Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman. The king Anantavarman of the Mandasa Plates may therefore be identified with the latter. Now, on looking through the genealogical table of the Gāṅga kings, furnished by the Korni C.P. of Anantavarman-Coḍagaṅga[3] and other epigraphic records, we find the names of two kings, father and son, Vajrahasta-Anantavarman and Rājarāja-Devendravarman,[4] and this Anantavarman ruled from Śaka 960 to 992 (A.D. 1038–1070). The fifteenth regnal year would correspond fairly well to Śaka 976 which seems to confirm the reading of the date of Mandasa Plates, as suggested above.

Now if we take the date as Śaka 913, there is no Anantavarman in the Gāṅga family ruling in that period. In order to obviate this difficulty, Mr. Ramadas, and following him, also Mr. Subba Rao, have started the hypothesis that all the rulers of the Gāṅga family were called, in succession, Anantavarman and Devendravarman.[5] Proceeding on this assumption Mr. Ramadas has identified Anantavarman of the Mandasa Plates with Kāmārṇava IV, and Mr. Subba Rao has identified him with Vajrahasta III, son of Kāmārṇava IV.

The assumption rests on the fact that for some generations, the Gāṅga kings were named in succession Anantavarman and Devendravarman. But it would be unreasonable to conclude from this that their predecessors were also so named, so long at least as we do not get any satisfactory evidence for the same.

The positive evidence on which we may hope to fix the epoch of the Gāṅga Era may thus be stated as follows :—

The feudatory Kadamba Chief Dharmakheḍi ruled during the reigns of two Gāṅga kings, Anantavarman and his son Devendra-

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[1] J.A.H.R.S., Vol. VIII, pp. 234-35.

[2] Ind. Ant., 1932, p. 237.

[3] J.A.H.R.S., Vol. I, pp. 46ff.

[4] Vajrahasta is called Anantavarman in two of his own plates (Madras Museum and Ganjam copperplates; Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 94; Vol. XXIII, p. 67) and the Grant of Narasimhadeva II. (J.A.S.B., Vol. LXV, Part I, No. 3, 1896). Rājarāja is called Devendravarman in the copperplate, No. 4 of App. A. Epigraphical Report for 1918-19.

[5] J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XVII, pp. 180-81. In J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XX, p. 34, f.n. 2, he modifies the view a little.

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varman. He made a grant of land, during the reign of Anantavarman, in the Śaka year 976 (or 967), and a second grant, during the reign of Devendravarman, in the Gāṅga year 520.

Now there is no difficulty in identifying the two Gāṅga kings with Vajrahasta-Anantavarman (Śaka 960–992) and Rājarāja-Devendravarman (Śaka 992–999). The Gāṅga year 520 would thus fall between Śaka 992 and Śaka 999. The epoch of the Gāṅga Era would thus lie between 472 and 479 Śaka or A.D. 550 and 557.

We have now to consider whether this conclusion is in conflict with any known data. In this connection it is necessary to examine the date contained in three copperplate grants found at Chicacole, Chipurupalle, and Kambakaya.

1. The Chicacole Plates[1] begin with the usual phraseology of Gāṅga inscriptions and refer to the Gāṅga king Madhukāvārṇṇadeva, son of Anantabrahmadeva. But instead of recording an order of the king, such as the initial words might lead us to expect, it refers to a grant by the lord of Paṭṭyāpura in the year 526 of the Gāṅga Era.

Mr. Subba Rao[2] has identified the Gāṅga king of these plates with the king Madhukāmārṇava, son of Vajrahasta-Aniyaṅkabhīma. As according to the Chicacole Plates, Anantabrahma is said to be the father of Madhukāvārṇṇa, he assumes that Vajrahasta was also called Anantavarman, and his whole chronological scheme is based upon this assumption. If this is accepted the epoch of the Gāṅga Era cannot of course be so late as 550 A.D.

As I have mentioned above, there is no warrant for the assumption that Vajrahasta-Aniyaṅkabhīma was called Anantavarman. The identification suggested by Mr. Subba Rao is not, therefore, convincing enough to upset the results which we have arrived at with the help of positive data.

By applying the initial date of the Gāṅga Era as assumed above by me, the date of Chicacole Plates would lie somewhere between 1076 and 1083 A.D. Now, according to the accepted view Rājarāja-Devendravarman, son of Vajrahasta-Anantavarman, ruled till 1076 or 1077 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Anantavarman-Coḍagaṅga. There is no place for Madhukāvārṇṇa, son of Anantavarman in the above list.

I admit the difficulty, and cannot suggest any definite solution which is entirely satisfactory. But this difficulty is equally present in the other theories, inasmuch as we know of no king Madhukāvārṇṇa (or Kāmārṇava), son of Anantavarman, from any other source.

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[1] J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XVIII, pp. 272ff.
[2] J.A.H.R.S., Vol. V, pp. 271-2.

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Mr. Subba Rao has solved it by supposing that Vajrahasta, the father of Madhukāmārṇava, was also called Anantavarman. I might suggest a similar solution, viz. that Rājarāja-Devendravarman, son of Vajrahasta-Anantavarman, was also called Madhukāvārṇṇa. I may add that this view has already been propounded by Mr. G. Ramadas while editing the Chicacole Plates. He holds that as the Siṁhapura Plates of 520 G.E. refer to king Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman, and the Chicacole Plates of 526 refer to Madhukāvārṇṇa, son of Anantavarman, 'consequently Madhukāvārṇṇa appears to have borne the imperial title of Devendravarman'. I do not lay much stress on this assumption, except by way of pointing out that the difficulty, referred to, is not a conclusive argument against my view.

Similarly, I may suggest that Madhukāvārṇṇa may be regarded as a younger brother of Rājarāja-Devendravarman, as Anantavarman was the name of the father of both and their dates lie within six years. It is true that there is no reference to this king in the genealogical list. But in this connection I would like to draw attention to one passage in the Korni C.P. of Anantavarman.[1] In lines 23ff. it states that Rājarāja protected the earth for eight years and then his chief queen gave birth to a son (Anantavarman) Coḍagaṅga who was consecrated in the year 999 Śaka.

It would thus appear that Anantavarman-Coḍagaṅga was born after the death of his father, and his long reign of 72 years lends colour to this supposition. In that case it is easy and natural to presume that a younger brother of Rājarāja-Devendravarman would act as regent till the infant king was crowned some time in 1077 A.D. In that case, assuming the epoch of the Gāṅga Era to be 550 A.D., we may regard the Chicacole Plate of 526 (=1076 A.D.) as issued by Madhukāvārṇṇa as a regent. This would explain the peculiar nature of this plate, as noted before, and the absence of this name in the genealogical list.

A third hypothesis would be to assume Madhukāvārṇṇa as a rival king of Anantavarman-Coḍagaṅga in his earlier years. According to Mahāvaṁśa, the queen of the Ceylonese king Vijayavāhu (1054–1109 A.D.) was a princess of Kaliṅga, and one of her relatives named Madhukānnava came to Ceylon from Sihapura.[2]

I put forth these alternatives merely to show how the difficulty may be ultimately solved, but it would be unwise to make any definite assumption at this stage.

To sum up : I have shown that the natural interpretation of the only known positive datum would lead to the inference that the

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[1] J.A.H.R.S., Vol. I, pp. 46ff.

[2] Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 4.

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initial date of the Gāṅga Era falls between 550 and 557 A.D. The Chicacole Plates raise a difficulty which cannot be solved now, but it is equally present in all the theories on the subject.

2. In the Achyutapuram Plates of Indravarman, dated 87,[1] the donee is named Durgāśarman of the Gautama *gotra*. The Chipurupalle Copperplate[2] of the Eastern Cālukya king Mahārāja Viṣṇuvardhana, dated year 18 (=633 A.D.), refers to grant of lands to two sons of Durgāśarman of the Gautama *gotra*. Considering the proximity of the localities, and the identity of name and *gotra*, the Brāhmaṇa Durgāśarman, referred to in these two plates, may very well be regarded as one and the same person.

If we accept the initial date of the Gāṅga Era to be *c.* 550 A.D., Durgāśarman must have received the grant in *c.* 637 A.D. It would then follow that his two sons received grants four years earlier. There does not appear to be any inherent improbability in this. It may be added that the proposed identification definitely places the epoch of the Gāṅga Era to the first half of the sixth century A.D., with the possible margin of a decade or two on either side. In the present uncertain state of our knowledge this seems to be a great landmark in the solution of the problem.

3. The Kambakaya copperplate grant, dated 1103 Śaka,[3] states that during the reign of Devendravarman, his provincial governor, the Kadamba Chief Udayāditya, son of Dharmakheḍi, granted a village to two Brāhmaṇas. Now if the Dharmakheḍi of this grant be regarded as the same person who is mentioned in the Siṁhapura and Mandasa Plates, the date 1103 Śaka would be too late for his son, there being an interval of nearly 127 years (1103 *minus* 976) between the known dates of the two. But the objection would be still more serious if the date of the Mandasa Plates is taken as 913 Śaka. In any case, we are justified in holding, either that the date of the inscription is wrong, or that Dharmakheḍi mentioned therein is a different person.

I do not like to discuss the astronomical data of which much has been made by some scholars. In the first place, I am not equal to the task, and secondly, previous experience in regard to discussions on the epoch of the Gupta Era, and of the dates used in the Pratīhāra records,—to quote only two examples out of many,—have sufficiently demonstrated the risk of relying on such data for the purpose we have in view.

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[1] Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 128ff. [2] Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, pp. 15ff.

[3] Published in the Telugu Journal Bhāratī, Nov. 1927. I have not been able to consult this, and have relied on the summary given by Mr. Subba Rao (J.A.H.R.S., Vol. VI, p. 207).

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In conclusion I may point out that as a net result of the above discussion it may be confidently asserted that the epoch of the Gāṅga Era falls within the first half of the sixth century A.D.[1], with a possible margin of about ten to twenty years on either side, and that there are good grounds to place it between 550 and 557 A.D.

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[1] In his introduction to the Bangalore plates of Devendravarman (No. 12) Lewis Rice remarks : ' The date 254 (of the Gāṅga Era) is supposed to be equivalent to about 774 A.D. ' (Ep. Carn., Vol. IX, p. 9). This would place the epoch of the era to about 520 A.D., within the period proposed by me. Unfortunately I have not been able to find out the data or the reasoning which led Rice to this conclusion.

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STUDIES IN GUPTA PALEOGRAPHY

By SUSHIL K. BOSE

A large number of duplicate original estampages have been placed at the disposal of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar by the Government of India. These are now lying in the Indian Museum and I beg to extend my best thanks to Dr. Bhandarkar and above all to the Archæological Department, for, otherwise I should not have had the opportunity of using those estampages which have enabled me to pursue the study of Gupta paleography. The whole subject will be treated in a series of articles the first instalment of which is offered herewith for constructive criticism.

(1)

On the development of the letter Ya

Almost half a century back before the late Dr. Rudolf Hoernle contributed his well-known article on the date of the Bower Manuscript in the pages of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*,[1] studies in Indian paleography were in their first stage. As a matter of fact, Hoernle's was the first systematic effort to discuss the subject of Gupta paleography. His discussion of the age of the Bower Manuscript was no doubt a piece of profound scholarship, but when he tried to put some sort of chronological value on the letter *ya* in its different forms, he perhaps overshot the mark. The discovery of fresh materials and the general advance of the science of paleography effected since then, make it necessary to consider the whole question once again ; so that even the worthy publications of scholars like Bühler [2] and R. D. Banerji [3] on this subject do not militate against the necessity of a fresh study. In the present note I will concentrate on the nature of the letter *ya*, mainly confining my remarks to the epigraphs of the Gupta period.

It is generally acknowledged, since Bühler gave out his views on the subject, that the precursors of the northern alphabet, during the so-called Gupta period, were those of the Northern Kshatrapas and the Kushânas. This term northern alphabet again seems to have been uniformly used to indicate that class of alphabet which

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[1] J.A.S.B., 60, 92f.
[2] Indian Paleography (Eng. trans.).
[3] Origin of the Bengali script.

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pervaded the whole of Northern India from the middle of the fourth century A.D. to about the beginning of the seventh. In other words, it has been maintained that the Kushân script gave rise to the so-called Gupta alphabet which predominated the whole of Northern India for an appreciably long period. As we are concerned here only with the letter *ya* let us proceed to examine what characteristics have been attributed to it, as found in the Gupta period, by scholars like Bühler and Hoernle. The researches of the latter scholar in connection with his studies of the Bower Manuscript have been widely accepted and we find that Mr. Pargiter, while editing the much disputed copperplates from East Bengal, has wholly accepted the views of Dr. Hoernle.[1] In his articles appearing both in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* and in the *Indian Antiquary*, Dr. Hoernle maintained that and are the oldest forms of the letter *ya* and the latest type of it. For the convenience of subsequent reference we call the first figure above as the looped type of *ya* while the second figure may be designated as the knotched type. The third figure is of course, what is called the cursive bipartite *ya*. In between these types Hoernle has placed another which he calls the transitional one and which looks much like . It appears from his writings that Hoernle was inclined to think that somewhere about 350 A.D. a new alphabet arose in Northern India commonly known as the Gupta alphabet having many new features. This idea of his, Bühler had also imbibed subsequently. In the light of new facts that have cropped up since then, it becomes necessary that any attempt at a classification of the letter *ya* into the older, transitional and later forms must be given up. More so is the case in those instances where Hoernle has tried to fix an age for the prevalence of the transitional form and from it to derive the date of any particular document. At the very outset it may be observed that every letter might be called transitional inasmuch as there invariably is an earlier and a later variety of it. After a very detailed study Hoernle came to the conclusion that from about 580 A.D. the tripartite *ya* had disappeared from the script of Northern India.[2] Many new records have been discovered since Hoernle wrote his article and his conclusions are, therefore, to be readjusted in the light of these new discoveries. As a matter of fact, Bühler [3] himself noted that the discovery of an inscription of the seventh century with mostly tripartite *ya*, makes a modification of Hoernle's

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[1] Indian Ant., Vol. 39, pp. 193ff.

[2] J.A.S.B., 60, 92f.

[3] Bühler, *loc. cit.*, p. 48, f.n. 3.

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argument necessary but does not invalidate his final results. The epigraph in question is, of course, the Udaypur record of Aparâjita [1] of V.E. 716 where the old type of *ya* really occurs. The Bôdh Gayâ inscription of Mahânâman [2] has received more attention from scholars than is really due to it. The reason for this is not far to seek. Twenty to thirty years ago it was the only record of its kind, and naturally the earlier group of scholars fell back on this record in support of their theories. But now, in view of the rapid progress that epigraphy has made since then, the lower limit for the use of the tripartite *ya* has to be pushed beyond the seventh century.[3] Another remark of Hoernle that a scribe would habitually use one form of writing and would not introduce a style to which he was not accustomed, will have to be modified as we shall show in a separate place that two absolutely different kinds of styles are introduced in the same record. But to come to our point about the precise nature of *ya*. The script with which we are dealing now, has generally been characterized as the Gupta alphabet. But this dynastic appellation is anything but satisfactory. The real beginning of this so-called Gupta alphabet may be traced to very early times even to the days of the Kushânas and the Kshatrapas. Though Fleet [4] has noticed a casual similarity between certain Gupta letters and those occurring on the coins of the Indo-Scythians in the Punjab, it was Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar [5] who discussed the whole question when he edited the Mathura inscription of Chandra Gupta II of the year 61. It is obligatory, therefore, to take into consideration the nature of the Kushan characters when we pursue an enquiry into the paleography of the so-called Gupta alphabet. The oldest type of *ya* is generally that with a loop or a curled curve attached to the left limb of the letter like . Incidentally I might remark here that the type illustrated by Pargiter as one of the earliest forms of *ya*, on the authority of Hoernle, is not met with in any of the earlier inscriptions. If we examine some of the Kushan records from Mathura we shall find that both the looped and the knotched type of *ya* occur frequently side by side. Neither of these two forms can, therefore, be called a development of the other. And they continue to appear in Northern India during the Gupta period also. The remark of Dr. Bühler [6] that the oldest instance of the independent looped *ya* is found in Fleet's No. 59 of A.D. 371, therefore, requires modification as we have pointed out that Kushan inscriptions from

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[1] Epi. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 29.
[2] C.I.I., Vol. II, p. 274.
[3] R. D. Banerjee, *loc. cit.*, p. 39.
[4] C.I.I., Vol. II, p. 3.
[5] Epi. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 1.
[6] Bühler, *loc. cit.*, p. 48.

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Mathura exhibit clear cases of independent looped *ya*. Besides this looped tripartite *ya*, we also notice, during this period, the prevalence of the transitional form now and then, which is said to have ultimately lead up to the modern cursive *ya*. We shall show here, with the help of illustrations from different inscriptions that *the above three forms of ya do not observe any sequence in point of time.* On the other hand, facts would tend to prove that they existed side by side in distinct localities. As is the case even at present, scribes of a particular place have peculiarities of their own. Likewise in early times certain style of execution of a letter might have been the peculiarity with a set of scribes, very likely belonging to the same region. What Hoernle has called the transitional type might in all probability represent the specimen familiar to the scribes of a certain region. For, if we accept the conclusion that the transitional ultimately gave rise to the modern cursive form then a very natural event would have been to find records where the oldest form occurs in conjunction with the transitional form and those where the latter occurs in conjunction with the cursive form. This unfortunately, however, is not the case. There is no definite order in which the three forms appear in inscriptions. What has been called the later cursive type can be found very early in a particular place. Even two contemporary records, which otherwise agree in points of paleography, exhibit two different kinds of *ya*. Let us stop here to record some facts in favour of our statement. Earlier in the note we had occasion to state that the looped *ya* is met with even in Kushan inscriptions. For the sake of illustration we might look up such records as the Mathura pedestal inscription of the year 14 [1] or the seven inscriptions from Mathura.[2] This same type is used in the Gupta records beginning from the Allahabad inscription up till very late. This form seems to have been the popular one among most of the scribes extending over a large area of the country. In the Bijayagaḍh inscription of Viṣṇu Vardhana [3] we come across the cursive form of *ya* for the first time. From a look at the inscription itself it will be apparent that the scribe responsible for the engraving of this document was very familiar with both forms of *ya* as they have been freely used. If we take it for granted that the Allahabad inscription of Samudra Gupta and this Bijayagaḍh record are not far removed in point of time from each other then there obviously would follow one conclusion. It is that the scribes of the eastern parts of the empire were familiar only with the looped *ya* whilst those in the west knew both the forms very well. Let us

[1] Epi. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 65.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 96.
[3] C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 252.

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now proceed to examine as to when the transitional form first makes its appearance. Hoernle remarked that probably there was no great interval between the development of the two forms. He also observed that within 30 years from the date of the Bijayagaḍh inscription (371 A.D.) we can see the transitional form in use in inscriptions ; and he has enumerated in due order of date the Tusâm inscription, the Indore copperplate of Skanda Gupta, the Kâritâlâi and Khoḥ inscriptions of Jayanâtha where, according to him, the transitional form appears. Paleographically he places the Tusâṁ record to *c.* 400 A.D., and hence made the statement that the transitional form appears thirty years later than the cursive form.[1] The Tusâṁ record, however, had better been referred to the end of the fifth century A.D. Leaving aside this question, I am sorry to state that none of the records mentioned above contain any trace of the transitional *ya*. In the Tusâm[2] inscription, Hoernle has referred to *ya* in *yogâchâryya* (l. 3). But this letter is very anomalous and Fleet himself had noticed this fact. So that it would be better to leave aside this single doubtful evidence. Again *ya* in the words *abhivṛiddhayê* (l. 4) and *upayôjyam*, (l. 7) of the Indore copperplate of Skanda Gupta,[3] which have been observed by Hoernle to contain the transitional form, are clear instances of the ordinary looped variety. Similarly, none of the words pointed out by him, in the Kâritâlâi and Khoḥ inscriptions of Jayanâtha[4] can be said to exhibit the transitional form. Hoernle's standpoint becomes very shaky. *The transitional form does not appear till after the end of the* fifth century A.D. In any case more than a century intervenes between the first appearance of the cursive form and that of the transitional one. This is a case of putting the horse before the cart. If the transitional type gave rise to the cursive one it is strange how the latter should appear in inscriptions hundred years later. The first clear example of the transitional *ya* occurs in the Jaunpur inscription of Îsvaravarman[5] in the word *anvavâyê* (l. 2). The date of this record would be about 525 A.D. Henceforward, we will come across the use of the transitional form in many contemporary records. Such for instance are the Mandasor inscriptions of Yasôdharman[6] and Visṇuvardhana[7] where a few cases of the transitional form occur. The old form is, however, still the rule. We can with reasonable probability affirm that the 6th century saw the advent of the transitional form of *ya*. Consideration

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[1] In all these we refer to his article in J.A.S.B., 1891, pt. I.
[2] C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 269.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 68.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 121.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 228.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 149.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 150.

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of another point will also help us to prove that the transitional form cannot be looked upon as the precursor of the cursive *ya*. *I am not aware of any inscription during this period, except that of the Bôdh Gayâ one of Mahânâman, where exclusively the transitional and the cursive forms are used.* If the transitional were the parent of the cursive form, as Hoernle would have us to believe, then there ought to have been cases where the transitional *ya* occurred side by side with the cursive one. What we find, however, is that there are records where the older and the very later forms appear side by side. In the Mânḍâsor stone pillar inscriptions of Yasodharman (Fleet's No. 33), we find that the cursive *ya* appears, though less frequently, together with the old looped form. For the former specimen see *ya* in *viryâ* (l. 4) ; *yasya* (l. 5). Similar is the case in the Mâjhagawan plates of the Mahârâja Hastin [1] where both the forms appear freely. The *ya* in *abhivṛiddhayē* (l. 7) of this record is not of the transitional type as wrongly pointed out by Hoernle. One conclusion follows from this and it is that *the so-called transitional form does not occupy any intermediary position chronologically between the looped and the cursive forms of ya.*

Next we shall consider the date when the cursive form came to supplant the old type of *ya*. In this point also, Hoernle's remarks stand in need of modification. He observed that after 600 A.D. there is no inscription which shows any trace of the survival of the old form. In all of them, he continues to say, the cursive *ya* is fully established in exclusive use. And hence Hoernle established the rule that the western alphabet had displaced the eastern one by the end of the sixth century. Subsequent discoveries, however, have put us in a position to demonstrate beyond doubt, that in the eastern parts of India the old tripartite *ya* was in vogue half a century longer than the date laid down by Hoernle.[2] It will be hardly proper to jump to a conclusion from the single evidence of the Bôdh Gayâ inscription where the cursive *ya* does occur. As against this one instance we have several other records belonging to Eastern India where the old tripartite *ya* still holds undisputed sway. Such records as the Paṭiakêlla grant of Mahârâja Sivarâja of 602 A.D.,[3] the Muṇḍêsvari inscription of the Mahâsâmanta Mahârâja Udayasêna of 636 A.D.[4] show the exclusive use of the old tripartite *ya*. Even in Western Indian inscriptions it is yet by no means the rule that the cursive *ya* is universally prevalent. Take for instance the Nirmand copperplate of the Mahâsâmanta and Mahârâja

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[1] C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 106.
[2] Banerjea, *loc. cit.*, p. 39.
[3] Epi. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 285.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 289.

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Samudrasêna.[1] The date of this inscription is generally accepted as *c.* 612-13 A.D. Fleet himself has observed that all that can be said about the period of this record is that it belongs to roughly about the seventh century A.D. In this inscription *the old type of ya has been exclusively used.* It is well established then that in Eastern India the old *ya* continued for some time longer than 588 A.D. Besides this, we have to note another fact. It is that we cannot very closely trace the process by which the cursive *ya* came to replace the old tripartite *ya* in Eastern India. The Ganjâm grant of Sasâṅka[2] and the Vappaghosavâṭa grant of Jayanâga,[3] which, paleographically, are more or less contemporary, show the clear use of cursive *ya*. Jayanâga would have to be placed before 600 A.D. and very likely was a contemporary of Samâchârdeva[4] whose records show the use of old *ya*. Some inscriptions, again, of the acute angled nail headed type, which really gave rise to the Nâgari, exhibit the old *ya*. The Deogarh inscription of Svâmibhaṭa[5] is a clear case of the said variety and may rightly be looked upon as the precursor of Nâgari. Here, it is not the cursive but the old tripartite *ya* which is exclusively used. We arrive, therefore, at the following conclusions :

1. The cursive form of ya arrived early in the field than the so-called transitional form and that it was mainly confined to scribes of Western India in the early stages.

2. In Eastern India the influence of this form was felt in different times in different places, so that it becomes easy to explain how two nearly contemporary records show different kinds of ya.

3. Nothing can be deduced from the early use of the cursive ya in the Mahânâman inscription, for it might well have been a stray case of western style found in Eastern India just as we have the Udayagiri inscription of Chandra Gupta II, where the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet was used.

4. Too much emphasis need not be placed on the Tibetan tradition respecting the introduction of the Northern Indian alphabet into Tibet. It is said that these characters were introduced into Tibet by the sage Sambhôṭa who brought them from Magadha where he had resided from A.D. 630–650. These Wartu characters have the cursive *ya*. Dr. Hoernle remarked that for this reason we find the cursive *ya* used in the Pâṭan inscription of Sivadêva,

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[1] C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 286.
[2] Epi. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 142.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 60.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 128f.
[5] Epi. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 125.

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dated 723 A.D. But let it be noted that the inscription of Sivadêva dated 723 A.D. in Nepal has the old form of *ya*. Hence it would be more reasonable to assume that like Eastern India, Nepal too, witnessed a change in her alphabet during the seventh century and we are not in a position to determine how far the imported alphabet from Magadha contributed towards this change.

(*To be continued.*)

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ON THE IDENTITY OF THE VĀRTTIKAKĀRA

By P. THIEME

In my little book 'Pāṇini and the Veda' I have raised afresh, amongst other points, the question of the relative age of Pāṇini's work and the so-called Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya (properly to be styled: Kātyāyanīya Prātiśākhyasūtra). Following others I thought a comparison of such rules of the two Sūtras as agree in their purport, but show a somewhat different wording, to be especially helpful towards a final settlement of this old problem. I arrived at the conclusion that the rules of the Prātiśākhya, though often lacking in that utmost brevity observable in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, at several instances appear to reveal a deliberate endeavour to improve on formulations of Pāṇini's. Particularly convincing in this respect seemed to me the difference of Pāṇini 1. 1. 9 *tulyāsyaprayatnaṃ savarṇam* and V. Pr. 1. 43 *samānasthānakaraṇāsyaprayatnaḥ savarṇaḥ*, since this latter definition adds to the former an essential element (*sthānakaraṇa*), which also the Vārttikakāra proposes to supply when expressing in vārtt. 2 on Pāṇini 1. 1. 9 the desire to replace Pāṇini's rule by the more accurate one: *āsye tulyadeśaprayatnaṃ savarṇam*, his expression *deśa* comprising the terms *sthāna* and *karaṇa*.[1]

Yet my arguments have not been able to carry conviction. Even in face of an instance as the one given just now, Prof. Keith still maintains that 'it is easy to explain his (Pāṇini's) deviations from the V. Pr. by the desire to condense the matter of the latter.'[2] Now I am ready to admit for argument's sake that, as matters stand, the decision of the dilemma essentially rests on the appreciation of certain general considerations and, in the end, must be of subjective nature.[3] Prof. Keith holds Pāṇini 1. 1. 9 to be a condensation of V. Pr. 1. 43; I hold V. Pr. 1. 43 to be an improvement on Pāṇini, but though having the weighty support of the Vārttikakāra, I can see no short way to convince my opponent that my appreciation of the facts is correct. For the briefer wording *is* Pāṇini's, and for somebody who takes brevity of expression to be probably a sign of young age, this may be a sufficient argument.

I

If, then, the correctness of my contention be still open to doubt, this much my lengthy discussions must have shown, that it is at least possible to accept Pāṇini's priority, and to consider it on par with the contrary assumption. This being, at least for argument's sake, admitted, we are faced with the further question, whether the author of the Vārttika and the author of the V. Pr., who is referred to by his commentator Uvaṭa as '*Kātyāyanācārya*', may not be identical, after all. For it is hard to agree with Prof. Keith's view that the identity of a name like Kātyāyana creates 'no probability at all' with reference to the identity of the authors.[4] The probability created may be a faint one, it may even be altogether deceptive, but anyone thinking the V. Pr. to be later than Pāṇini, must feel a keen suspicion, which he wants to be either removed or confirmed by good reasons. Prof. Keith is persuaded

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[1] *o.c.*, p. 92f.
[2] *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, p. 741.
[3] Thus O. Strauss, Deutsche Literaturzeitung 1936, p.880, who is inclined however to accept my view as the more probable one.
[4] Keith, *l.c.*, p. 742.

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that the Vārttika and the V. Pr. are by quite different hands : ' It seems to have been forgotten by Dr. Thieme that Weber [note : Ind. Stud., V, 103ff.; XIII, 444 ; Keith, TS., I, p. CLXXI] long ago adduced points in which the two works differed in terminology, and that unless and until the facts in question are explained away, they form a very powerful argument against the identity of the two authors.' [1]

When Albrecht Weber wrote the 5th volume of the ' Indische Studien ' [2] he was not yet in possession of either a manuscript or an edition of the Mahābhāṣya. Whatever he knew of the work of the Vārttikakāra was culled from the old Calcutta edition of Pāṇini, where a number of ' vārttikas ' are quoted, and from Goldstücker's ' Pāṇini '. He wrote the 13th volume [3] after just having gone through the whole Bhāṣya for the first time, and many are the misunderstandings that occurred to him in the difficult, really temerous, task of mastering the great and intricate work in one sitting. As a matter of fact, he added here nothing new to what he said in the 5th volume with respect to our problem : which merely proves that arguments do not lie on the surface. It must be remembered that all notions about the Vārttikakāra had to be of the haziest description until Kielhorn, after having shown a way to distinguish the part of the Bhāṣya belonging to Patañjali from that belonging to Kātyāyana,[4] presented our science with his monumental edition.[5] Weber's arguments—like those of Goldstücker—are nevertheless still of interest. But this interest is almost altogether a historical one. There is something truly pathetical about the passion with which these great pioneers tried to wring evidence from witnesses they could not really understand half ; there is something truly admirable in the acumen by which now Goldstücker and then Weber somehow managed to find a way-mark in the all-overspreading darkness.

Prof. Keith has summed up those points of Weber that in his opinion still hold good in his Translation of the TS., I p. CLXXI, to which he refers me. They run as follows :

' (1) The term *jit* occurs in both [the Vārttika and the V. Pr.] with a different sense ; (2) the terms used in the Prātiśākhya (*sim, mud, dhi, bhāvin*) are not found in the Vārttikas ; (3) the Vārttika (on II. 4. 54) makes *khyā* have the original form of *kśā ;* the Prātiśākhya (IV. 164) repudiates this view ; (4) the Prātiśākhya (IV. 120) provides for the regular change of a mute before a nasal into a nasal ; the Vārttika (on VIII. 4.45) leaves it optional except in the Bhāṣā before a nasal affix.'

It is not difficult to show that Weber's points even in this sifted form do not at all deserve the value Prof. Keith attaches to them.

Let us start with points 3 and 4.

For point 3 Prof. Keith relies on Weber, Ind. Stud. V, p. 119, who quotes *asiddhe śasya yavacanaṃ vibhāṣā* as the *first* vārtt. on Pāṇini 2. 4. 54. But from Kielhorn's edition it becomes clear that this is only the third vārtt. while the first runs thus : *cakṣiṅaḥ kśāñkhyāñau*, which means : ' [If a suffix called *ārdhadhātuka* follows,] both *kśāñ* or *khyāñ* are substituted for *cakṣiṅ* [not only *khyāñ* as Pāṇini teaches].' The following vārtt.s say that instead of *kśāñ* and *khyāñ*, there might also be taught one single substitute starting with *kh* and *ś* (i.e. *khśāñ*), from which are to be derived the forms with *khyā* and *kṣā-* by means of an optional rule to be inserted in Paṇini somewhere after 8. 2. 1. Further vārttikas discuss the benefit that might be derived from our doing so.

V. Pr. 4. 164 *khyāteḥ khayau kaśau* [6] *Gārgyaḥ sakhyokhyamukhyavarjam.* ' Gārgya changes the *kh* and *y* of root *khyā* to *k* and *ś* respectively—except in *sakhya, ukhya, mukhya.*' This cannot be said, as Prof Keith appears to believe, to repudiate

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[1] *l.c.*
[2] Berlin, 1862.
[3] Berlin, 1873.
[4] Kātyāyana and Patañjali, Bombay 1876.
[5] BSS. 1880–1885.
[6] Thus correctly Weber's ms. A.

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the view that *khyā* is derived from *kśā* ; it is, on the contrary, in perfect agreement with the first vārtt. on 2. 4. 54, which recognizes *khyā* and *kśā* side by side, while Pāṇini knows only *khyā*.

Point 4. Having as its chief and immediate object to give rules for the conversion of the VS. Padapāṭha into the Saṃhitāpāṭha, the V. Pr. naturally has to teach only such *sandhi* phenomena as are observable in the latter.[1] Hence it says in 4. 120 [*sparśo' pañcamaḥ* 4. 117] *pañcame pañcamam* ' a mute is changed into a nasal if a nasal follows ', having explicitly stated before that this rule does not apply inside a word (4. 116 *nāntaḥpade svarapañcamāntaḥsthāsu*).

Having as its object to define the *sandhi* phenomena of a spoken language and several Saṃhitās, the Aṣṭādhyāyī naturally has to teach optional validity of its rules rather often.[2] So in 8. 4. 45. It is clearly in no way surprising that Kātyāyana, even if he be the author of the V. Pr., does not take exception to it. The fact of this rule being strictly observed in his own Saṃhitā could give him no reason to forbid its optional validity in other Saṃhitās or in the Bhāṣā. And when adding to Pāṇini 8. 4. 45 that it is always applied in the Bhāṣā if the consonant is followed by a suffix (*yaro 'nunāsike pratyaye bhāṣāyām nityavacanam*), he distinctly suggests that it is not always applied in a Saṃhitā (*cf. e.g. vāgmin*) : if he had failed to add *bhāṣāyām* to his own teaching, then and only then we should have a right to speak of a contradiction, *viz.* to V. Pr. 4. 116.

Now we may turn to point 2. The expressions *sim* (=Pāṇini's *ak*), *mud* (= Pāṇini's *śar*), *dhi* (=half vowels and nasals), *jit* (=Pāṇini's *khar*) and *bhāvin* (=all vowels except *a*, *ā*) are all used in the V. Pr., that is true enough. But they all are explicitly defined. Who would have been able to understand them otherwise ? When commenting on the Aṣṭādhyāyī, Kātyāyana could not but prefer the short expressions formed by Pāṇini's rules. When writing the V. Pr., he could not employ Pāṇini's *pratyāhāras* without having given also the Śiva Sūtras and some further rules teaching how to put them to their proper use. The rules which serve this purpose in Pāṇini (1. 3. 3, 1. 1. 71, 1. 3. 9) are at the same time useful also in other respects (for the formation of *sup*, *tiṅ*, *etc.*) : in the V. Pr. they would have been given just for the sake of a few sound-*pratyāhāras*.

Occasionally there occur in the Vārttika expressions like *svara* (instead of *ac*), *vyañjana* (instead of *hal*), *sandhyakṣara* (instead of *ec*), *sparśa*, *prathama*, *dvitīya*, *tṛtīya*, *caturtha*, *jihvāmūlīya*, and *upadhmānīya*, all of which can be found also in the V. Pr. Such terms, of course, were common property, they were understood by everybody. The Vārttikakāra occasionally even employs *samānākṣara* (*ec*), when the V. Pr. says *sim*, *aghoṣa* (*khay*), when the V. Pr. says *jit*.[3]

As the compiler of the V. Pr., Kātyāyana did not want, I assume, to presuppose acquaintance with the Aṣṭādhyāyī in those Veda students likely to study his book. Most probably they knew as little of it as modern Vedapāṭhakas would. As the commentator of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, Kātyāyana did not want, I assume, to presuppose acquaintance with his little treatise on the V.S. in his readers. Why should he have

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[1] *cf.* AV. Pr. 1, 2 *evam iheti ca vibhāṣāprāptaṃ sāmānye* with the commentator's exposition as given by Whitney.

[2] *cf.* Patañjali I, p. 400 l. 9ff. *avaśyaṃ khalv asmābhir idaṃ vaktavyaṃ 'bahulam, anyatarasyām, ubhayathā, vā, ekeṣām' iti. sarvavedapārisadaṃ hīdaṃ śāstram. tatra naikaḥ panthāḥ śakya āsthātum.* ' We can indeed not avoid teaching [with general expressions like :] ' often ', ' on one alternative ', ' both ways ', ' optionally ', ' according to the teaching of some '. For this Śāstra [of Pāṇini] is a grammar of the *whole* Veda. This being so, he cannot take one way only [and imply that other usages are incorrect].'

[3] All the above quoted terms from the Vārttika have been collected by Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, XVI, p. 106.

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meant the Vārttika only for Vājasaneyins ? I cannot see any inherent impossibility in such assumptions.

The only really decisive argument against the identity of the two Kātyāyanas in Weber's opinion is of course the fact that *jit* has a different sense in a vārttika (vārtt. 7 on 1. 1. 68) and in the V. Pr. (here =Pāṇini's *khar*), though Pāṇini does not employ the term *jit* himself. Prof. Keith also accords this point precedence before the others.

Now it is somewhat misleading to say that *jit* is a term with the Vārttikakāra. This would suggest that he uses it the way he uses *ḍu* (vol. I p. 304=Pāṇini's *ṣaṣ*) or *taṇ* (vol. I p. 488, vol. II pp. 99 and 221=*saṃjñāchandasī*) [1], which two terms he nowhere explains and may have taken from some other source.[2] In reality the case of *jit* in vārtt. 7 on 1. 1. 68 is of a different character.

In his Vārttika on Pāṇini 1. 1. 68, Kātyāyana discourses on the difficulty that a word given by Pāṇini in his rules sometimes denotes only words for the representatives of the different kinds of the conception named by the word, as for example *vṛkṣa* in 2. 4. 12, where we have to understand that the rule is to be applied only to the different names of the trees like *plakṣa*, *nyagrodha etc.*, but not to the word *vṛkṣa* itself; sometimes its synonyms, like *sva* in 3. 4. 40, where we have to understand the word *sva* or any other word for 'property'; sometimes its synonyms only, like *rājan* in 2. 4. 23, where we have to understand any word for 'king' but the word *rājan* itself; and sometimes words for the representatives of the different kinds of the conception named and the word given itself, like *matsya* in 4. 4. 35, where we have to understand the different names of fish and the word *matsya* itself. To remove this difficulty, he proposes to teach the following rules in addition to Pāṇini 1. 1. 68 : (1) A word to which an *s* is attached as *anubandha* belongs to the first class (vārtt.5) ; (2) a word to which a *p* is attached, to the second (vārtt. 6) ; (3) a word to which a *j* is attached, to the third (vārtt.7) ; (4) a word to which a *jh* is attached, to the last (vārtt. 8). Consequently we must add an *s* to *vṛkṣa* in 2. 4. 12 ; a *p* to *sva* in 3. 4. 40 ; a *j* to *rājan* in 2. 4. 23 ; and a *jh* to *matsya* in 4. 4. 35.

The terms *sit*, *pit*, *jit*, *jhit* are, then, not terms Kātyāyana takes so to speak from his own private vocabulary, but terms he *would* use if Pāṇini had taught the rules proposed. I cannot see, why Kātyāyana in considering this possibility of an addition to Pāṇini's grammar should feel bound to choose another sound but *j* for his third rule, just because he has employed *jit* in the V. Pr. in a different sense. I should find it much more astonishing that he does not mind proposing as *anubandha p*, though Pāṇini has already employed *p* as *anubandha* for a different purpose.

But quite apart from all this, I do think arguments like Weber's 'decisive *jit*' are all but worthless. Even if Kātyāyana were not consistent, we should be quite wrong to press the point. Does not Pāṇini himself use homonymous terms over and over again ? What valid inference could be drawn from *jit* being used in the Vārttika in the sense of 'having *j* as *anubandha*', and in the V. Pr. in the sense of 'surd mutes and sibilants' when Pāṇini in his work uses *aṇ* as a *pratyāhāra* for *a, i, u, and* as a term for a *kṛt* (3. 2. 1 *etc.*) and a *taddhita* (1.1. 83 *etc*) ; or *āp* as a term for the feminine endings in *ā* (4. 1. 1 *etc.*), *and* as a *pratyāhāra* for all case terminations from the *ā* of the instrumental singular up to the *sup* of the locative plural (7. 2. 112) ; or *ak* as a *pratyāhāra* for *a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ, and* in the sense of 'having no *k*' (6. 1. 132 *etc.*), *etc. etc.* : examples lie on the way of anybody who is ready to take the trouble to look.

I cannot regret having 'forgotten' Weber's points as referred to by Prof. Keith. The instances supposed to show that the author of the V. Pr. and the Vārttika 'in

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[1] Kielhorn, *l.c.*

[2] Do they not resemble curiously the *sim, mud, dhi, jit* of the V. Pr. with their apparent arbitrariness.

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several important respects completely differ in opinion on phonetic points'[1] were taken from misinterpreted passages. The deviation in the terminology recognizable as far as *sim, mud, dhi, jit* are concerned throws no light. Nobody can deny an author the right to express himself the way he chooses and thinks appropriate to the particular occasion. If I should see anything significant in terminological usages, it would be the circumstance that the Vārttikakāra does use Prātiśākhya terms occasionally : *svara* ' vowel ', *vyañjana* ' consonant ', *sandhyakṣara* ' diphthong ', *sparśa* ' mutes and nasals ', *prathama* ' surd mute ', *dvitīya* ' surd aspirate mute ', *tṛtīya* ' sounding mute ', *caturtha* 'sounding aspirate mute,' *jihvāmulīya*, and *upadhmānīya* ;[2] that beside *at, et, ot, etc.* he also has the Prātiśākhya way : *akāra, ekāra, okāra etc.*, and that the V. Pr. sporadically employs Pāṇinean terms like *tiñ* 1. 27 ; *luk* 3. 12 ; *lup* 1. 114 ; *et, ot* 1. 114 ; 4. 58. Is it not so that at least this last point has to be ' explained away ' by rather farfetched assumptions if we are to believe the V. Pr. to be older than Pāṇini ?

II

dvirbaddhaṃ subaddhaṃ bhavati (Patañjali III, p. 119, l. 21).

But I shall not rely on terminological usages. Again I am ready to admit for argument's sake that they cannot prove either theory. They just open out the possibility of that identity I suspect. To get a solid philological base from which we may approach the hard task of proving it conclusively, we have to confront single rules of Pāṇini and the V. Pr. Since my former endeavours have proved unconvincing, I shall again take a number of rules and ask again and again the decisive questions : Is it likely that Pāṇini has condensed the formulation of the V. Pr., or is it likely that the V. Pr. has wanted to improve on Pāṇini ? And : Is it possible to recognize any connection between the deviations of the V. Pr. and vārttikas of Kātyāyana's ? I need not apologize for the following discussions in part being rather intricate. He who wants to understand old Indian grammarians, must follow them into their subtleties, and he who wants to settle their relative age with better arguments than were at the command of Weber and Goldstücker, must understand them.

1. Pāṇini says in 1. 1. 66, 67 *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya, tasmād ity uttarasya* ' when something is given in the locative case, the rule applies to what is preceding it ; when in the ablative case, to what is following it.' Hence we have to understand when we read for example the loc. *aci* in 6. 1. 77, that this rule applies to what is preceding *ac* ; when the abl. *dvyantarupasargebhyaḥ* in 6. 3. 97, that this rule applies to what is following *dvi*, or *antar*, or a preposition.

The V. Pr says in 1. 134, 135 *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe purvasya, tasmād ity uttarasyādeḥ*, which is longer by the word *ādeḥ*. But should we apply here the theory of condensation, we would be badly advised. For Pāṇini, in order to complete his second rule, has to teach besides in 1. 1. 54 *ādeḥ parasya* ' when [a substitute is taught to step] in the place of something that is following [something given in the ablative case], [the substitute steps] in the place of its first sound.' Only now we can construct correctly Pāṇini 6. 3. 97 *dvyantarupasargebhyo 'pa īt* ' long *ī* is substituted for the *first* sound of *ap* that is following *dvi*, or *antar*, or a preposition.' The V. Pr. need not give this rule.

One might ask, why it stopped at changing the second rule. Why did it not say correspondingly in 1. 134 : *pūrvāntasya*, especially as it does not teach a rule

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[1] Keith, TS., I, p. CLXXI.

[2] To these above mentioned terms I only want to add one more : *vikāra* in vārtt. 16 on Pāṇini 1. 1. 66, 67 stands for the Pāṇinean term *ādeśa* (1. 1. 48, 56, 8. 3. 59), as *vikāra* in V. Pr. 1. 1. 33, *etc.*

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like Pāṇini 1. 1. 52 *alo 'ntyasya* ' when [a substitute is taught to step in the place of something ; it steps] in the place of the last sound '? An answer to this question I should not be able to give, if I had not the first vārttika on Pāṇini 1. 1. 66, 67 : *nirdiṣṭagrahaṇam ānantaryārtham*, which means that the expression *nirdiṣṭe* in 1. 1. 66 can have only the purpose of making it clear that a rule containing a locative applies only to that which is preceding *immediately* the word put in the locative, that is the last sound. Else Pāṇini could have simply said ' *tasminn iti pūrvasya*.'

Yet this may not be obvious enough.

Looking ahead, we find a rule that complements V. Pr. 1. 134, 135. In V. Pr. 1. 145 we read : *purvottarayor uttarasya* ' when [a rule would apply simultaneously] to what is preceding and to what is following, it [has to be understood to refer only] to what is following.'[1] This rule has, strange to say, no application in the Prātiśākhya. Nor does Pāṇini give it. Did he omit it as useless ? This can hardly be. For in the Aṣṭādhyāyī there are sundry rules containing both a locative and an ablative case. Hence Kātyāyana formulates the vārtt. 3 on 1. 1. 66, 67 : *ubhayor nirdeśe vipratiṣedhāt pañcamīnirdeśaḥ* ' when both (a locative and an ablative case) are given, the giving of the ablative [will be the stronger one according to Pāṇini 1. 4. 2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*], since there is a conflict.' Those on the lookout for contradictions between the Vārttika and the V. Pr. might, however, point out that this vārtt. just shows that Pāṇini need not have taught a special rule like V. Pr. 1. 145, since the dilemma can be solved already by 1. 4. 2. Further they might point out that the V. Pr. in 1. 159 teaches a rule of identical purport with Pāṇini 1. 4. 2 [2], hence the man who wrote the vārttika could not have thought 1. 145 necessary in the V. Pr. either. I must however disappoint them : Kātyāyana rejects in vārtt. 13 his first view that in a dilemma the giving of the ablative must be stronger according to Pāṇini 1. 4. 2, by showing that technically there would be no ' conflict ' [3], and gives as his final view (*siddhānta*) in vārtt. 17 that both the operations, the one concerning what is preceding and the one concerning what is following, would have to apply if Pāṇini 1. 1. 66, 67 is left as it stands—even if one should have recourse to some special assumption. I need not enter into the technical details of this assumption, which anyhow would not be applicable in the V. Pr. What I wanted to draw attention to, is the fact that there exists a connection between V. Pr. 1. 145 and vārtt. 3ff. on Pāṇini 1. 1. 66, 67. They are children of the same thought.

2. Pāṇini says in 1. 1. 11 *īdūded dvivacanaṃ pragṛhyam* ' an *ī* or *ū*, or *e* expressing duality is called *pragṛhya*.'

The V. Pr. says in 1. 92, 93 *pragṛhyam, ekārekārokārā dvivacanāntāḥ*.

Again, at a first look, the theory of condensation appears to work. There are however other points worth consideration.

I need not be long on the V. Pr. saying *ekāra etc.* instead of *et etc.* Also the AV Pr., which is later than Pāṇini even in Prof. Keith's opinion,[4] uses the former expressions, quite apart from the fact that the Vārttikakāra himself does not avoid them.

On the assumption that Pāṇini reformulated V. Pr. 1. 92, 93, we should have to account for Pāṇini not leaving the order of the vowels as it was given in the V. Pr. by saying *edīdūd* . . . We could easily do so by suggesting that he preferred to follow the order of the alphabet.

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[1] Of identical construction is V. Pr. 1.144 *saṃnikṛṣṭaviprakṛṣṭayoḥ saṃnikṛṣṭasya* and *e.g.* Patañjali I, p. 71, l. 16 *lakṣaṇapratipadoktayoḥ pratipadoktasyaiva*.

[2] See below

[3] As defined in vārtt. 1, 2 on 1. 4. 2.

[4] *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, p. 741.

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On the assumption that the V. Pr. modelled its rules on Pāṇini, we should have to account for its changing the natural order as reflected in a supposable *īkārokāraikārāḥ*. We could easily do so by pointing out that there exist dual forms in *e* (type : *māle*, *pacete*) as well as *ai* (type : *pacāvahai*). A formulation *īkārokāraikārāḥ* would leave it doubtful, whether the former or the latter type was meant.

Is Pāṇini's *dvivacanam* a condensation of *dvivacanāntam* ?

Pāṇini's rule may be translated as above. In this case *īdūdet* is the subject of the proposition, *dvivacanam*, the attribute of the subject. This seems obvious, but creates a difficulty : the rule does not apply to the ending *e* of a form like *pacete*, since here we have not an *e* expressing daulity, but an *ete*. Neither has Pāṇini called *ete* ' *pragṛhya* ', nor has he stated that an *e* that happens to stand in the end of an element expressing duality, is also called ' pragṛhya '. This is formulated by the first vārtt. on Pāṇini 1. 1. 11 : *īdādayo dvivacanaṃ pragṛhyā iti ced antyasya vidhiḥ* ' if [Pāṇini means to say that] *ī etc.*., when expressing duality, are called ' *pragṛhya* ', a special rule must be given for [an *e*] that forms the end [of an element expressing duality].'

Pāṇini's rule may also be constructed by taking *dvivacanam* as subject, and *īdūdet* as its attribute. If we do so, *īdūdet* can, according to Pāṇini 1. 1. 72, be understood to denote something ending in *ī*, *ū*, *e*. This possibility is considered in vārtt. 2 and accepted as unobjectionable in vārtt. 3.

A third possibility is to understand ' word ' as subject, and both *īdūdet* and *dvivacanam* as its attribute. Now we can translate according to Pāṇini 1. 1. 72 : ' a word that ends in *ī*, *ū*, *e* and in an element expressing duality.' This possibility is considered in vārtt. 4. and accepted as unobjectionable in vārtt. 5.

Now everybody will agree that Pāṇini must have meant what I have translated first. For both alternative constructions create a serious difficulty with respect to the next rule (1. 1. 12 *adaso māt*), where only *īdūdet* can be the subject, and is taken as such by the Pāṇinīyas, who yet, following Patañjali's *siddhānta* (I, p. 68, l. 6 f.), make *dvivacanam* the subject in 1. 1. 11. It is obvious that Kātyāyana's vārttikas 2 ff. are nothing but scholastic devices in defence of Pāṇini's wording.

On the assumption that Pāṇini condensed the *dvivacanāntam* of the V. Pr. into *dvivacanam*, we have to believe that he did not notice that he was putting the worse for the better.

This is the more unlikely as the V. Pr. wording removes with one stroke all difficulty. It may be noted that it is the only formulation that cannot be projected by any interpretative device into Pāṇini's rule. For *dvivacanāntāḥ* ' as endings of [a word] expressing duality ' is a *tatpuruṣa*, and for Pāṇini 1. 1. 11 can be got from Pāṇini 1. 1. 72 only the *bahuvrīhi : dvivacanānta* ' whose end is [something] expressing duality '.

3. Pāṇini says in 6. 1. 158 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam*. This admits of two interpretations. Either : ' a word has no *udātta* but one ' (so Patañjali III, p. 98, l. 25 f.). Or : ' a word is *anudātta* except for one [vowel].'

It is only this latter interpretation that Kātyāyana considers in the Vārttika.

He is not satisfied with the rule. When forming a word like *āmalakīja*, we ought to make its first vowel *udātta* according to 6. 2. 82, and the last but one vowel of the element preceding *ja* according to 6. 2. 83 also. It is desirable that only the latter rule applies : *āmalákījaḥ*. In order to obtain this result, it would be necessary to recognize a 'conflict ' between 6. 2. 82 and 6. 2. 83, which would allow us to apply Pāṇini 1. 4. 2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*. Yet according to the definition of ' conflict ' (*vipratiṣedha*) as given by Kātyāyana in vārtt. 1 and 2 on Pāṇini 1. 4. 2, there is no ' conflict ' between 6. 2. 82 and 83, since it is quite possible for both rules to apply simultaneously—the one concerning the first and the other the third vowel, and the *eka* in 6. 1. 158 being understandable only in the sense of ' the one [for which

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an *udātta* (or primary *svarita*) is explicitly taught]'. This [1] is expressed by the first vārtt.: *anudātte vipratiṣedhānupapattir ekasmin yugapatsaṃbhavāt* 'if [we define with Pāṇini a word to be] *anudātta*, we do not obtain a 'conflict' [in cases where several *udāttas* are taught], since [several *udāttas*] might be substituted at the same time'.

The second vārtt. proposes to remove the difficulty by changing Pāṇini's definition: *siddhaṃ tv ekānanudāttatvāt* 'but it is alright if we teach [instead of *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam*]: *ekānanudāttaṃ padam* ('a word has only one vowel that is not *anudātta*')'. Now there *is* a 'conflict' between 6. 2. 82 and 83 (and between similar rules), for now they cannot apply simultaneously, since from 6. 2. 82 we have to learn that the first vowel *alone* is *udātta*, and also from 6. 2. 83 that the last but one before *ja alone* is *udātta*.

Kātyāyana is careful not to propose *ekodāttaṃ padam*, for this would neglect the cases where a primary *svarita* is taught (6. 1. 185, *etc.*).

The reflection of Pāṇini 6. 1. 158 is found in V. Pr. 2. 1 *svaritavarjam ekodāttaṃ padam*. The decision whether this has been condensed by Pāṇini, or whether it is meant as an improvement on Pāṇini might have been doubtful if we had not the Vārttika. Having the Vārttika we cannot but recognize that V. Pr. 2. 1 wants to avoid what could be objected to Pāṇini. Its formulation equals the one proposed by the Vārttikakāra, only that in the Vārttika there has been found out a more concise form of a truly cunning simplicity. We may compare the three definitions in the following way:

Pāṇini 6. 1. 158 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam*: concise, but objectionable (from Kātyāyana's point of view).

V. Pr. 2. 1 *svaritavarjam ekodāttaṃ padam*: not concise, but unobjectionable.

Vārttikakāra *ekānanudāttaṃ padam*: both concise and unobjectionable.

Here I may be forgiven if I quote what I wrote in my 'Pāṇini,' p. 93, after discussing Pāṇini 1. 1. 9 with vārtt. 1 and 2, and V. Pr. 1. 43:

'Pāṇini 1. 1. 9: *tulyāsyaprayatnaṃ savarṇam*: concise, but not precise.

V. Pr. 1. 43: *samānasthānakaraṇāsyaprayatnaḥ savarṇaḥ*: not concise but precise.

Vārttikāra: *āsye tulyadeśaprayatnaṃ savarṇam*: both concise and precise.'

4. A vocative is not accented except in the beginning of a sentence or of a line of a verse.

This is expressed by Pāṇini thus: 8. 1. 16 *padasya* 17 *padāt* 18 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* 19 *āmantritasya ca*.

By the V. Pr., thus: 2. 2. *anudāttam* 17 *padapūrvam āmantritam anānārthe 'pādādau*.

There are the following differences: (*a*) The V. Pr. has left out a word corresponding to *padasya*; (*b*) *āmantrita* is put in the genitive case by Pāṇini, in the nominative in the V. Pr.; (*c*) the V. Pr has *padapūrvam* instead of *padāt*; (*d*) it has left out the expression *sarvam*; (*e*) it has added *anānārthe*.

(*a*) It is not quite correct to say that the V. Pr. has left out a word corresponding to *padasya*. For a corresponding word *is* taught, only it need not be repeated. It is valid from 2. 1 *svaritavarjam ekodāttam padam*, which equals Pāṇini 6. 1. 158 *anudāttam padam ekavarjam*.

Here lies no argument. We could say, of course, that the V. Pr. has deliberately tried to arrange matters so as to be enabled to save one '*padam*'. But it could well be maintained that Pāṇini, for reasons of his own, has deliberately chosen a

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[1] I hope to have fathomed Kātyāyana's meaning correctly. His objection is, no doubt, very subtle, and Patañjali has easy play in showing that it may be dropped (III, p. 98, l. 20 ff.).

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different disposition of the accenting rules ; and that in any case he could not imitate the procedure of the V. Pr. since he wanted to put *pada* the first time in the nominative case, and the second time in the genitive.

(*b*) We have, then, in reality two nominatives in the V. Pr. and two genitives in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. This difference of construction cannot prove much. It is well known that when Pāṇini says : ' for *x* (gen.) [is substituted] *y* (nom.) ', the V. Pr. say : *x* (nom.) [is changed] to *y* (acc.).' We are quite used to that.

It must, however, be pointed out that the Vārttikakāra is at pains of setting right the significance of the genitive *padasya*. If it is understood as ' in place of a *pada* ' (according to Pāṇini 1. 1. 49), we have to construct the rule 8. 2. 4 *udāttasvaritayor yaṇaḥ svarito 'nudāttasya* thus : ' a *svarita* vowel is substituted for the last sound (according to 1. 1. 52) of a word that ends in an *anudātta* vowel (according to 1. 1. 72) that is following a *yaṇ* which has been substituted for an *udātta* or *svarita* vowel (according to 6. 1. 77).' This means that we can obtain the correct accent of forms like *kumāryàu* and *kiśoryàu*, but not of forms like *kumāryòḥ and kiśoryòḥ* (*cf.* vārtt. 4 on 8. 1. 16, 17 with Patañjali). Consequently, *padasya* must be taken as an attributive genitive (vārtt. 5) and added as such throughout the chapter. *Padasya . . . sarvam* in 8. 1. 18 hereby receives the meaning : ' the whole of a *pada* ', *padasya. . . anudāttasya* in 8. 2. 4 : ' in the place of an *anudātta* vowel of a *pada* ' *etc.*

It must be admitted, of course, that there lies no obvious argument here either.

(*c*) The V. Pr. has *padapūrvam* instead of *padāt*. This is, no doubt, due to its having taught in 1. 135 that if something is given in the ablative case, the rule applies to the first [sound] of what is following. It is for the same reason that the V. Pr. says, for example, in 6. 11 *ākhyātapūrvam*, when Pāṇini could have used the ablative (*cf. atiṅaḥ* in 8. 1. 28). Pāṇini is free to use the ablative because he has employed the word *sarvam* in 8. 1. 18.

(*d*) By leaving out *sarvam* the V. Pr. becomes, then, really more cumbrous.[1] As if foreseeing this objection against the formulation of the V. Pr., Kātyāyana tries to prove in the Vārttika that Pāṇini need not have employed the word *sarvam* in 8. 1. 18 : *sarvavacanam anāder anudāttārtham iti cel luṭi pratiṣedhāt siddham* ' if [one should maintain that] ' the word *sarvam* has been employed [in 8. 1. 18] for the purpose [of obtaining substitution] of an *anudātta* vowel that is not the first [of what is following, in spite of 1. 1. 54]', [the answer would be that the substitution of an *anudātta* for such vowel] is already in order because of the prohibition [given in 8. 1. 29] with respect to a periphrastic furure [which prohibition would be without any purpose if an *anudātta* had to be substituted only for the first vowel according to 8. 1. 29, since the first vowel in a periphrastic future is necessarily always *anudātta*]'. Against this one might object that Pāṇini 1. 1. 54, according to Kātyāyana's own words (vārtt. 1 on 1. 1. 54), is a special exception (*apavāda*) to the general injunction (*utsarga*) pronounced in 1. 1. 52 : *alo 'ntyasya* ' a substitute steps in the place of the last sound ', and if Pāṇini by his prohibition in 8. 1. 29 had indicated that in this

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[1] It should be noted, however, that it may use the ablative whenever a misunderstanding cannot arise. In V. Pr. 2. 17 and 6. 11 one might understand that only such vocatives and verb forms are meant as start with an *udātta* vowel before the rule is taught, type : *ágne, ápacat*. In 2. 9. *yathā gṛbhobhuvo'gnibhyaḥ*, for example, the ablative is unobjectionable, since the rule could not possibly be concerned with the first sound of *yáthā*.—Somewhat different is the case of the ablative in 4. 134 *udāttāc cānudāttañ svaritam*, since *udātta* means here a syllable ' containing an *udātta* vowel ', and *svarita* a syllable ' containing a *svarita* vowel ' according to V. Pr. 4. 1. 130, 131 *savritavānt svaritaḥ ; udāttavān udāttaḥ*.—On the other hand, in order to prevent the ablative in Paṇini 8. 4. 66 (and in other cases) from causing a wrong application, Kātyāyana has to give the rule of interpretation : *halsvaraprāptau vyañjanam avidyamānavat* (vārtt. 2 on 6. 1. 223), which again is not quite sufficient in Patañjali's opinion (III, p. 119, l. 21ff.). Without defect is T. Pr. 14. 29 *udāttāt paro 'nudāttaḥ svaritam*, 30 *vyañjanāntarhito'pi*.

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chapter he did not want 1. 1. 54 to apply, he might yet have meant 1. 1. 52 to apply, and that consequently the word *sarvam* in 8. 1. 18 *is* necessary to remove this wrong impression. This objection is voiced in vārtt. 2 on 8. 1. 18 *alo 'ntyavidhi-prasaṅgas tu* ' [if *sarvam* were not employed in 8. 1. 18] there yet would wrongly apply Pāṇini 1. 1. 52.' Now Kātyāyana sets out to show in vārtt. 3 and 4 that Pāṇini has given an indication that 1. 1. 52 should not apply either in this chapter. For if it applied, he need not have taught the rule 8. 1. 51, since the last vowel of an ordinary future form is always *anudātta* (vārtt. 3), nor need he have employed the expression *anta* in 8. 2. 7, but could simply have said *nalopaḥ prātipadikasya* (instead of *prātipadikāntasya*), since it would anyway be clear from 1. 1. 52 that *lopa* could be substituted only for the end of a *prātipadika* (vārtt. 4 on 8. 1. 18 and vārtt. 6 on 8. 1. 16, 17). In fact it may be suspected that vārtt. 6 on 8. 1. 16, 17 has only been given as an alternative solution, beside the one mentioned in vārtt. 5 (above *b*), of the difficulty pointed out in vārtt. 4, because Kātyāyana could not take *padasya* as an attributive genitive in 8. 1. 18 if he cancelled the expression *sarvam*.[1]

But we need not insist on the latter point. We only ask : Why ever does the Vārttikakāra try so hard to prove that *sarvam* in Pāṇini 8. 1. 18 is superfluous ? Can it be anything else but the special reason suggested above ?

Even this point may not be obvious enough. Let us, then, turn to the last.

(*e*) Vārtt. 5 on Pāṇini 8. 1. 18 : *samānavākye nighātayuṣmadasmadādeśāḥ* (= vārtt. 11 on Pāṇini 2. 1. 1) says that the loss of accent (according to 8. 1. 18, 19 *etc.*) and the substitution of *vām* and *nau* etc. (according to 8. 1. 20 ff) ought to have been taught [not only for the case of a vocative and the respective forms of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* following a word, but also for the case of their standing] in the same sentence [as the word they follow].

Now we have an obvious argument. It suffers no doubt that the *one* additional expression in V. Pr. 1. 17 : *anānārthe* and this vārttika are children of the same thought, though the formulation of the vārttika : *samānavākhye* seems by far happier. But then, Kātyāyana, in order to make it clear had to give a definition of the concept *vākya* in vārtt. 9 and 10 on Pānini 2. 1. 1 : *ākhyātaṃ sāvyayakārakaviśeṣaṇaṃ vākyam* ; *ekatiṅ*. That the V. Pr.'s *anānārthe* may be taken strictly in the sense of ' in one sentence ', appears from Mī. S. 2. 1. 46 *arthaikatvād ekaṃ vākyam* . . .

5. The Vārttikakāra is not satisfied with Pāṇini 1. 2. 39 [*ekaśruti* 33] *svaritāt saṃhitāyām anudāttānām*. If we take the plural *anudāttānām* at its face value ' for several *anudātta* vowels ', the rule applies only when more than two *anudātta* vowels follow a *svarita* (vārtt. 1 on 1. 2. 39) ; if we take it to mean ' for *anudātta* vowels '=' for any *anudātta* vowel ', we can apply it only to the next that follows the *svarita*, since the plural would be void of any special force (vārtt. 2). A solution of the dilemma is given in vārtt. 3 : *anekam apīti tu vacanāt siddham* " it is in order if we teach : ' also several *anudāttas* '."

Everybody will admit the difficulty of construing this additional *anekam api* in Pāṇini's rule. In reality we could only say either : *svaritāt saṃhitāyām anudāttanam anekānām api*, or : . . . *anudāttasyānekasyāpi*.

V. Pr. 4. 138 reflects Pāṇini 1. 2. 39 thus : *svaritāt param anudāttam udāttamayam*. Here Kātyāyana's addition would fit perfectly. Rather, it does ! For 4. 139 actually runs : *anekam api*.

Only very powerful arguments indeed could make me believe that this is a coincidence created by chance.[2]

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[1] Patañjali explains vārtt. 6 in a different way, without accounting for Kātyāyana's *vā*.

[2] Also the fact of V. Pr. 4. 138 being taught *after* 4. 134 (corresponding to Pāṇini 8. 4. 66) is in accordance with the remarks of the Vārttikakāra on 1. 2. 32.

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The other differences between Pāṇini's wording and that of the V. Pr. (*saṃhitāyām : param, ekaśruti : udāttamayam*) yield no obvious arguments.

6. Pāṇini says in 1. 4. 2 : *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam* ' when there is a conflict [between two rules], the one that comes later must be applied.'

The V. Pr. in 1. 159 : *vipratiṣedha uttaram balavad alope.*

There are three deviations : (*a*) Instead of *kāryam*, the V. Pr. reads *balavat ;* (*b*) the V. Pr. has added the expression *alope ;* (*c*) Pāṇini says *param*, the V. Pr. *uttaram.*

(*a*) It is certainly not obvious whether *kāryam* or *balavat* should be preferable. But it is interesting, though it prove nothing by itself, that when referring to what is expressed in Pāṇini 1. 4. 2 by *kāryam*, the Vārttikakāra does not use this word, but *balīyas* ' stronger ' : vārtt. 9 on 7. 1. 1 : *vipratiṣedhāt tu ṭāpo balīyastvam*, and on 1. 4. 2 itself tells us that Pāṇini has given his rule because whenever there arises a conflict of two rules, neither would apply since both would have the same *strength* : vārtt. 5 on 1. 4. 2 : *apratipattir vobhayos tulyabalatvāt.* In vārtt. 8 on 1. 4. 2 he adds that Pāṇini ought to have taught beside *param* ' the one that comes later ', also *antaraṅgam* ' the one the cause of which presents itself first.' He refers to this addition in vārtt. 9 on 6. 1. 108 by the expression *antaraṅgabalīyastva.* Even when he does not employ the expression *balīyas* itself, his construction shows that in his mind he had a formulation not like : *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam, antaraṅgaṃ ca,* but like : *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ balīyaḥ, antarangaṃ ca.* Thus in vārtt. 9 ff. on 1. 4. 2 we have a number of constructions of the type *svaro lopāt* (vārtt. 18) : ' [a rule on] accent [is stronger] than [a rule on *lopa*] ', and throughout the Vārttika, whenever Kātyāyana feels called upon to state that an *x* is effected (according to 1. 4. 2) and not a *y*, because there is a ' conflict ' between the two, he always says : ' *x* (nom.) [is stronger] than *y* [abl.] since there is conflict [between the two and *x* is the one that comes later] ' (*cf.* vārtt. 1 on 1. 2. 5 ; vārtt. 4 on 2. 1. 69 ; vārtt. 1 on 6. 2. 121, *etc.*).

(*b*) The addition of *alope* in V. Pr. 1. 159 is instructive.

It certainly cannot be accounted for by the argument that the more archaic author has not yet found out means of arranging his rules in such a way as to make our rule universally valid. On the contrary, the V. Pr. avoids a fault of Pāṇini's. The Vārttikakāra not only has to add *antaraṅgam ca* (vārtt. 8) to the latter's rule (with many applications set forth in vārtt. 10 ff. on 1. 4. 2), but also to teach in vārtt. 25 that *luk* is stronger than *lopa*, substitution of *yaṇ* etc., and, on a number of occasions, to name cases where the rule has to be inverted : vārtt. 4 on 3. 4. 77 ; vārtt. 1 on 5. 1. 2 ; vārtt. 9 and 10 on 6. 1. 12 ; vārtt. 1 on 6. 4. 48 ; vārtt. 10 and 11 on 7. 1. 96. It is well known that Patañjali evades the embarrassment created by Pāṇini's rule and procedure contradicting each other so frequently, by taking *para* in the sense of *iṣṭa* ' desirable ' and understanding Pāṇini 1. 4. 2 to mean : ' if there is a conflict of two operations the one that is desirable must be applied ' (I, p. 306, l. 9 f. and often).

(*c*) If Pāṇini says *param* and the V. Pr. *uttaram*, the theory of condensation would of course maintain that Pāṇini has deliberately chosen the shorter word *param* for the longer word of his predecessor. But it would be at a loss to explain why Pāṇini left unchanged *uttarasya* of V. Pr. 1. 135 in 1. 1. 67, where *parasya* would have been the more fitting as *parasya* is employed just a few rules before (in 1. 1. 54) synonymously.

Nor can I easily account for the V. Pr. having replaced *param* by *uttaram*, for it also uses *para* (*e.g.* in 3. 3) synonymously with *uttara.*

Both authors, this is the only possible inference, did not mind whether they said *para* or *uttara*—notwithstanding the latter being the longer expression.

It is necessary to emphasize this point. It appears as if scholars, when talking of the ' brevity ' of grammatical rules, do not always take an altogether correct view of

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the character of this brevity. I think, because there is always in their mind that last Paribhāṣā of Nāgojībhaṭṭa's collection : ' Grammarians rejoice over the saving of [even] the length of half a short vowel as over the birth of a son.' Enjoying the sublime irony of this witticism, which seems to voice what we feel when faced with Pāṇinean rules like *iko yaṇ aci* (6. 1. 77) or *a a* (8. 4. 68), we are apt to forget that, like any witticism, it ought to be taken with a pinch of salt.

It would be wrong, of course, to rely only on the comparative recency of our maxim. For it can be shown that already Patañjali held somewhat similar views. So, when he maintains that Pāṇini having produced his work with great care—holding a bushel of *darbha* grass in his hand, sitting on clean ground, his face to the east—, it would be impossible that even one sound be without purpose (I, p. 39 l. 10 ff.); or when he calculates that the expression *yvoḥ* has the length of $3\frac{1}{2}$ short vowels, while the synonymous expression *iṇaḥ* would count only 3, and asserts that Pāṇini must have had a special reason to choose the former lengthier one, instead of the latter (I, p. 35 l. 12 ff.).

On the other hand, however, Nāgojībhaṭṭa is, no doubt, right when remarking that ' the question raised [in the Bhāṣya] is generally only, whether in a rule which is made up of several words a word can be saved, but not whether a *mātrā* (or half a *mātrā*) can be economized.' [1]

It is not difficult, in point of fact, to recognize that Pāṇini, though striving after brevity with great eagerness, often does not mind employing long words when he easily could have avoid them. He is ingenious in finding out ways of being brief, but he is not pedantic about it.

Be this however as it may. Essential for us now is the question, whether the Vārttikakāra can be supposed to share the view of ' brevity ' implied in our Paribhāṣā. The answer can only be a decided ' No '. Whenever the Vārttikakāra is about to shorten some rule of Pāṇini's, he proposes to cancel a whole expression that appears superfluous. Never does he want to replace some word by a shorter synonym. He is a logician of no small acumen, and sometimes his pruning-knife appears to cut rather too sharp. But he raises no point that would be, materially or logically, altogether irrelevant. Looking at things in a natural way, it does seem irrelevant whether one should say *e.g. parasya* or *uttarasya* in 1. 1. 67. He who thinks that to Kātyāyana it was not, must prove it. It is simply wrong to ascribe to him a view for which we only have later authorities, and which, even with them, is only occasionally and for distinct purposes brought to bear upon the interpretation of Pāṇini. If Kātyāyana really thought *parasya* preferable to the *uttarasya* of Pāṇini 1. 1. 67, why did he not say so in his Vārttika ?

These specimens may suffice. They are not meant to exhaust the arguments, and on request I could easily increase them. They were meant as a series of experiments executed to test several theoretical possibilities. For only such possibility can be accepted as likely as holds good if applied to single facts.

Several tests led, as might have been foreseen, to ambiguous results. We cannot decide, for example, whether the expression *param* in Pāṇini 1. 4. 2 is meant as an improvement on *uttaram* in V. Pr. 1. 159, or *vice versa* (6 *c*).

We did not detect a single point, where Pāṇini would have been shorter and better at the same time.

A few tests favoured the theory of V. Pr. being younger : *dvivacanāntam* in V. Pr. 1. 93[2] is better than *dvivacanam* in Pāṇini 1. 1. 11 (2); the addition *alope* in V. Pr. 1. 159 is better than Pāṇini's silence about the exceptions to his rule 1. 4. 2 (6 *b*).

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[1] *cf.* Kielhorn's edition of the Paribhāṣenduśekhara, p. 115, l. 12 ff.; Translation, p. 526.

[2] *cf.* also AV. Pr. l. 75, 76 [*īkārokārau* 74] *dvivacanāntau, ekāraś ca.*

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The majority of facts, however, only revealed their significance after the deviations of the V. Pr. from Pāṇini had been looked at in the light of vārttikas. It was only a vārttika that made plausible the additional rule V. Pr. 1. 145 (1) ; the formulation of V. Pr. 2. 1 (3) ; the expression *anānārthe* in V. Pr. 1. 17 (4 *e*).

On the other hand, only the formulation of V. Pr. 4. 138, 139 made understandable the wording of vārtt. 3 on Pāṇini 1. 2. 39 (5).

Leaving aside all other points and questions, we have to admit that the Vārttikakāra must have well known the rules of the V. Pr., and that he must have thought them to compare favourably with Pāṇini's. So much so that he puts himself out to prove that Pāṇini 6. 1. 158 contains an objectionable definition (3), which is by no means obvious ; that the expression *sarvam* in Pāṇini 8. 1. 18 is superfluous (4 *d*), which nobody will admit easily.

Pondering over all this I cannot help feeling that all those who think identity of such a name as Kātyāyana to create any, however slight, probability at all, will be forcibly inclined to believe that the V. Pr. and the Vārttika are by the same hand. Those who do not—well, they may assume that the Vārttikakāra's father, or grandfather, or great-grandfather, or cousin, or uncle, or any other male relation of his in the ascending line, has composed the V. Pr., and that Kātyāyana has devoted careful study to it. All this is, as yet, by no means ruled out.

But, I think, everybody will have to admit : (1) that the Vārttikakāra knew the V. Pr. well ; (2) that the probability of the V. Pr. being younger than Pāṇini is stronger than the contrary, if detailed comparisons can yield any result at all.

III

te khalv api vidhayaḥ suparigṛhītā bhavanti yeṣu lakṣaṇaṃ prapañcaś ca (Patañjali I, p. 400, l. 8).

I know that I have been unfair in taking Prof. Keith by his word and pretending to believe that it is Weber's arguments that prevent him from accepting the identity of Kātyāyana, the author of the V. Pr., and Kātyāyana, the Vārttikākara. As a matter of fact, he cannot lay much store by them, since that he did not think it worth while to examine them with the help of Kielhorn's Mahābhāṣya text—neither in 1914, nor in 1936. He will hardly feel sorry now they are shown to be of no value ; he will be convinced that there are other, better arguments available to close the breach. I am even afraid lest he should heed all the interpretative details I have given here above, as little as those I gave before. He may still think that I am trying to prove what cannot be, and that my diving into technical subtleties only tends to obscure a clear issue. What is it that makes Prof. Keith accept any argument put forward in favour of the priority of the V. Pr., bad as it may be, and that makes him take easy any argument to the contrary ? It can be nothing else but the general impression he has derived from the study of Pāṇini's work, the Vārttika, and the V. Pr.

As to the first, Prof. Keith's impression can only be that, may Pāṇini be a genius or a more or less skilful compilator, the Aṣṭadhyāyī evinces a very considerable degree of knowledge and acumen, of insight into the structure of the language it describes, of technical routine in arranging and representing facts—in brief, that it testifies to a high stage reached by the science of grammar in his time.

As to the V. Pr., his impression must be that it reveals in part an endeavour to define certain grammatical facts by general rules, similar to those given in Pāṇini's grammar ; and in part a deplorable incapacity of grasping the significance of others, which seem very simple. To give only two examples : In 6. 1 the V. Pr. teaches that a verbform is *anudātta* if it follows another word belonging to the same sentence

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in 2. 14 it teaches that *śrutam* is *anudātta* when preceded by *iha*, aiming at V. S. 7. 9 *máméd ihá śrutaṁ hávam*, where *śrutam* must be a verbform. In 4. 164 the V. Pr. teaches that Gārgya changes the *kh* and *y* of root *khyā* to *k* and *ś* respectively ; in the same rule it puts down the absurd addition : ' except in *sakhya*, *ukhya*, *mukhya*.'

Led by this impression, which, no doubt, will be shared by many, he thinks it quite unlikely that the V. Pr. should be younger than Pāṇini. The facts seem to allow of one interpretation only. The science of grammar as represented in the V. Pr., is on its march towards the perfection attained at the time of Pāṇini. The V. Pr. is Pāṇini's precursor, as the dawn is the precursor of the day.

As to the Vārttikakāra, Prof. Keith's impression must be that its author being later than Pānini, it must be more perfect than the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Hence it is impossible to ascribe it to the same author as the V. Pr.

These impressions appear very plausible, and the conclusions formed on them seem to simply compel acceptance. When in some places Pāṇini's formulation obviously is less happy than the one of the V. Pr., it becomes very easy to account for it by such assumptions as : Pāṇini has borrowed unintelligently, or : in Pāṇini's grammar the consideration of brevity is allowed to override even intelligibility and logical correctness.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to prove such like assumptions to be wrong in every single case.

Yet I think we can look at things in a somewhat different way. Let us try to see, whether it leads us to absurd consequences.

If I should state the general impressions I have derived from the study of Pāṇini and the V. Pr. in a few short sentences, I should say :

Admirable as Pāṇini's work is as a whole, I cannot deny that he has overdone his ingenuity and partly fallen sacrifice to it. He is so brief as to be often obscure and not seldom even illogical : he is so subtle as to be ambiguous, and not seldom even incomprehensible. In order to understand rules of his that are not exceptionally simple, it is necessary first to know what they are supposed to teach : to-day, when his language does not any longer live, but has to be learned in school, a scholar who wants to freely handle and master his injunctions, must possess a stupendous memory and a tremendous amount of learning in the vast literature discussing the implicit suggestions, silent assumptions and principles underlying his formulations or supposed to underlie them.

There is hardly anything admirable in the V. Pr. But I cannot but acknowledge that if it is not quite free, it is yet more free than Pāṇini, of the defects of indistinctness, ambiguity, and obscurity. It may contain some hard passages, but nowhere it is necessary to make its author implicitly suggest, or silently assume, anything, or establish by some artificial device any principle that would adjust his formulation. In order to apply its teaching it is necessary to know the Padapāṭha of the V.S., to have a certain idea of the meanings of the words occurring therein, and to observe carefully what the author says.

Pāṇini addresses subtle intellects, scholars with scientific rather than practical interests ; the V. Pr., just any ordinary Vājasaneyin.

Led by these impressions, I think it quite natural to assume that the V. Pr. is written by someone who knew Pāṇini, but did not want to follow too closely his risky ways of teaching. Doubly so, if I bear in mind that as far as the Bhāṣā is concerned an incorrect form, even when used at a public occasion, is no serious matter, while even *one* incorrect sound uttered in the recitation of a vedic verse, is bound to bring down bad misfortune. Is not Pāṇini himself inclined to be careful when referring to vedic forms (*e.g.* in 3. 1. 123 ; 3. 1. 42 ; 7. 1. 43) ?

I can find no difficulty in accounting for the deviations of the V. Pr. from Pāṇini. They all may be based on reasonable motives, as I have taken some trouble to show.

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There remain the cases where the V. Pr. appears to contradict itself, where it appears to follow two distinctly different methods, of which the one looks archaic (V. Pr. 2. 14 ; 4. 164 second half), the other modern (V. Pr. 6. 1 ; 4. 164 first half). The most natural course to explain contradictions of this kind in a work, is to trace them to the individuality of its author. Consequently I should say :

There are two souls living in the breast of Kātyāyana, the author of the V. Pr. The one aspires high : it strives to vie with Pāṇini in the abstract sphere of scientific thinking and logical acumen. It makes him give the *definition* (*lakṣaṇa*) 6. 1 *anudāttam ākhyātam āmantritavat* ' a verb is unaccented after the way of the vocative '; and 4. 164 *khyāteḥ khayau kaśau* . . . . The other one is bound down by the practical necessities of life : it keeps in the low region where the Vedapāṭhaka breathes, who knows the text of his Saṃhitā and nothing else, who does not care about the sense of what he recites, relying on a dogma expressed by Mī. S. 1. 2. 39 (*mantrānarthakyam*) or by Kautsa as quoted in Nir. 1. 15 (. . . *anarthakā hi mantrāḥ*). It is this soul that makes him give an *amplification* (*prapañca*) to his definition 6. 1 in the seemingly superfluous rule 2. 14 ; that makes him add to his definition 4. 164 the absurd exception *sakhyokhyamukhyavarjam*, which guards against any wrong application of his teaching on the part of the unintelligent.

If I were asked to give my general impression of the Vārttikakāra in one short sentence, I should say :

These two souls live also in Kātyāyana, the Vārttikakāra.

This wants some proof. I will give it in detail, for it forms my strongest argument. Without it, I should probably have left matters as they stand, considering Prof. Keith's view as possible, though not likely.

Throughout his work the Vārttikakāra does not deem it necessary to add a wealth of vedic details to Pāṇini's rules. He is satisfied, for example, with adding to Pāṇini 6. 1. 94 in vārtt. 6 the general remark : *emanādisu cchandasi*, which sums up V. Pr. 4. 53 *sumudrasyemaṁs, tvemaṁs, tvodmann iti ca ;* or with adding to Pāṇini 2. 1. 2 in vārtt. 6 : *param api cchandasi*, which reflects the circumstantial rules V. Pr. 2. 18 and 19. Occasionally he explicitly states that it is impossible so to complement by one short rule an injunction given by Pāṇini as to make it comprise the vedic detail : vārtt. 1—4 on 6. 1. 7.[1] In vārtt. 1 on 1. 1. 6 he wants to cancel the expressions *dīdhī* and *vevī* because these roots occur only in the Veda, and because for the Veda [no general rules can be given but only] rules that describe afterwards what has been observed to occur (*dṛṣṭānuvidhitvāc ca cchandasi*) . . . .[2] For a student of the Aṣṭādhyāyī it is sufficient to know that such and such phenomena do occur in the Veda, he need not trouble about their exact where and when. The attempt to reformulate Pāṇini's vedic rules with a view of making them a safe guide for Vedapāṭhakas of any description, would indeed be utterly impossible.

It is different when Pāṇini expounds on some vedic detail that is easy of verification, because it only can occur in one special context. With such a detail are concerned Pāṇini's rules on the accent of the Subrahmaṇyā formula, 1. 2. 37, 38.

The Subrahmaṇyā runs thus :

*subrahmaṇyo3m—subrahmaṇyo3m indrāgaccha hariva āgaccha subrahmaṇyo3m—subrahmaṇyo3m—gaur āvaskandinn ahalyāyai jāra—kauśika medātither meṣa vṛṣanaśvasya mene

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During the Agniṣṭoma, on the day preceding the pressing of the Soma, there is on a certain occasion (Lāṭy. Ś. 1. 3. 18 ; Drāhy. Ś. 1. 3. 18 ; Āp. Ś. 11. 20. 3 ; Mān. Ś. 2. 2. 5. 9 ; Kāty. Ś. 8. 9. 12) inserted in the Subrahmaṇyā, before the sentence *śvaḥ sutyām āgaccha. . .* (Lāṭy. Ś. 1. 3. 20 ; Drāhy. Ś. 1. 3. 22), the following piece :

asau (*i.e.* the Yajamāna ' N. N.') *yajate—amuṣya* (*i.e.* ' N.N.'s ') *putro yajate—amuṣya pautro yajate—amuṣya naptā yajate—amuṣya pitā yajate—*(*amuṣyāḥ pitā yajate—*) *amuṣya pitāmaho yajate—*(*amuṣyāh o o —*) *amuṣya prapitamaho yajate—*(*amuṣyāḥ o o—*) *janiṣyamāṇānāṃ pitā pitāmahaḥ prapitāmaho yajate.*[1]

Pāṇini's rules run thus :

1. 2. 37 [*ekaśruti dūrāt saṃbuddhau* (1 . 2. 33)] *na subrahmaṇyāyāṃ svaritasya tūdāttaḥ* 38 *devabrahmaṇor anudāttaḥ* ' [Everything is] of equal pitch when it is a case of calling from afar, [but] not in the Subrahmaṇyā formula. Here, however, an *udātta* vowel is substituted for a *svarita ;* an *anudātta* is substituted for a *svarita* in the words *deva* and *brahman* '.

They are supposed to teach the following accentuation :

subrahmaṇyóm índrāgáccha, háriva ā́gáccha, médātither meṣa, vṛ́ṣáṇaśvasya mene, gaúr ā́vaskandinn, áhályāyai jāra, kahśíka brāhmaṇa, gaútáma bruvāṇa, śváḥ (*dvyahé etc.*) *sutyā́m ā́gáccha maghavan dévā bráhmāṇa ā́gácchata.*

The Vārttikakāra has two possibilities of viewing and examining these rules. This reveals what I have called his two souls.

His *first* possibility is to examine the logical indemnity of Pāṇini's teaching itself. He indulges in it in his Vārttika on Pāṇini 1. 2. 32. He says :

' Pāṇini 1. 2. 32–40 ought to be taught after Pāṇini 8. 4. 66 in order to make apply correctly Pāṇini 1. 2. 39 ' (vārtt. 1). This means : The substitution according to 8. 4. 66 of a (dependent) *svarita* for an *anudātta* that follows an *udātta*, has to be considered as not having taken effect in any preceding rule according to 8. 2. 1. Hence Pāṇini 1. 2. 39 would apply only to such *anudātta* vowels as follow an (independent) *svarita* that has been substituted according to a rule like 6. 1. 185.

' And also for the sake of the second part of Pāṇini 1. 2. 37 (*svaritasya tūdāttaḥ*) ' (vārtt. 2). This means : The substitution of an *udātta* for a *svarita* in the Subrahmaṇyā would apply again only to an independent *svarita*. Consequently we should get only *subrahmaṇyóm* instead of *subrahmaṇyòm* (with *svarita* according to 6. 1. 185), but not *ā́gáccha etc.* for *ā́gàccha etc.* (with *svarita* according to 8. 4. 66).

' And also in order to prevent substitution of a *svarita* (according to 8. 4. 66) for [the *anudātta*] following the *udātta* that is substituted for a *svarita* (according to 1. 2. 37) ' (vārtt. 3). This means : If 8. 4. 66 follows 1. 2. 37, it has to apply after 1. 2. 37 again. We should consequently get first *ā́gáccha* for *ā́gàccha*, and afterwards *ā́gácchà* for *ā́gáccha*.

' And also for the sake of Pāṇini 1. 2. 40 ' (vārtt. 4). This means : Also this rule would apply only to such *anudātta* vowels as precede an *udātta* or a *svarita* that is taught in rule standing before Pāṇini 8. 2. 1.

All these objections are perfectly correct. Pāṇini has not followed his own plan with all desirable care. The V. Pr. is in this respect blameless : the rules corres-

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only till *bruvāṇa*.—Lāṭy. Ś. 1. 3.1ff. has *etāvadahe* instead of *ityahe* (1. 3. 1) ; leaves optional the sentence *devā brahmāṇa āgacchatāgacchatāgacchata* (1. 3. 3) ; leaves it optional to say *āgaccha maghavan* (1. 3. 5), or simply *āgaccha* (1. 3. 4), or to leave out both words.—I have marked by hyphens the places where one must insert a pause (according to Laṭy. Ś. 1. 3. 6, 7). Drāhy. Ś. 1. 3. 2ff. substantially agrees.—See also Caland-Henry, L'Agniṣṭoma, p. 65.

[1] A more elaborate form is given by Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 119. I have tried to keep closely to the wording suggested by Lāṭy. Ś. 1. 3. 18-20; Drāhy. Ś. 1. 3. 18-20. The hyphens are inserted according to Lāṭy. Ś. 1. 3. 9 ; Drāhy. Ś. 1. 3. 9. The other SŚS. (quoted above) allow no inference as to the exact wording.

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ponding to Pāṇini 1. 2. 39 (V. Pr. 4. 138) and 1. 2. 40 (V. Pr. 4. 135) follow the rule corresponding to Pāṇini 8. 4. 66 (V. Pr. 4. 134).

But Kātyāyana knows how to free Pāṇini of the net he has thrown over him. In his last vārttika on 1. 2. 32 he gives as his final view this :

'The fact of Pāṇini teaching the substitution of an *anudātta* [for a *svarita*] in the words *deva* and *brahman* (*dévāḥ* for *dévāḥ*, *bráhmāṇaḥ* for *bráhmáṇaḥ*) gives an indication that Pāṇini 8. 4. 66 has [to be considered to have] taken effect [as far as Pāṇini 1. 2. 32–40 is concerned, in spite of Pāṇini 8. 2. 1].' This means : Since Pāṇini 1. 2. 38 would be perfectly void of sense and purpose if it did not concern the secondary *svarita*, and if Pāṇini 8. 4. 66 would apply afterwards again, we are entitled to infer that this paragraph (1. 2. 32–40) is *meant* to follow 8. 4. 66.

As often, Kātyāyana's subtlety has been a match for Pāṇini's. He has scrutinized his great predecessor's formulation, pointed out a logical flaw, and hit on a striking solution for the difficulties resulting : the rules in question are put in the wrong place. Then he has topped it all by finding out that Pāṇini himself has given an indication that he wanted us to interpret him as if he had proceeded correctly. Taken all in all, a neat specimen of scholastic acumen !

His *second* possibility is to examine the practical usefulness of Pāṇini's rules from the point of view of a priest who has to recite the subrahmaṇyā. He might say, firstly, that it is not clear whether *dūrāt saṃbuddhau* is still valid from 1. 2. 33, and, secondly, that it is not clear which accentuation is really the correct one. Having formulated a negative rule by just forbidding to recite with equal pitch, Pāṇini has, strictly speaking, left open manifold possibilities. Theoretically, an accentuation like *índrá āgáccha* would answer his definition also. Kātyāyana must have thought likewise. In his Vārttika on 1. 2. 37 he actually rewrites the whole rule. He puts a *prapañca* in the place of Pāṇini's *lakṣaṇa*. It runs thus :

subrahmaṇyāyām okāra udāttaḥ (vārtt. 1) *ākāra ākhyāte, parādiśca* (vārtt. 2) *vākyādau ca dve dve* (vārtt. 3) *maghavanvarjam* (vārtt. 4) *sutyāparāṇām antaḥ* (vārtt. 5) *asāv ity antaḥ* (vārtt. 6) *amuṣyety antaḥ* (vārtt. 7) *syāntasyopottamam ca* (vārtt. 8) *vā nāmadheyasya.*

'[Pāṇini ought to have said thus :] In the Subrahmaṇyā the vowel *o* is *udātta* (1) ; the vowel *ā* when followed by a verbform [is *udātta*] ; also the first of the following [syllables] (2) ; also the two first [syllables] in the beginning of each sentence [are *udātta*] (3) ; except [those of the word] *maghavan* (4) ; the end [of the words] followed by *sutyā* [is *udātta*] (5) ; the end of [the word designated by] 'N.N.' [is *udātta*] (6) ; the end of [the word designated by] 'N.N.'s' [is *udātta*] (7) ; [the end] and the last but one [syllable] of [a word] ending in *sya* [is *udātta*] (8) ; [the last but one syllable] of a name [is *udātta*] or [not] (9).'

The last 4 rules must be concerned with the piece inserted on the last day before the pressing : it is open to doubt, whether Pāṇini wanted to include it in his rule.

Let us try, then, to apply Kātyāyana's teaching to the whole !

Vartt. 1 : The vowel *o* is actually always *udātta* in the Subrahmaṇyā. Not only in *subrahmaṇyó3m*, which is given as example by Patañjali, but also in the inserted piece : *putró* [*yajate*], *pautró* [*yajate*], *pitāmahó* [*yajate*], *prapitāmahó* [*yajate*].

Vārtt. 2a : The vowel *ā* is always *udātta* when followed by a verbform. Not only in *āgaccha*, which is given as example by Patañjali, but also in the inserted piece : *naptā́* [*yajate*], *pitā́* [*yajate*], and in the end : *āgacchata.*

Vārtt. 2b : The first of the following syllables is also *udātta*, says Kātyāyana. Obviously we have to accent not only *āgáccha*, which is given by Patañjali, but also : *naptá yájate pitá yájate.* We even must go a step further, and construe *parādiś ca* not only with *ākāra*, but also with *okāra* (as may be indicated by the *ca*). For if we accent *naptá yájate*, it is only logical that we accent likewise : *putró yájate, pautró yájate, pitāmahó yájate, prapitāmahó yájate.*

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Vārtt. 3 : The two first syllables of each sentence are *udatta*. This provides us with the accentuation : *índrāgáccha*], *háriva* [*ágáccha*], *médātither meṣa*, *vṛṣáṇaśvasya mene*, *gaúr āvaskandin*, *áhályāyai jāra*, *kaúśika brāhmaṇa*, *gaútáma bruvāṇa*.

All the following vārttikas are special exceptions (*apavāda*) to this last general statement (*utsarga*), for they teach only the accent of words that happen to stand in the beginning of sentences of the Subrahmaṇyā.

Vārtt. 4 : *maghavan*, which of course in reality belongs to the sentence *ityahé sutyām āgáccha*, and not to *dévā bráhmāṇa āgácchata*, is unaccented.

Vārtt. 5 : *adyá*, *dvyahé*, *tryahé*, which do start a sentence, are accented on their last syllable only.

Vārtt. 6 : The end of the word designated by ' N.N.' (*asau*) is *udātta*. For simplicity's sake, let ' N.N.' be called by a name used by Patañjali in his examples : *gārgyá*, *dākṣi*, or *devadattá*.

First of all, the rule informs us that in sentences like *gārgyo yajate*, *dākṣir yajate*, *devadatto yajate*, vārtt. 3 is superseded. For *gārgyó yájate*, *devadattó yájate* we do not want any further ruling : their accents result already from vārtt. 1 and 2. Nor is it possible to say that vārtt. 6 would supersede them. For neither is it an *apavāda* with respect to vārtt. 1 and 2, since it applies also in cases that do not fall under the jurisdiction of these rules, nor can it be stronger by virtue of its being taught later, since there is no ' conflict ' [1].

dākṣir yajate is different. The name has normally an *udātta* in the *first* syllable. We get, however, by vārtt. 6 only *dākṣír yajate*. And while everywhere else the syllable following an *udātta* becomes *udātta* itself before an *anudātta*, we seem to have a single *udātta* here. I think it is obvious that Kātyāyana has given his last vārttika for an instance like this. As translated above,[2] it gives us permission to accent the last but one syllable of a name. Who wants to use the name *dākṣi* can consequently say : *dákṣír yajate*, getting the first *udātta* from vārtt. 9 and the second from vārtt. 6. Now everything is in order.

Vārtt. 7 : The end of a word designated by ' N.N.'s ' (*amuṣya*) is *udātta*. We learn from this, again first of all, that in sentences like : *gārgyasya putro yajate*, *devadattasya putro yajate*, vārtt. 3 is superseded. Secondly, that *dākṣeḥ*, which may have an *udātta* in the first syllable according to vārtt. 9, is also accented on the last : *dákṣéḥ putró yájate*.

Vārtt. 8 : The end and the last but one syllable of a word ending in *sya* is *udātta* : *gārgyásyá putró yájate*, *devadattásyá putró yájate*.

Vārtt. 9 : See on vārtt. 6 and 7.

The accents of the inserted piece are, then, according to Kātyāyana :

gārgyó (*devadattó*) *yájate* (*dákṣír yajate*) ; *gārgyásyá* (*devadattásyá*, *dákṣéḥ*) *putró yájate* ; *naptá yájate* ; *pitá yájate* ; *pitāmahó yájate* ; *prapitāmahó yájate*.[3]

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[1] See above.

[2] Patañjali understands vārtt. 9 in a different way. He believes it to teach optional correctness of *devadattasyá pitá yájate* beside *devadattásyá pitá yájate*, which is evidently wrong.

[3] It would apparently be wrong to apply Kātyāyana's teaching to the last sentence, which would have to be accented thus : *jániṣyamāṇānāṃ pitā pitāmahaḥ prapitāmahó yájate*. It is possible that Kātyāyana did not know the use of it, seeing the many variations in the Subrahmaṇyā as pointed out in Lāty. Ś. (above p. 27 n. 2). Nor does he appear to have considered the cases *amuṣyāḥ pitā yajate etc.*

Drāhy. Ś. 1. 3. 23ff. also teaches the accentuation of the inserted piece. It differs from Kātyāyana in considering also the accent of feminine genitives and of the last sentence. It does, moreover, not provide for any name that is not *antodātta*. It runs thus :

1. 3. 23 *arthanirvacanam uccāntam* ' what expresses [only] the sense [of the nominal stem] (*i.e.* a nominative) has a high-pitched (*i.e. udātta*) end ' (the name, *putráḥ*, *putráḥ*, *naptá*, *pitá*, *pitāmahāḥ*, *prapitāmahāḥ*).

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It thus becomes obvious that the lengthy vārttikas do not add or change anything with respect to the content of Pāṇini's rule : In the Subrahmaṇyā a *svarita* is replaced by the *udātta*. The one point on which the Vārttikakāra differs is the accent of *dévāḥ* and *bráhmāṇaḥ*. According to Pāṇini 1. 2. 38 the *svarita* in these words is replaced by the *anudātta*. According to Kātyāyana vārtt. 1 on 1. 2. 38 this is only the opinion of some authorities. Consequently he wants himself to accent : *dévāḥ, bráhmāṇaḥ*, which restores complete analogy of accent throughout the Subrahmaṇyā.

For our particular investigation, however, it is not essential what Kātyāyana is teaching, but *how* he is teaching it. We may even leave the question open whether he actually is quite distinct and unambiguous. We saw that without some interpretative efforts, his last vārttika is misunderstandable, and that if I am right, Patañjali *did* misunderstand it. Moreover, Patañjali hardly realized the full bearing of the first vārttikas, as interpreted above. For us is only essential Kātyāyana's unmistakable intention of being distinct, and his obvious impression that Pāṇini was not distinct enough.

Let us admit that theoretically Pāṇini's formulation is ambiguous. We have to acknowledge, at the same time, that it reveals insight into the linguistic phenomenon as such. It clearly grasps the essential feature of the accenting particularity of the Subrahmaṇyā. In this respect it is unsurpassable.

Let us admit that theoretically Kātyāyana's formulation is clearer. We have to acknowledge, at the same time, that it is much more circumlocutory, and that it does not reveal any insight into the linguistic phenomenon. It is superficial and mechanical to the last degree, though in its own way ingenious enough.

Is it not the author of the Prātiśākhya who spoke to us in these Vārttikas ?

Let us, to facilitate our argument, apply one last test.

Let us suppose the Vārttika and Bhāṣya on Pāṇini 1. 2. 37 had been lost, and by some lucky chance there had been found, in our days, some palmleaf containing only Kātyāyana's 9 rules without Patañjali. What would philologists do with it ?

Some would say : ' These rules must be pre-Pāṇinean, for the expressions *okāra, ākāra, ākhyāta* have been replaced by Pāṇini by the shorter ones : *ot, āt, tiṅ*.' I am afraid Prof. Keith would be amongst them. For in his opinion ' everything points to the condensation of the Aṣṭādhyāyī as the carrying to perfection of an endeavour to attain brevity for its own sake [note : *e.g. ku* for *kavarga*].' [1] And if he finds it ' quite impossible to believe that V. Pr. 1. 55 *amātraḥ svaro hrasvaḥ* [*etc.*] is an attempt to improve on Pāṇini [1. 2. 27 *ūkālo 'jjhrasvadīrghaplutaḥ*]',[2] he cannot believe that our rules are an attempt to improve on Pāṇini 1. 2. 37 either. Not only is Pāṇini's rule about five times shorter, to us it appears also to contain the clearer formulation. And how much more clever is its point of view ! Prof. Keith thinks Pāṇini 1. 2. 27 ' absurd ', yet he maintains it to be a ' refinement ', though a ' not very happy ' one. Pāṇini 1. 2. 37 is not absurd at all. It just looks a very happy refinement of our rules.

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1. 3. 24 *vaibhakte ca syādau vaibhaktaś caiva* ' what is preceding a *sya etc.* (*i.e. yāḥ*) that belongs to a case termination, and [the vowel] belonging to the case termination [is high-pitched] also ' (*-ásyā, -áyāḥ pitā etc.*).

1. 3. 25 *uccāc ca nīce nīcam* ' a low-pitched (*i.e. anudātta*) syllable that is following a high-pitched and preceding a low-pitched syllable (*i.e.* a *svarita*) [is high-pitched] also ' (. . . *pitā pitāmahāḥ prapitāmahó . . .*).

1. 3. 26 *janiṣyamāṇānām iti madhye dve* ' the two [syllables] in the middle of ' *janiṣyamāṇānām* [are high-pitched] ' (*janiṣyámāṇānām*).

1. 3. 27 *yajeś cādiḥ* ' the beginning of root *yaj* [is high-pitched] also ' (*putró yájate, pitā yájate etc.*).

[1] *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, p. 745.

[2] *l.c.*, p. 746.

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Most scholars should say : 'These rules must be taken from some of the Prātiśākhyas, in which terms like *okāra, ākāra, ākhyāta* are in permanent use—be they young (as the AV. Pr.) or old (as the V. Pr.). If so, they must belong to either a Sāmaveda Prātiśākhya, since the priest reciting the Subrahmaṇyā is a Sāmavedin, or a Prātiśākhya to the White Yajurveda, since according to the Vājasaneyins it is the Adhvaryu himself who recites the Subrahmaṇyā.'[1] Upon this they would find that the V. Pr. not only indeed uses the terms quoted above, but also that it is well acquainted with expressions of the type '*maghavanvarjam*' (*cf. e.g.* V. Pr. 1. 87 ; 1. 131 *sāmajapanyūṅkhavarjam :* Pāṇini 1. 2. 34. . . . .*ajapanyūṅkha-sāmasu ;* V. Pr. 2. 1 ; 4. 21 ; 4. 164). Further they would ask themselves, which word is referred to by the neuters *dve dve* (vārtt. 3) and *upottamam* (vārtt. 8), and they could not but recognize that it must be *akṣara* n. They would now remember that V. Pr. 1. 99 says : *svaro 'kṣaram* 'a vowel is called *akṣara* [together with the preceding consonants]', and uses *akṣara* in this sense in 4. 129, and makes us supply *akṣaram* to *svaritam* in 4. 132, 134 *etc. etc.*

Now as regards 'doctrine, which is the sole criterion available',[2] they would certainly be struck by the fact that the beginning of our rules does not seem to presuppose acquaintance with the most simple grammatical facts and categories. But soon they would come across the terms *ākhyāta* and *vākya*, which betray quite a decent standard of grammatical knowledge. After just having forgiven the author his unintelligent first rules, they would hit on the fourth, which shows that either the author or those for whom he wrote were not able to discern that *maghavan* belongs to the sentence : *ityahé sutyā́m ā́gáccha maghavan*, though its accent forbids to construe it with the following : *dévā́ brā́hmā́ṇa ā́gácchata*. Again they would remember that the V. Pr., too, though presupposing acquaintance with the concept *ākhyāta* (finite verb) in 6. 1, does not expect in 2. 14 its students to realize that *śrutam* in V.S. 7. 9 *is* an *ākhyāta ;* that the V. Pr., though presupposing acquaintance with the concept *āmantrita* (vocative) and *ṣaṣṭhī* (genitive) in 2. 17, 18, does not expect in 2. 19 its students to realize that *apā́m nápāt* in V.S. 8. 24 is not a vocative, but a nominative ; that the V. Pr., though presupposing acquaintance with the grammatical abstraction *khyāti* (root *khyā*) in 4. 164, does not expect in the same rule its students to realize that the *khy* of *sakhya, ukhya, mukhya* has to do nothing whatsoever with the *khy* of root *khyā*.

Those would not be the worst of our hypothetical scholars, who try to find a place in Sanskrit literature for our hypothetical palmleaf, that would insist on the circumstance that just this contradictory side by side of a respectable standard of knowledge and mechanical, insipid pedantry, which we find in our rules, gives its individual character to the V. Pr.; and that the two fighting tendencies of stating each single case by itself and of giving general, comprehensive directions eventually spoil each other's game as well in our rules as in the V. Pr.

Sceptics might rely on the Subrahmaṇyā not occurring in the V.S. But theirs would be a weak argument : the author of the V. Pr. could well have taken special interest in it, since it is recited by the Vājasaneyin Adhvaryu. They might point out, further, that once we allow the author to take his point of view as he chooses, these rules are quite a *chef-d'œuvre* in their skilful arrangement and artful disposition, which makes use of the really surprising accident that all the vowels *o*, and all the vowels *ā* before a form of a verb, are *udātta* in the Subrahmaṇyā. In this respect hardly one piece of the V. Pr. can compare with them. Yet these sceptics certainly would have a hard stand.

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[1] Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 64, No. 49 n. 2.
[2] Keith, *l.c.*, p. 746.

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If, however, anyone should suggest that our rules are really taken from the Vārttika—he might refer to the expressions *okāra*, *ākāra*, *vākya* and the type *maghavanvarjam* being not foreign to its style—, he would be answered by the same argument, on which Prof. Keith declines[1] to believe in the identity of the Vārttikakāra and the author of the V. Pr. : 'The plain fact is that the Vārttikakāra is far advanced in grammatical knowledge beyond the author of these rules.'

Fortunately we have not to deal with an anonymous palmleaf. Fortunately we are not placed in the awkward position of having to prove that our 9 rules were written by the Vārttikakāra. Fortunately by indulging in his Vedapāṭhaka inclinations, Kātyāyana himself has led *ad absurdum* all the arguments by which Prof. Keith still wants to settle the relative chronology of the Prātiśākhyas. Kātyāyana's rules show distinctly that in chronological questions we can rely neither on the brevity of technical terms, nor on the brevity of expression in general, nor on the more or less 'advanced' doctrine.

They show more. They show that the suspicion of Kātyāyana, the Vārttikakāra, and Kātyāyana, the author of the V. Pr., being identical, was not vain. It is not only easy to assume that the scholar who penned the Vārttika on Pāṇini 1. 2. 37 is responsible also for the V. Pr., it is almost unavoidable when it is considered that the Vārttika shares, in its expressions as well as in its method of representing linguistic facts, marked peculiarities with the V. Pr.. I defy scholars to find out a similarly close relationship between any two other grammatical works of Indian antiquity.

The proof that the Kātyānācārya, who wrote the V. Pr., is not the Vārttikakāra now lies with the sceptics. With Weber's arguments they cannot defend their case. They have to explain away the relationship of the terminology of the Vārttika and the V. Pr., which was unknown to Weber, and the surprising coincidences of a number of deviation of the V. Pr. from Pāṇini with objections raised by Kātyāyana against the very points of Pāṇini's grammar that are removed by these deviations, coincidences, which are far more numerous and characteristic than those pointed out by Goldstücker. They have to explain how, if their idea of the development of linguistic studies and teaching technique in India is right, Kātyāyana could ever have written the Vārttika on Pāṇini 1. 2. 37. Will they not rather admit that their simple and seemingly easy assumptions (a lucid work : early, obscure : young ; diffuse : early, brief : young, *etc.*), have not taken in account the complicated nature of historical development, which seldom, if ever, follows a straight line ? Is it not obvious that they have neglected to consider that books are not written by schools, but by single men, by individuals, who naturally had their own taste, their own inclinations and preferences, and little cared when adopting new styles, new methods, and new points of view, whether to later centuries their procedure meant progress or not ? Unfortunately, in Indian literature it is but seldom possible to recognize the author behind his work. In the case of Kātyāyana, I think, we can do so ; but as soon as we catch a glimpse of his personality, his writings cease to be measurable by the simple standards generally accepted, and thus prove them to be arbitrary and utterly unreliable.

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[1] *l.c.*, p. 742.

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MISCELLANEA

SOCIAL UNITS IN THE JĀTAKAS

Family, as we have seen,[1] was the lowest unit of social life in the days of the *Jātaka* stories. The little knot of houses of the several branches of the family would together form the nucleus of the second stage or unit of society, namely, the *ñāti*, which was a predominant feature of the sociology of the times.

Throughout history Man has remained a social being. Why Man alone ? Sociability is indeed a common instinct in every living being. This is luminously clear from our stories which deal with Man and Animal alike. To keep oneself surrounded by relations and friends is an instinct of self-preservation. The whole of the *Tacca-sūkara Jātaka* [2] reveals this in a marked manner. A boar, reared up by a carpenter, thinks to himself, when grown up : ' I cannot live alone by myself in this forest ; what if I search out my kindred, and live in their midst ? ' (*ñātake pariyesitvā tehi parivuto vasissāmi*).[3] He then not only lives amidst his kindred-folk, but takes the leading in vanquishing their common foe, the tiger, and thus provides a fitting illustration for the all-embracing maxim :

' United friends, like forest trees—
It is a pleasant sight,
The Boars united at one charge
The Tiger killed outright.' [4]

Of course, there always are gradations in relationships, from the family onwards, according to the variations of interests : ' *mātā-pitu-mitta-suhajja-ñātivaggo* '—father, mother, friends, kinsmen and acquaintances—this is the phrase [5] which gives some of the prominent circles of this relationship. But in all these *ñāti* appears to be an all-embracing term and is frequently to be met with in the stories. It is a term used not so much in the sense of blood-relations (*salohitā*)

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[1] *Indian Culture*, III, pp. 209–214.

[2] *J.*, IV, pp. 344ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 344—*gāthā* 161.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 349—*g.* 176 ; *g.* 168—' *ñāti ca disvāna samaṅgi ekato* ' ; *g.* 163—' *ko n'amhākam idha sattu, ko nāti susamāgate* ' ; *g.* 172—' *samagge sahite ñāti vyagghe ca kurute vase* '.

[5] *J.*, V, p. 132 ; also II, 1, 29—*g.* 10 ; the *Uvāsagadasāo*, p. 5, gives more : *mitta-nāyi-niyaga-sayana-saṁbandhi-parijana* : friend, kinsmen, members of one's own family, one's blood relations connected by marriage, one's dependents—Hoernle's tr., p. 8, n. 16.

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as in the much wider sense of acquaintances (the root *ñā* clearly means *to know*) in whom a relation was undoubtedly merged. Welfare of their *ñātis* was the chief solicitude of the people of those days. In their daily life, the people were guided by the love of those whom they knew well, their friends and acquaintances. No important activity could be done without taking one's *ñātis* into confidence. Even the king held consultations with his *ñātis*, over and above his officers and subjects.[1] The owl was made king by his *ñātis*.[2] The *ñāti* gathers together and laments over the death of one of its members.[3] The wealthy, if he is wise and considerate, should share his wealth along with his *ñāti* in order that he may win fame and rejoice in heaven'.[4] 'I set you free, go and be with your relations', says a fowler while setting free a bird he has caught.[5] The liberated bird expresses the same desire in return: 'So do you also, O fowler, enjoy amidst your relations'.[6] He who is faithful to his friends is of all kin the best.[7] Kingdom (*rajjam*), relations (*ñātaka*) and wealth (*dhanam*) are the three things worth consideration by a reluctant prince.[8] A widowed queen, big with child, arriving to an unknown city, was asked as to whether there was any *ñātaka*, relation, of hers in that city.[9] We hear in the *Dasaratha Jātaka*[10]:

'One mortal dies—to kindred ties
born is another straight;
Each creature's bliss dependent is
on ties associate.'

To have a respectable position in the midst of one's own *ñāti* was one of the highest aims of the people.[11] Blessings of his *ñāti* a prince should always covet; for surrounded by them, he is always safe.[12] So intense is the bond of affection that a parrot never leaves its tree 'though a dead stump', because it is its *ñāti* and its *sakhā*.[13]

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[1] *J.*, IV, p. 134—*gg.* 96, 103-4; V, p. 90—*g.* 238.
[2] *J.*, II, p. 353—*g.* 58: '*sabbehi kira ñātihi, kosiyo issaro kato*'.
[3] *J.*, IV, p. 51.
[4] *J.*, III, p. 02: '*dhīro bhoge adhigamma, samga-ṇhāti ca ñātake*'; cf. *J.*, IV, p. 127—*g.* 92.
[5] *J.*, IV, 418—*g.* 97: '*mayā tvam samanūññato sotthim passahi ñātake*'.
[6] *Ibid.*, *g.* 98: '*evaṁ luddaka nandassu, saha sabbehi ñātihi*'.
[7] *J.*, VI, p. 14—*g.* 15—'*ñātīnam uttamo hoti yo mittānam nā dubhati*'.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 15—*g.* 23; also *ibid.*, p. 19—*g.* 48.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 32.
[10] *J.*, IV, p. 127—*g.* 90.
[11] *J.*, VI, p. 360—*g.* —'*tasseva taṁ ruhati ñātimajjhe*'.
[12] *J.*, IV, p. 135—*gg.* 103-4—'. . . . *ñātiparibulhaṁ . . . amittānahpasahanti*'.
[13] *J.*, III, pp. 492–5—*gg.* 23, 28, 38.

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This *ñāti* was most probably a circle of relations where caste and creed had no place or recognition and marriage was contracted apparently in such *ñātis*.

Even more sacred and stronger than the bond between an individual and his—or her—*ñāti* was the tie of friendship (*metti*). Numerous are the stories which, with appropriate parables and similes and with knowledge of real life, exemplify the high value of friendship. To a friend, a friend was nearer and dearer than his *ñāti*.

But to establish friendship is no easy task. For the world is full of deceitful appearances. Therefore caution is required at every step. You may have friends. But if they be sense-lacking, they may turn out your foes and ruin you even as the son in the *Makasa Jātaka* [1] cleft his father's skull while slaying the gnat, or as the girl Rohiṇī laid low her mother while drawing the flies away.[2] Unthinking people contracting friendship with anybody and everybody share the fate of the lion Manoja at the hands of the jackal Giriya,[3] or of the sage Indasamaṇagotta at the hands of his pet elephant,[4] or again of the whole family of the iguanas (*godhā*) at the hands of one single chameleon (*kakaṇṭako*).[5] This is the constant advice tendered by a father—an experienced man—to his growing son easily susceptible to a woman's seductions and charms:

> 'One that can gain thy confidence and love,
> Can trust thy word, and with thee patient prove,
> In thought and word and deed will ne'er offend—
> Take to thy heart and cling to him as friend.
> To men capricious as the monkey kind,
> And found unstable, be not thou inclined
> Though to some desert love thy lot should be confined.' [6]

Great stress is rightly placed on company with the good. In touching similes the truth was made known: 'As is the friend whom he chooses for himself and follows, such he himself becomes—such is the power of intimacy. One in constant intercourse affects his fellow, a close comrade, his associate, just as a poisoned arrow defiles a pure quiver. Let not the wise become the friend of the wicked, for fear of contamination. If a man ties up stinking fish with a band of *kusa* grass, the grass will acquire a putrid smell, so is intimacy with a fool; but if a man binds up myrrh in a common leaf, it will acquire a pleasant odour, so is intimacy with the wise. Therefore knowing the maturity of his own actions like the ripeness

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[1] *J.*, I, p. 247—*g.* 43.
[2] *J.*, I, p. 249—*g.* 44.
[3] *J.*, III, p. 323—*gg.* 10-3.
[4] *J.*, II, pp. 42ff. and *gg.* 21-2.
[5] *J.*, I, pp. 487-8—*g.* 137.
[6] *J.*, III, p. 148—*gg.* 186–8; 525-6—*gg.* 81–7.

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of a basket fruit, let not the wise man follow the wicked, but follow the good.'[1]

'*Sukho bhave sappurusehi sangamo* : friendship with the good brings happiness',[2] says Puṇṇaka, the *Yakkha* general. Countless indeed are the benefits of good friendship. For protection from any outside danger, the need of a friend was absolutely felt by the people.

'*Mittaṁ sahāyaṁ ca karonti paṇḍitā*
Kāle akāle sukhamāsayānā'.[3]

It was through his friend's help that the barber, shipwrecked and cast ashore, could see his home again in safety,[4] and it was again through his friend, the jackal, however small and weak he might be, that the lion's life was saved, as he himself admits—*sigālo mama pāṇado*.[5] The *Mahāukkusa Jātaka*,[6] where we hear the hawk proposing a marriage to a she-hawk who asks whether he has any friend—for they must have someone who can defend them against any danger or trouble that may arise—, and where we see how true her words come to be, should have been sufficient to ingrain the truth—of the benefits of good friendship—in the minds of those who might have heard this story or among whom it originated. And people in those days, as even now, must have had to pass through bitter experiences in contracting and, all the more so, in maintaining their friendship ; and it was from this experience that they learnt for themselves and tried to warn their fellow-brethren, that to the slanderer's whispered sneer one should never lend a willing ear, for 'slander parts friend from friend'[7] ; but he,

'On his friend in trust will rest
As child upon its mother's breast ;
And ne'er will by a stranger's word
Be parted from his bosom's lord'[8]

a great psychological truism indeed.

The virtues which were to be found in a true friend are enumerated in the *Mittāmitta Jātaka*[9] and they are quite simple and indicative of the early existence of the Aryan society in a strange and unfamiliar land surrounded by unfriendly people. They are : he remembers his friend when he is away from home, feels delighted at his return, soothes him with gentle words when

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[1] *J.*, IV, pp. 435-6—*gg.* 160-5 ; VI, pp. 235-6—*gg.* 1047-52.
[2] *J.*, VI, p. 314.
[3] *J.*, IV, p. 291—*g.* 46.
[4] *J.*, II, p. 112—*g.* 78.
[5] *J.*, II, p. 29—*g.* 14.
[6] *J.*, IV, pp. 289ff.—*gg.* 44-61.
[7] *J.*, III, p. 193—*g.* 64.
[8] *J.*, III, p. 151—*gg.* 189-92.
[9] *J.*, IV, pp. 197-8—*gg.* 77-87 ; also II, p. 131—*gg.* 89-90.

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ailing, is among his well-wishers and not his enemies, restrains others from speaking evil of him, is in company with those who praise him, extols his wisdom and praises his works, rejoices in his prosperity and feels downhearted at his fall, opens his secrets to him and never betrays him, feels at a banquet the want of his company and expresses the desire that he might also meet with the same.

Not without reason, such feelings are constantly expressed. Adversity, it is said, makes strange bedfellow. People always craved for friends and acquaintances. In small isolated States which were not in a position to give adequate protection to individuals, people naturally relied on mutual comradeship. In this way friendly alliances grew up between individuals and small circles wherein consideration of caste or creed had practically no place.

The people in those days, moreover, were, as they even now are in remote villages, very hospitable to strangers. The door of friendship was also open to these strangers. They also became acknowledged friends, upon some practical demonstration of friendly motives. Residence for a single night, receiving the hospitality of a stranger by accepting from him food, drink and shelter, was enough to bind the guest and the host in close friendship. The wise Vidhura thus expressed to Puṇṇaka who showed indications of an unfriendly attitude: 'In whosesoever house a man dwells even for one night, and receives there food and drink, let him not conceive an evil thought against him in his mind; he who is treacherous to his friend burns the innocent hand that hitherto remained free from wound'.[1] Such a host-friend was likened into a tree that sheltered even for a little while the refugee who sought it. The refugee should not destroy its refuge.[2] The host's duty it was to honour the guest (*sakkārasammāna*) by washing and anointing his feet and seating him on a seat.[3] Rightly says the merchant in the *Piṭha Jātaka*:

> 'The custom of our family—'t was so
> Received by us from ages long ago—
> Is to provide the stranger with a seat,
> Supply his needs bring water for his feet,
> And every guest as kinsman dear to treat.'[4]

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[1] *J.*, VI, p. 310—*g.* 1364.

[2] *Ibid.*, *g.* 1365: '*yathā rukkhassa chāyāya nisideyya sayayya ca, na tassa sākhaṁ bhanjeyya*'; also *J.*, V, p. 240—*g.* 143; 72—*g.* 222; 87—*gg.* 260-1; VI, p. 256.

[3] *J.*, III, p. 10; IV, p. 52. The term used for a guest is *pāhuneyyaka* (Marāṭhī *pāunā*; Guj. *paroṇā*): *J.*, III, p. 440.

[4] *J.*, III, p. 120—*gg.* 147-8.

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Practically the same words may still be heard in some remote village or the other of this ancient land. Hospitability has been one of the many characteristics which have earned a fair name for this country of ours. And the *Jātakas* bear ample testimony to this.

RATILAL MEHTA.

RÂMA GUPTA

The day has gone by when one might call in question the existence of Râma Gupta, the immediate predecessor of Candra Gupta II *Vikramāditya* on the Imperial Gupta throne. The conjoint testimony of Viśâkhadatta's historical drama, *Dêvî-Candragupta*, which is till now known only in fragments preserved in the *Śṛṅgâra-prakâśa* of Bhôja and in the *Nâṭya-darpaṇa* of Râmacandra and Guṇacandra, of the *Harṣa-carita* of Bāṇa, of Amôghavarṣa I's Saṅjân copperplate grant, of Râjaśêkhara's *Kâvya-mîmâṁsâ*, and last but not least, of the *Majmalu-t-Twârîkh*,—has placed it above all doubt that there intervened between Samudra Gupta and Candra Gupta II an elder brother of the latter, Râma Gupta, the former husband of Dhruvadêvî, who figures in the epigraphic records of the Guptas as the chief queen of Candra Gupta II.

In his paper entitled 'New light on the early Gupta history' (*Malaviya Commemoration Volume*, 1932, pp. 189–211), in which all the available data relating to the history of Râma Gupta have been collected and discussed, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has, however, left on one side the consideration of the date of Viśâkhadatta, whose *Dêvî-Candragupta* constitutes the most valuable source of information on the subject. The day when one might assign the dramatist to a period between the eighth century and the twelfth has also passed beyond. He indubiously dates from an earlier, and probably much earlier time. A sculpture of Candra Gupta II's time seems to Dr. K. P. Jayaswal to be the result of Viśâkhadatta's imagination. But he prefers to conclude that the dramatist was a younger, rather than a true contemporary of Candra Gupta II. 'The familiar name "Deva"', he argues, 'is replaced by the official name Chandra Gupta even in his pre-coronation state. A love-scene with a courtezan is staged, which would be an indecency in the life-time of the hero. The drama must have been written in the time of his son and might not have been published by the author in his own life-time.' (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVIII, Part I, March, 1932, pp. 35-36.) An analogous argument has recently been advanced by

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Prof. Winternitz to say that the drama could not have been written even in the time of Candra Gupta II's son. 'The date of Viśâkhadatta', he observes, 'is far from certain. I have been inclined to agree with those who would assign the Mudrârâkṣasa to the period of Candragupta II. (See my *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur* III, 210.) But it is not likely that Viśâkhadatta would have written the *Dêvîcandragupta*, a drama in which Candragupta marries the wife of his elder brother murdered by him, at the lifetime of this king, or even of Kumāragupta, the son of Dhruvadêvî. It would, then, also follow that the reading *pârthivaś-Candraguptaḥ* in the Bharatavâkya of the Mudrārākṣasa is to be rejected, and one of the other readings (*Dantivarmâ or Avantivarmâ*) to be adopted. Thus, the Dêvîcandragupta, as far as we know it at present would support the sixth century as the date of Viśâkhadatta' (*Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, 1936, p. 360).

But the reading of an original text cannot be rejected only for that we cannot reduce it to our judgement or estimate of facts. If the marriage of Candra Gupta II with the widow of his elder brother murdered by him, which must have been a true fact, was an act that was neither morally wholly indefensible,[1] nor socially illegal, there exists no cogent reason why the poet could not write the drama during the lifetime of the king whom it celebrates, and Dr. Bhandarkar has made it sufficiently clear in his paper that it was neither (*op. cit.*, pp. 201–4). If, again, as Dr. Jayaswal opines, the author did not publish his work in his lifetime, it becomes difficult to conceive what earthly interest had he in writing it all at which he feared would only make him incur royal displeasure, or even bring upon him torture to any extent. As to the courtezan, there are reasons to believe that it was actually at her house that Candra Gupta II was forced to stay for sometime *in cognito* (Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-99), just as Jayâpîḍa of Kâśmîra did for sometime at Pauṇḍravardhana in the house of a dancing girl. And in introducing the courtezan into the drama, Viśâkhadatta did not evidently concern himself so much with the question of decency, as delineating the character of one who was the benefactress of the king in his distress. In case of Jayâpîḍa, the *Râjatarangiṇî* tells us that he married the daughter of the king of Pauṇḍravardhana, as also the dancing girl, who gave him shelter and whom he loved. It remains, however, unknown if Candra Gupta II later on took for

[1] The statement of the *Mujmalu-t-Tawârîkh* that Dhruvasvâminî had had chosen Candra Gupta in a *Svayaṁvara* ceremony, but was taken from him, when he brought her home, by his elder brother, is perfectly entertaining, for there is a real sense in it as to why he should have brought himself to join in marriage with a widow.

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wife Mâdhavasênâ who sheltered him ; in the best of probability, he did not. But that he loved her dearly cannot be gainsaid, or else Viśâkhadatta could not have made bold to represent her as the *nâyikâ* or heroine of the drama.

So far as other historical dramas and poems are concerned, we know that the *Harṣa-carita* of Bâṇa, the *Gauḍavahô* of Vâkpatirâja, the *Vikramâṅkadêva-carita* of Vilhaṇa, the *Kumârapâla-carita* of Hemacandra, the *Râjêndra-Karṇapura* of Śambhu, the *Pârijâta-mañjarî-nâṭikâ* of Madana, etc. were all composed in the lifetime of the kings whose doings they record and extol. In case of Viśâkhadatta, he wrote not only the *Dêvî-Candragupta*, but also another historical drama, the *Mudrârâkṣasa*. But as he could not possibly write the history of a Gupta King in the Mauryan age, one may surmise, on the strength of analogy, that the author of the *Dêvî-Candragupta* flourished during the lifetime of Candra Gupta II. This supposition is considerably strengthened by the significant fact that Viśâkhadatta refers to the queen as *Dêvî*, and not by her personal name, even in the title of the work, which he had no persuasive reason to do, had he been removed from her and Candra Gupta II in point of time. Added to these the evidence of the *Bharata-vâkya* of the *Mudrârâkṣasa*, which contains the name of Candra Gupta (II) in the majority of the MSS., it becomes pretty certain that the king and the dramatist were of the same age. As such, the fact that a harlot makes her appearance in the drama as the heroine only gives rise to the presumption that it was staged ere the king had relinquished, as in a natural course, all love for her. That is to say, the *Dêvî-Candragupta* seems to have been produced and staged not many years after the accession of Candra Gupta II.

Even supposing that the date of its composition fell after the demise of the king, or in the sixth century, the entire literary evidence, as we have now on Râma Gupta's being a predecessor of Candra Gupta II, is too strong to be rejected as unhistorical. The only known important political event of Râma Gupta's reign is an ignominious defeat of his at the hands of a Śaka, who is, naturally enough, represented as a 'king of the Śakas' (*Śaka-pati*) in both the *Dêvî-Candragupta* and the *Harṣa-carita*, the two original sources of information as to this Śaka. An eighteenth century commentator, Śaṅkara, of Bâṇa's Harṣa-carita, however, explains the original expression 'Śaka-pati' as '*Śakânâm = âcâryaḥ Śak = âdhipatiḥ*'. Why Śaṅkara brings into play the term *âcârya*, which means a preceptor, in interpreting the word *pati* is difficult to divine, but too much importance has been attached to the employment of the term, so that it has even tempted the suggestion that the Śaka in question

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was but a religious preceptor. 'The preceptor of the Śakas', says Dr. Bhandarkar, 'could stay on a hill-top in a religious retreat, perhaps in subordination to a different king who ruled over those hills' (*op. cit.*, p. 195). But all argumentation apart, we must be slow to credit that he who had worsted the Imperial Gupta army in open warfare was but a religious preceptor, if even the testimony were of a more definite and dependable character. Dr. Jayaswal infers from the above interpretation of Śaṅkara's that the Śaka was both a king and a religious leader. This is only effecting a literary compromise between the two terms, *âcârya* and *adhipati* as in Śaṅkara's commentary, but neither it comes into terms with the reading of the original texts, nor a parallel instance of such a figure, a powerful king and yet a religious teacher, is afforded by Indian history. Also in the *Mujmalu-t-Tawârîkh*, which is so full of details, there is no indication that the enemy of Rawwâl (Râma Gupta) was a religious teacher, too.

The identification of this Śaka under question has not been made out. He is, beyond doubt, not a member of the Kṣatrapa family of Gujarat (cf. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, and R. D. Banerji, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 29-30). Nor he seems to have been a scion of Kaṇiṣka I's family, as conjectured by the late Prof. R. D. Banerji.

And the same incertitude appertains also to the place of fighting. It has been proposed, on the evidence of the *Kâvya-mîmâṁsâ* of Râjaśêkhara, that the battle was fought at 'Kârtikeya-nagara'. But against this, we have in the *Śṛṅgâra-prakâśa* of Bhôja, who doubtless derived his information from the *Dêvî-Candragupta*, that the camp of the Śaka was situated at 'Alipura', which is represented as 'Ari-pura' in the *Harṣa-carita* of Bâṇa. There is no knowing where Alipura was, but the identification of Kârtikêya-nagara is also far from certain. It might be that 'Kârtikêya-nagara' of Râjaśêkhara was conterminous with 'Alipura' of Bhôja and Bâṇa, but until we know that with some degree of precision, it is better not to confide in the evidence of Râjaśêkhara on this point, as the text of the passage, as we have it, of the *Kâvya-mîmâṁsâ* is defective, running, as it does, to the effect that it was at Kârtikêya-nagara in the Himalayas that Śarma (or Sêna) Gupta was forced to fall back, after giving over his queen, Dhruvasvâminî, to the lord of the Khasas. The name of the queen and the title 'Gupta' of the king render the suggestion made by Dr. Jayaswal perfectly admissible that 'Śarma Gupta' of this passage in a Nâgarî MS. is a scribal error for 'Râma Gupta' (*op. cit.*, pp. 20, 24-25). Indeed, if Râjaśêkhara, having lost some details of the tradition, invented a name for the husband of Dhruvasvâminî, a Sanskritist like him would not likely

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invent such a meaningless and queer name as *Śarma Gupta*. But the suggestion made withal that ' Kha-sa ' in the above passage is the result of transposing or reversing the word ' Śa-kha ' i.e. ' Śaka ' by the scribe of the MS., is, however, without any sufficient warrant. The one scribal defect (viz. Śarma Gupta) is no ground for supposing the occurrence of another such defect in the passage, and it may very well be that the word ' Khasa ', which is neither meaningless nor queer, but a familiar expression to us, being the old name either of Khasgar or, as Stein deduces it from the *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, of the tracts including the hill states of Râjapurî and Lohara on the south of Kâśmîra—was actually employed by Râjaśêkhara himself. In that case, it would mean that Râjaśêkhara has given a fanciful account of not only Râma Gupta's enemy, but also probably of the battle-field.

From quite an independent source of information, viz. the Saṅjân copperplate grant of Amôghavarṣa I, we learn definitely that Râma Gupta was murdered by Candra Gupta II. In the fragments of the *Dêvî-Candragupta*, there are two very significant expressions in respect of Candra Gupta II, viz. *sv=âpâya-śaṅkin* (fearful of danger to his life), and *manâk-śatrubhîta* (a little afraid of the enemy) (Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 198). That the enemy in allusion is Râma Gupta is evident from a verse in the same drama, which purports to compare Candra Gupta with the Moon, and Râma Gupta with the *graha*, Râhu (*ibid.*). And thus in view of that all love was lost between the two brothers, the testimony of the Saṅjân plates, unpleasant though, is apt to gain our credence. The author of the *Mujumalu-t-Tawârîkh* also knows of the tragic end of Rawwāl (Râma Gupta), and relates a story how he was stabbed to death by Barkamâris (Vikramârka) in the guise of a mendicant, within the precincts of a royal palace, and in the very presence of the queen. The details of the story may not all be authentic, but it is, at the same time, ineffective to connive at the bare truth underlying the surface of details in the story. That the name of Râma Gupta has been suppressed in the Gupta inscriptions is, I think, only a corroboration of that truth. In the *Bharata-vâkya* of the *Mudrârâkṣasa*, Viśâkhadatta, as we know, describes Candra Gupta as ' bandhu-bhṛtyaḥ ', which has been translated as ' loyal to his brother '. This uncalled-for explanation in defence of the king's conduct in relation to his elder brother, is also not without purpose. But, nevertheless, Viśâkhadatta could not sing absolute innocence of the king, were the latter openly known to all and sundry as the assassinator. Either he got Râma Gupta murdered clandestinely, or, as the *Tawârîkh* gives us to understand, himself put him to death but with a false appearance. But eventually the

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secrecy leaked out, and the knowledge of the murder became only an open secret, wherefore we hear it echoed long long after in the Sañjân plates and the Tawârîkh.

The most important thing in Dr. Bhandarkar's paper is the identification of the elder brother of Candra Gupta II with the Kâca of the coins. On the obverse of these coins appears the word *Kâca* in a vertical line, just below the left arm of the king. This characteristic, if taken alone, doubtless tends to suggest that Samudra Gupta is distinct from Kâca. But there are other points, no less essential, for consideration. Once we look at the legend *Sarva-râjôcchêttâ* on the reverse of these coins, it renders out of question the identification of Kâca with the elder brother of Candra Gupta II, for, apart from that it is by no means a common epithet of ancient Indian kings or of the Gupta kings,—of all kings of the Imperial Gupta dynasty it is he, the elder brother of Candra Gupta II, who deserved the epithet the least. Again, the obverse legend, too, of these coins, viz. *gâmavajitya divaṁ karmabhir=uttamair=jayati* can have absolutely no bearing on the history of the elder brother of Candra Gupta II, as known to us.

Dr. Jayaswal also has proposed that these coins came immediately after Samudra Gupta and were issued by Râma Gupta, alias Kâca, but could not prove it. On the contrary, he has invalidated the theory of his remark that, 'it is also possible that Kâca had another name as Râma (*op. cit.*, p. 24). For, if he was known by two names, Kâca and Râma Gupta, the latter, which has been used by Viśâkhadatta and others, is far more likely to have been his official name, and as such, his other name Kâca could not necessarily appear on the obverse of the coins in the manner it does.

To evade this difficulty, Dr. Bhandarkar assumes that the name Râma Gupta is but a misreading of Kâca (Gupta). 'The letters *k* and *c* of the Gupta period' says he, 'are of such a type as are easy to run into *r* and *m*. If the middle bar in the Gupta letter *ka* drops, it can be read as *ra* only. Similarly, if the lower left loop of the Gupta *c* extends itself unwittingly, as it does in cursive writing, it must read as *m*. In fact, if any student of numismatics inspects coin No. 6 on Plate II of Allan's *Catalogue*, he will find on the obverse the name, not *Kâca*, but something like *Kâma*. And if the middle bar is inadvertently omitted as very often happens in manuscripts, *Kâca* can easily run into Râma' (*op. cit.*, p. 205). But that the letters *ka* and *ca* of the Gupta period are of such a type as can be easily transformed into *ra* and *ma* respectively is no reason for supposing that Viśâkhadatta really gave out the name of Râma Gupta as Kâca Gupta. Again, to say that the middle bar of *ka* was omitted inadvertently, and the lower left loop of *ca* extended

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itself unwittingly in respect of the word *Kâca* in a MS. is to run the risk of saying that the scribe of the MS. must have also inadvertently written *Śakapati* as *Śarapati, Kumâra* as *Rumâra, Candra Gupta* as *Mandra Gupta,* etc., as also of saying that the original word in the MS. for *Mâdhavasênâ* was *Câdhavasênâ,* that for *Râjâ, Kâjâ,* and so forth. Furthermore, it would be idle to conjecture that a MS. with some scribal mistakes was destined to be the model of all other later MSS., so that the mistakes of that particular scribe became accepted by all later scribes and readers of the work.

There is thus no real ground to say that Râma Gupta's name was not Râma Gupta. He must have had a very short reign, and it is not known if he issued at all any coin within this very short regnal period, part of which, again, he spent fighting abroad. If he had issued, some of them may be unearthed in the future.

NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA.

THE GOLD COINS OF ANCIENT BENGAL

The earliest coins of Bengal were of copper and we have a reference to two such varieties, the *gaṃda* and the *kākaṇī* in the Mauryan Brāhmī Inscription of Mahāsthān near Bogrā. Gradually the silver punch-marked coins known as the Purāṇas or Dharaṇas entered into the province. We are not sure whether these were actually minted within the province, but there is no doubt that many of these travelled to the east in the course of commerce. Silver coins of the punch-marked variety have been found in the different parts of Bengal and the easternmost findspot seems to be in Dacca. There is no doubt that these silver Purāṇas or Dharaṇas were superimposed on the copper coins—the gaṃdā and kākaṇī of earlier times.

Perhaps the first reference to a gold coin actually in circulation in Bengal is found in the ' Periplus of the Erythraean Sea ', a book written in the first century A.D. by an Egyptian Greek. While discussing the foreign trade of Bengal, he writes thus—' It is said that there are gold mines near these places, and there is a gold coin which is called *Caltis* '. Gold in those days was brought through Tipperah from ' the river-washings of Assam and Upper Burma '. We have, however, not yet succeeded in identifying the coin denominated the *caltis*. The suggestions made by the different scholars

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have not been able to secure general acceptance. Benfey derives it from Sanskrit *Kalita*, 'numbered', Vincent mentions a Bengali coin called *Kallais*, while Wilford tries to identify it with refined gold *canden*. Schoff refers to a South Indian coin called *Kali*,[1] but this however is an abbreviation of the Trivancorean coin *Kāli-Yugenrājen* fanam or money of the Kali-Yuga which was current over the whole of Kerala.[2] Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua in his Early History of Kāmarūpa makes the statement that the Kalitas of Assam were the *Sadāgars* or merchants who traded with the people of other parts of India and 'the gold coins or rather the pieces with which they used to buy goods were known as *Kaltis*'.[3] Whatever be the correct identification of *caltis*, it is sure from the statement of the Periplus that Bengal had a gold coinage in the first century A.D. But as no gold coins of this period except those of the Kushanas have been discovered in this province, the presumption is that the *caltis* was either merely a piece of gold of a definite weight, or was the local name of the Kushana gold coins known as the Dīnāras or Suvarṇas. The gold coin was evidently superimposed on the copper, and Bengal had a bimetallism of gold and copper; and had not to go through the process of driving away silver from its position in currency as in some other parts of India. With the establishment of the Kushana Empire in Northern India, came in the introduction of gold coins to this country for the first time; and naturally these also travelled to Bengal as in the case of the punch-marked coins, the Purāṇas. The gold coins of Huvishka have been found at Mahanand, another was previously found at Bogrā and such finds of Kushana coins in other parts have also come to light.

The Gupta gold coins have been found in large numbers throughout Bengal; the earliest discovered hoard being from Kālighāt near Calcutta. The other findspots are Mahānand (Hughly District), Jessore, Midnapore, Dacca, etc. Evidently Bengal had an intimate connection with the Gupta Empire; and actually a large portion of the province was under the political influence of the Gupta Emperors. It was in 1783 that about 200 gold coins of the Guptas were discovered at Kālighāt.[4] These were taken to Warren Hastings who transmitted the greater part of the hoard to the Court of Directors of the East India Company who distributed them 'among the most eminent public and private collectors', but retained a portion in the East India House which was, however, sent to the

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[1] The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea—W. H. Schoff, p. 259.
[2] Elliot, W.—Coins of Southern India, p. 137.
[3] Barua, K. L.—Early History of Kāmarūpa, p. 189.
[4] Allan, J.—Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties, etc., p. cxxiv.

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melting pot. Later on, the coins, or many of them that had escaped the fire, were secured for the British Museum. In 1852, a small find of coins was secured from Muhammadpur near Jessore and it contained in addition to Gupta coins one of Śasāṅka, the Rājalīlā coin and a specimen of the late imitation Gupta coin, all in gold. In 1883, 13 gold coins were found near Hughly—1 of Samudra Gupta, 5 of Chandra Gupta II and the rest of Kumāra Gupta I. Recently the gold coins of Kumāra Gupta, Skanda Gupta and Śasāṅka were discovered at Mahānand in Hughly District. The gold coins of the Guptas in Bengal are greater in number than those of the Kushanas ; and that is exactly what we are led to surmise from the change in the political condition of the province. Moreover it is reasonable to infer that the currency system of the Kushanas, viz. the bimetallism of gold and copper was continued. The silver coins of the Guptas were not in circulation in Bengal ; but only a very limited number came from some other provinces of the empire that showed preference for silver ; and some of these went into the hoards. This will explain the extreme paucity of the Gupta silver coins as compared with the Suvarṇas, the gold coins of the Guptas ; and whatever doubt we might have about the circulation of the gold coins of Gupta times in Bengal is dispelled when we find that Bengal was driven after the Guptas to take recourse to her indigenous issue of gold coins, and these were mere barbarous imitations of the Gupta coins.

In the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. the Gauḍa kingdom had its capital in Karṇasuvarṇa in Central Bengal, modern Rāṇgāmāṭi near Berhampore on the western bank of the river Bhāgīrathī. The Gauḍa kingdom also included the Puṇḍravardhanabhukti (North Bengal), while Vaṅga-Samatata, South and East Bengal, was a separate political entity.[1] In the latter half of the sixth century A.D. Jayanāga who had the epithets of Mahārājādhirāja and Paramabhāgavata had his capital at Karṇasuvarṇa ; he and his son, who reigned only for a few months, preceded the famous Gauḍādhipa Śaśāṅka, the contemporary of Harshavardhana, the emperor of Thaneswar. The gold coins of Jayanāga are very rare. These belong to the Archer Type—the king standing with a bow in left hand and arrow in the right ; the *chakra* standard on left and the name *Jaya* under the left arm. On the reverse side, the subject is the *abhisheka* of Lakshmī—the goddess seated on lotus and an elephant sprinkling her.[2] The style as well as the subject on the reverse connect these coins with those of Śaśāṅka who perhaps suc-

[1] Basak, R. G.—The History of North-Eastern India, p. 132.
[2] Allan, J.—Cat. of Coins of the Gupta Dynasties, etc.

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ceeded him shortly afterwards. The *chakra* standard of Jayanāga led Dr. Bhattashali to infer that he belonged to a line of Vaiṣṇava kings.

The kingdom of Gauḍādhipa Śaśāṅka included Karṇasuvarṇa and Puṇḍravardhana and his political influence extended to Benares in the west and Koṇgada in Orissa in the south. His coins are in gold. These are very rare and much sought after. The coins of Śaśāṅka have a new obverse type—'Śiva reclining on his bull Nandi and behind him is the disc of the full moon', an allusion to his name Śaśāṅka. On the reverse, we have 'the traditional seated Lakshmī of the Guptas, the hands of the goddess, however, are empty and on her right and left are elephants sprinkling her' (*abhisheka*). These are the Suvarṇa pieces of 80 ratis, and the heaviest coin in the British Museum weighs 146·9 grains. Śaśāṅka was evidently a Śaiva or worshipper of Śiva.[1]

We have a few coins in gold of another contemporary king named Samāchāra Deva.[2] He had two types of coins. In the Rājalīlā or Throned-King Type, the king nimbate is seated on coach with head to left, left hand raised and right resting on side, female attendant on either side. On the reverse, goddess Lakshmī, standing left, holding lotus on outstretched right hand; behind her a lotus plant, and at her feet a *haṃsa* or swan. On the second, the Archer Type, the king is standing left, holding bow in left hand and arrow in right; Bull Standard on left. On the obverse side, we have the name of the king—'*Samāchāra*' and on the reverse of both the types—'*Śri Narendravinata*'. The proper interpretation of this legend or inscription on the coin supplies us with information about the political condition in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. and also the relationship that subsisted between Samāchāra Deva and Śaśāṅka. The word '*Narendravinata*' means 'fully subdued or obedient to Narendra and evidently refers to the political status of Samāchāra who was a vassal of Narendra. Now who is this Narendra? We know that Śaśāṅka in a manuscript of Harshacharita is referred to as Narendragupta. On palæographic as well as numismatic grounds, the coins of Samāchāra must be deemed to be contemporaneous with those of Śaśāṅka; and if the interpretation of the legend on the two sides of the coin—'*Śri Narendravinata Samāchāra*' be correct, the prevalent opinion that Samāchāra reigned in Gauḍa before Śaśāṅka must be given up; he was evidently

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 147 and 148, 150 and 151.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 149 and 150.
Numismatic Supp., XXXVII (The Indian Numismatic Society), N. K. Bhattashali—'Notes on the Gupta and the Later Gupta Coinage'.

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a vassal of Śaśāṅka, and from the findspots of his inscription and some of his coins, we may reasonably infer that he was a king of Vaṅga-Samatata, i.e. East Bengal, and the two other kings associated with him, Dharmāditya and Gopachandra, also belonged to this province and perhaps reigned before Samāchāra. Numismatic evidence therefore clearly proves the existence of an independent kingdom of Vaṅga or East Bengal which was brought under his domination by Śaśāṅka, the Gauḍādhipa.

Lastly we have to deal with a group of coins generally known as the so-called Imitation Gupta coins. These coins were actually in circulation in East Bengal in the seventh century A.D. These are very rude and barbarous copies of Archer Type coins of the Guptas. On the reverse, we have an eight-armed goddess with a long garland; evidently a Tāntrik goddess with a garland of skulls as suggested by Dr. Bhattashali. East Bengal was a stronghold of Tāntrik religion and the provenance of the coins points out that these were issued by Śākta kings of East Bengal. Their affinity with the coins of Samāchāra Deva may lead us to infer that when the empire of Śaśāṅka fell to pieces, his vassal of East Bengal, perhaps a successor of Samāchāra asserted his independence; and to justify his claim to this high status, performed an Ashwamedha sacrifice. This is perhaps commemorated in some of the coins by putting in the figure of a horse below the left arm of the king whose name was read as *Sudhanya*.[1] The horse, however, is not found in all of his coins. So *Śri Sudhanyāditya* who followed Samāchāra Deva to the throne of East Bengal kingdom of Vaṅga-Samatata was the founder of an imperial dynasty; and he commemorated the performance of the horse sacrifice by issuing a class of coins with the figure of a horse on the obverse. Here we have a new line of kings and the only other one whose name has been deciphered by Mr. Allan of the British Museum is *Prithuviraja* (i.e. Prithuvīryya).[2] A comparison leaves no doubt that this coin was later than those of Sudhanyāditya and ruder in execution. This is all the information we have about a line of kings in Vaṅga-Samatata, and we may expect in future to decipher the names of some other kings of this dynasty. But a gradual deterioration set in; and these coins become more and more barbarous in shape and cease altogether during the anarchic period that preceded the establishment of the Pala Kingdom in this province. Bengal now, due to the paucity of the previous metal and the disturbed political condition, gave up her gold issues; and the so-

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

[2] 'Indian Coins acquired by the British Museum'—J. Allan—'Numismatic Chronicle', Fifth Series, Vol. XIV, p. 7.

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called Imitation Gupta coins are perhaps the latest series of gold coins in Hindu Bengal.

SURENDRA KISORE CHAKRABORTTY.

SENA CHRONOLOGY

The scholars are at variance about the chronology of the Sena kings of Bengal. In this paper, we have tried to come to our conclusions, based on reliable literary evidence supported by Epigraphy.

(1) DATE OF VIJAYASENA

The Deopara inscription (*Beng. Inscrps.*, Vol. III, pp. 42–56) of this prince claims for him to have imprisoned, among others, Nānya and Rāghava. This Nānya has been identified with Nānyadeva (1097 A.D.) of Mithilā, and Rāghava with Rāghava (1156–1170 A.D.), a son of King Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga of Orissa. According to this, Vijayasena must have lived between 1097 and 1156 A.D.

The Barrackpur copperplate of this king is dated '*Saṁ* 62 *Vaiśākha-dine 7*', i.e. 'the year 62, on the 7th day of Vaiśākha'. It was granted on the occasion of a lunar eclipse (*ibid.*, p. 67). R. D. Banerji read the date as '*Saṁ* 32 *Vaiśākha-dine 7*' (*E.I.*, Vol. XV, p. 284). We looked for a lunar eclipse on the 7th day of Vaiśākha, in Pillai's 'table of eclipses', in the *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, Pt. I, but could not find a single one between 1039 and 1200 A.D. The date portion in the *facsimile* has not come out very clearly. So we are not sure if the date has been read correctly by the scholars. There is much similarity between the figures 1 and 7. We are tempted to read the number of day as 1. Mr. Dhirendranath Mukerji has come to the same conclusion.[1] In fact we find that there was a lunar eclipse on the 1st day of Vaiśākha in 1149 A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 353). According to this, taking the regnal year to be 62, the first year of this monarch comes to 1088 A.D.

(2) DATE OF BALLĀLASENA

Monomohan Chakravarti was the first to bring to the notice of the scholars, the following important passage containing the initial date of the King Ballālasena, from the *Adbhuta-sāgara*, under

[1] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, p. 729.

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the heading '*Saptarṣiṇāṁ adbhutāni*' (*JASB.*, Vol. II, 1906, p. 17 n.) :—

> '*Bhuja-vasu-daśa* 1081 *mita Śake Śrīmad-Ballālasena-rājyādau varṣ-eka-ṣaṣṭhi-munir-vinihita-viśeṣāyāṁ*' (Govt. MS., fol. 52*a*).

The latter part of the passage, as it is, conveys no meaning. Credit is due to Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti to give it a sensible reconstruction, as : '*Bhuja-vasu-daśa mita-śake Śrīmad-Ballālasena-rājyādau varṣaikaṣaṣṭibhogo munibhir vihito viśākhāyām*' (*Ind. Hist. Qly.*, Vol. V, pp. 133–5), i.e. in the beginning of King Ballālasena's reign in Śaka 1082, the *munis* (i.e. the *Saptarṣis*) had been 61 years in Viśākhā (*nakṣatra*).

Some contend that '*rājyādau*' here means 'in the first part of the reign'. Does it not seem inconsistent that the royal author gives a definite date in Śaka, as well as, in *Saptarṣi* eras, but makes a vague statement about his own reign period? Again for the purpose of illustrating the *adbhutāni* of the *Saptarṣis* the date of commencement of the work (Śaka 1090) would have been quite sufficient. In fact we find that this date has, in several cases, been made the basis of calculation. But why in the present case, he goes out of the way and selects a date some eight years earlier, unless with a purpose? So '*rājyādau*' here cannot be taken in any other sense than the 'first year of reign'.

Mr. Chakravarti has altogether ignored '1081' given between *daśa* and *mita* in the passage quoted by Monomohan Chakravarti. Mr. Chakravarti took this to be an insertion by Monomohan Chakravarti, and pointed out that the latter had 'curiously interpreted *bhuja-vasu-daśa* as referring to 1081 though *bhuja* (arms) always indicates *two* and not *one*'. He little suspected that it is there in the manuscript, from which Monomohan Chakravarti had quoted, and thus no blame attaches to that scholar. We shall presently see what an important bearing this '1081' has in the solution of the vexed question of chronology of the Sena kings of Bengal, and how by ignoring this Mr. Chakravarti has failed to arrive at the correct date of King Ballālasena.

Now as the manuscript has given two different dates for the first year of Ballālasena, viz. Śaka 1081, in figures, and Śaka 1082, in words, one of them at least is wrong. Let us see which one is incorrect.

Mr. Chakravarti has appended to his paper a note by Mr. Harit Krishna Dev. In this Mr. Dev points out that the usual *Saptarṣi* reckoning places the initial point of their cycle in B.C. 3077-6. The *Adbhuta-sāgara* has made a departure from this usual reckoning

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by placing the initial point in B.C. 3102. In explanation he suggests that the author of the *Adbhuta-sāgara* seems to have combined the view that the *Saptarṣi* cycle began about the Bhārata war (B.C. 3102), with the idea that the beginning must be with Aśvinī as the first *nakṣatra*.

The above theory seems to be a very plausible one. According to this Śaka 1082 seems to be the correct date, but it is not supported by the evidence of the Naihati charter of King Ballālasena. The grant was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse (*Beng. Inscrps.*, Vol. III, pp. 79-80). It is dated '*Saṁ* 11 *Vaiśākha-dine* 16', i.e. 'in the regnal year 11, on the 16th day of Vaiśākha'. Now if we take Śaka 1082 as the first year of this king, the 11th year falls in Śaka 1092, but there was no solar eclipse on the 11th Vaiśākha in Śaka 1092, either expired or current. On the other hand if we take Śaka 1081 as the first year of this monarch, the 11th regnal year falls in Śaka 1091. We find that there was a solar eclipse on the specified date, in Śaka 1090 expired, i.e. 1091 current, corresponding to Tuesday, April 9, A.D. 1168 (Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 343), but it was not visible in India. This does not necessarily vitiate our evidence, as it is not at all unusual in Indian Epigraphy. Kielhorn speaks of having noticed several instances of dates, recording invisible eclipses (*I.A.*, Vol. XXII, p. 108).

Although the Naihati charter supports Śaka 1081 (current) as the first year, it fails to satisfy the other condition of the Saptarṣi reckoning, as propounded by Mr. Dev. Taking 3102 B.C. as the starting point of the Saptarṣi cycle, it completes only 60 years at the end of Śaka 1081 current, and not 61 years. It can, however, be argued that 61st year was running in the 1st year of Ballālasena's reign, though not completed. But the word '*vihita*' stands against this interpretation.[1] We find that the manuscript has *varṣeka-ṣaṣṭhi*', which Mr. Chakravarti has corrected to '*varṣaika-ṣaṣṭi*'. We suggest to read '*varṣe ha ṣaṣṭi*'. The syllable '*ha*' is an emphatic particle, laying stress on the preceding word '*varṣe*'. '*Rājy-ādau varṣeha*', therefore, means 'in the very first year of the reign'. This reading has the double advantage of removing the vagueness of '*rājy-ādau*', which some have tried to explain as 'the first part of the reign'. We also suggest to read '*bhī*' (1) in place of '*bhuja*' (2). With these two slight changes, the verse will read as below :—

भूवसुदशमितशाके श्रीमदल्लालसेनराज्यादौ ।
वर्षे ह षष्टिभोगो मुनिभिर्विहितो विशाखायां ॥

[1] This point escaped our notice, when writing on this subject in the Bengali *Sāhitya-Pariṣat-Patrikā*, V.S. 1342, pp. 65–69.

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i.e. ' In Śaka 1081, in the very first year of reign of King Ballālasena, the *munis* had been sixty (years) in Viśākhā '.

It appears from the above evidence that Ballālasena must have ascended the throne sometime between 1st and 15th Vaiśākha in Śaka 1081 current (1158 A.D.).

(3) Date of King Lakṣmaṇasena

Here again our thanks are due to the same two Chakravartis. Monmohan Chakravarti first drew the attention of the scholars to the fact that the colophon of the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* of Srīdharadāsa gives the date of compilation of the book in Śaka era, as well as in regnal years of King Lakṣmaṇasena (*JPASB.*, Vol. II, p. 175). Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti published a collated reading of the same, as given below :—

शाके सप्तविंशत्यधिकशतोपेतदशशते शरदाम्
श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनक्षितिपस्य रसैकविंशेऽब्दे ।
सवितुर्गत्या फाल्गुनविंशेषु परार्थहेतवे कुतुकात्
श्रीधरदासेनेदं सदुक्तिकर्णामृतं चक्रे ॥

(*IHQ.*, Vol. III, p. 188.)

In footnote 2, he remarks that Śarma reads ' *tra* ' after ' *Śake* ' in the first line, and Ramanath Tarkaratna reads ' *ca* ', but as their insertion spoils the metre, he had to reject them both. We on the other hand find it quite the otherwise. As it is, the first *pāda* in the first line is short of one *mātrā*, which can be remedied by inserting any one of the two.

The first line gives the year of completion of the work as Śaka 1127, while the second indicates the corresponding regnal year of King Lakṣmaṇasena, by the chronogram ' *rasaikaviṁśa* '. In the ordinary way of interpretation, it yields 216, ' *rasa* ' being equivalent to 6. But this is absurd on the face of it. So, with a view to reconcile the discrepancy, it is explained (as 6+21=) 27. When the ordinary interpretation fails, suspicion naturally arises as to whether the scribe has correctly copied it.[1] In the present case, if the author really meant 27 years, he could have easily expressed it by saying *saptaviṁśa*, instead of taking recourse to this clumsy chronogram. Only the insertion of a syllable, say ' *ca* ', before *saptaviṁśa* would have met the requirements of the metre.

[1] Our suspicion grows stronger, when we find that three other MSS. have got the variant reading of ' *rabdaika* ', in place of ' *rasaika* '.

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In fact Monomohan Chakravarti characterized the reading of this chronogram as 'ambiguous'. Girindramohan Sarkar considered this a mistake of the scribe for '*rājyaikaviṁśe*' (*Jour. of the Dept. of Letters*, Vol. XVI, pp. 18-19). This is a very sensible suggestion, but it violates the metre. Further it is doubtful if the scribe mistook '*rasa*' for '*rājya*'. We would suggest '*rama*' in place of '*rasa*'. This involves the change of a single letter only. Besides there is every probability of confounding '*sa*' for '*ma*'. The word '*rama*' means pleasing, delightful, charming. We would further change *viṁśebde* to *viṁśābde*, to make '*rama*', adjective to '*abde*'. '*Ramaikaviṁśābde*' means 'in the pleasant year of twenty-one'.[1]

According to this view of ours, the initial year of the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena falls in (Śaka 1127−20=) Śaka 1107, i.e. 1185-86 A.D. Let us now see if it is corroborated by any other evidence. The recently published Śaktipur copperplate inscription of Lakṣmaṇasena is dated '*Saṁ 6 Śrāvaṇa-dine 7*' (*E.I.*, Vol. XXI, p. 216). The grant was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse. We have shown that the first year of this king's reign is 1185 A.D., so his 6th year was in 1190 A.D. The seventh of Śrāvana is the 101st day from the 1st of Vaiśākha, corresponding to 4th July, 1190 A.D. It appears that there was a solar eclipse on that day, visible in India (Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 248 and 349). As this evidence confirms our theory, we can say with pretty certainty that Lakṣmaṇasena ascended the throne in 1185 A.D.

We shall now try to work out the dates of other charters of this monarch, on the basis of the initial date fixed by us.

Madhainagar Charter.—This is dated '*saptaviṁśa-Śrāvaṇa-divase*', i.e. on the 27th Śrāvaṇa of a year, which cannot be read owing to *lacunæ*. The occasion was '*mūlābhiṣekaḥ . . . aindrī-mahāśānti*' (*Bengal Inscrps.*, Vol. III, p. 112, ll. 49-50). According to the *Agni-purāṇa* (ch. 118, v. 7), the ceremony of the *Aindrī-śānti* has to be observed before the coronation by the priests, as

"पुरोधसाभिषेकात् प्राक् कार्य्यैन्द्रीशान्तिरेव च।"

The *mūlābhiṣeka* here, no doubt, refers to the original coronation, during his father's lifetime, mentioned in the *Adbhuta-sāgara* (*Beng. Ins.* Vol. III, p. 174). The second coronation mentioned in the Govindapur plate (*ibid.*, p. 36, l. 46) must have taken place after his father's death in the year 1185 A.D. The date for this *mūlābhiṣeka* must lie between 1091 Śaka = 1169 A.D., when his father completed the *Dānasāgara* (*ibid.*, p. 176), and his father's death in the beginning

[1] For another interpretation, see *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. I, p. 719.

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of 1185 A.D. Some hold that the King Ballālasena died shortly after he commenced his *Adbhuta-sāgara*, in Śaka 1089=1167 A.D. But this is not at all tenable, when the date of the *Dānasāgara* shows that he lived at least two more years.

The *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* (ch. 98, v. 6) says that coronation, *śanti*, etc. should be performed in the *nakṣatras* of Rohiṇī, and in three *Uttaras*, i.e. Uttara-Āṣāḍhā, Uttara-Bhādrapada and Uttara-Phalgunī, as

"त्रीण्युत्तराणि तेभ्यो रोहिण्यश्च ध्रुवाणि तैः कुर्य्यात् ।
अभिषेकशान्तिनरनगरधर्म्मबीजध्रुवारम्भान् ॥

Two other propitious *nakṣatras* for this purpose are Śravaṇā, Jyeṣṭhā, (*Agni-purāṇa*, ch. 121, v. 36) and Puṣyā (*Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa, ch. 4, v. 21). We find that on the 27th Śrāvaṇa, corresponding to 23rd July of 1184 A.D., moon was in the Uttara-Āṣāḍhā *nakṣatra*, throughout the whole day and a considerable portion of the night, and the *tithi* was *śukla-caturdaśī*. It appears that the date was astrologically suitable for coronation, so it is not unlikely that the *mūlābhiṣeka* took place on this date. We prefer this date to other earlier ones, because it is nearest to the first year of King Lakṣmaṇasena. Probably the king Ballālasena, having felt that his end had been near, repaired to the Ganges to lay down his body in that sacred river (*Beng. Inscrps.*, Vol. III, p. 174). The date of the Śaktipur grant shows that Ballāla's death could not have been later than the 7th Śrāvaṇa and earlier than the 1st of Vaiśākha of the next year, i.e. 1185 A.D.

Govindapur Charter (*ibid.*, p. 97).—It was granted on the occasion of '*rājyābhiṣeka*', which no doubt refers to his second coronation, after the death of his father. The charter was issued in the 2nd year of his reign, which corresponds to 1186-87 A.D.

Tarpandighi Charter (*ibid.*, p. 103).—It is dated '*Saṁ 2 Bhādra-dine 28*', which is equivalent to August 25, 1186 A.D. It was granted as the fee for the great gift of golden horse and chariot (*Hemāśvarathamahādāna*). The *Agni-purāṇa* (ch. 10, vs. 3-4) enjoins that this should be performed on an auspicious day. On calculation we find that it was a *Tālanavamī* or *Nandanavamī-vrata* day.

R. D. Banerji reads the date as '*Saṁ 3 Bhādra-dine 2*' (*E.I.*, Vol. XII, p. 9), which corresponds to July 30, 1187 A.D. It was the *Kṛṣṇa-Janmāṣṭamī* festival day.

Sundarban Charter (*Beng. Ins.*, p. 171).—It was granted '*puṇye hani*', i.e. on an auspicious day. The date given is '*Saṁ 2 Māgha-dine 10*', which corresponds to January 4, 1187 A.D. It was an *Aṣṭakā śrāddha* day.

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Anulia Charter (*ibid.*, p. 88).—It was granted on an auspicious day, in the 3rd year of reign, on the 9th day of Bhādra, which falls on a *Mahālayā śrāddha day*. Its English equivalent is August 6, 1187 A.D.[1]

With our present knowledge it is not possible to fix the last date of Lakṣmaṇasena or the dates of his sons. The chronology, as fixed by us, stands as below :—

1. Sāmantasena
2. Hemantasena.
3. Vijayasena (1088–1158 A.D.)
4. Ballālasena (1158–1185 A.D.)
5. Lakṣmaṇasena (1185–1205 A.D. at least)
6. & 7. Keśavasena and Viśvarūpasena.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

THE REGNAL PERIOD OF HOYSALA SOMEŚVARA

King Someśvara or Vīra-Someśvara of the Hoysala dynasty was the son and successor of Narasiṃha II ; he was also the father of Narasiṃha III and of Rāmanātha who succeeded him as rulers of the northern and southern portions respectively of the Hoysala empire. One fact worthy of mention in connection with him is, that he built for himself a new city named Vikramapura or Kaṇṇanūru in the Coḷa country and settled there in his father's life-time. Even after the death of Narasiṃha II, he seems to have, for the most part, continued to live there and not at the capital Dorasamudra (or Haḷebīḍ) ; and it is said, in an inscription at Beḷḷūru (EC., IV, Ng. 39)

[1] We are indebted to Mr. Dhirendranath Mukerji for checking some of our calculations. We have also been very much benefited by our discussion with him.

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and in other inscriptions also, that his son Narasiṃha III was ruling the Kannaḍa country (from Haḷebīḍ) with the consent of his father who was living at Kaṇṇanūru in the Coḷa country. This fact explains why there are, comparatively speaking, only few inscriptions of Someśvara in the Kannaḍa country, and why, on the other hand, a number of them are found in the Tamil country. The inscriptions in the Tamil country are written in Tamil, and are, according to the custom of that country, dated in the regnal years of Someśvara. The earliest of them (No. 18 of 1891) is dated in the 2nd year, and the latest (No. 34 of 1891), in the 29th year ; to (No. 20 of 1891 and No. 519 of 1912) are dated in the 27th year, one (No. 97 of 1891) in the 26th year and one (No. 22 of 1891) in the 25th year, while others are dated in the 5th, 6th, 17th, 21st, and 23rd years.

The inscriptions in the Kannaḍa country, on the other hand, are, according to the custom of that country, dated in the years of the Śaka era. The earliest of such inscriptions is EC. III, Nj. 36 at Badanāḷu which is dated 25th March, 1227 A.D. and says that Someśvara was reigning at Kaṇṇanūru. As his father Narasiṃha II was living in that year, Someśvara must have been ruling at Kaṇṇanūru as *Yuvarāja* or viceroy.

It is not possible to make out from the inscriptions the exact date in which Narasiṃha II died and Someśvara was anointed king. There are two inscriptions however in the Kannaḍa country, EC. VI, Tk. 87 (dated 12th June, 1239), and EC. III, Sr. 110 (dated 18th October, 1254), that couple the 5th and 21st regnal years of Someśvara with the Jovian years Vikārin and Ānanda respectively while an inscription at Adhamankoṭṭai in Salem District (No. 204 of 1910) associates the year Sādhāraṇa with his 17th regnal year ; and they indicate that Someśvara ascended the throne in the year Jaya or 1234-35 A.D. ; see Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (Bombay Gazetteer, 1896, Vol. 1, part 2), p. 508. The latest inscriptions in the Kannaḍa country that mention Someśvara as reigning are EC. V, Bl. 125 dated 26th November, 1254, *ibid.* Bl. 73 dated 14th March, 1255, and EC. IV, Hg. 10 dated 20th June, 1255. As the first of these (namely, Bl. 125) records a donation by *Śrīmat-Pratāpa-Cakravarti* Hoysaḷa śrī-Vīra-nārasiṅga-devarasa, the late Mr. Rice concluded (*EC. V, Introd.*, p. 26) that Someśvara's reign had come to an end by that time and that Narasiṃha III had ascended the throne as king, although the inscription itself mentions that the donation was made by Narasiṃha ' for the prosperity of Someśvara's kingdom '. It was thus the opinion of Rice (see his *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 97) that Someśvara became king in A.D. 1233-34 and ruled till 1254 A.D. ; and this opinion has been endorsed or adopted without questioning by many scholars ; see, for instance,

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R. Sewell, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 351 and R. Narasimhachar, *Karṇāṭaka-kavi-carite*, I, p. 299.[1]

On the other hand, it was pointed out by the late Mr. H. Krishna Sastri in his article published in the *Report of the Archæological Survey of India for* 1909-10 (pp. 150ff.) that the Tamil inscriptions of Someśvara found in the Madras Presidency show that he reigned for at least 29 years; and combining this with the statement, *yenāsau karuṇām anīyata daśāṃ Śrīraṅga-padmākaraḥ kṛtvā taṃ bhuvamāntara-praṇayinaṃ Karṇāṭa-doṣākaram* ('after causing the Moon of the Karṇāṭa country, by whom the lotus-pond, namely, Śrīraṅgam, was brought to a pitiable state, to betake himself to another world') made in an inscription (published by Hultzsch in *Ep. Indica*, III, pp. 7ff.) of the Pāṇḍya king Sundara-pāṇḍya (1254–1271 A.D.) and Hultzsch's conjecture (l.c.) that this passage refers to the killing of the Karṇāṭa king Someśvara, he opined that this happened in 1265 A.D. and that Someśvara reigned from A.D. 1234-35 till 1265. Following Mr. Krishna Sastri, I too have said in my Kannaḍa work, *Kelavu-Kannaḍa-kavigaḷa Jīvama-kāla-vicāra*, in the article on the poet Mallikārjuna (p. 185), that Someśvara certainly reigned from 1234 till 1263 A.D., and, in case the above belief of Mr. Krishna Sastri is right, till 1265 A.D. I have also referred, in the course of that article (p. 185), to the statement of the Agrahāra-Bācaḷḷi inscription (EC., IV, Kr. 9) that Someśvara's death took place before Śaka 1179, Naḷa, Vaiśākha-śuddha-ṣaṣṭhī, Saturday (i.e. 1st April, 1256 A.D.), pointed out that this statement is incorrect since many inscriptions of Someśvara in the Tamil country are dated in his 25th, 27th and 29th years, and opined that the date given in the inscription is, like those given in some other inscriptions published in EC., wrong.

This opinion has been criticized by Dr. M. H. Krishna on p. 84f. of the *Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department for* 1931.[2] Dr. Krishna prefers to take his stand on the above-mentioned inscription, EC., IV, Kr. 9, which, he thinks, gives us 'incontrovertible evidence of Someśvara's death which must have occurred before 1st April, 1256'; and he says that, since Someśvara was dead before 1st April, 1256, his regnal years mentioned in the Tamil inscriptions must be reckoned, not from 1234-35, the year when he ascended the throne, but from some year anterior to 1228 A.D.

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[1] In *ibid.*, III, p. 488, however, he has given up that opinion and endorsed the view that Someśvara reigned till A.D. 1264.

[2] And also in an article written by him and Pandit Ramanuja Cakravarti conjointly and published in the Kannaḍa journal (*Prabuddha-Karṇāṭaka* for 'Śrīmukha Kāmana-saṃcike', pp. 82ff.).

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According to him, there are two different systems of regnal years used in the inscriptions in connection with King Someśvara, one, used in the inscriptions in the Kannaḍa country, which has to be reckoned from 1234-35 A.D., the year in which Narasiṃha II died and Someśvara succeeded him as ruler of the Kannaḍa country, and the other, used in the inscriptions of the Tamil country and *reckoned from the year when Someśvara began to rule that country*. This was anterior to 1228 A.D., since, as seen above, the Badanāḷu inscription (EC. III, Nj. 36) mentions Someśvara as settled at Kaṇṇanūru in the Coḷa country in the year 1228.

In support of this view, Dr. Krishna has adduced two dates which (according to him), show that Someśvara's reign in the Tamil country began before A.D. 1228. These dates are : (1) No. 73 of 1895 : 2nd year of Someśvara, Mīna, pūrvapakṣa, trayodaśī, Monday, and Pūsya, and (2) No. 103 of 1892 : 21st year of Someśvara, Kanni, pūrvapakṣa, pañcamī, Sunday, and Anilam. The European equivalent of the first date is, according to Dr. Krishna, either (1) Monday, 1st March, 1227 A.D. on which day the nakṣatra was Āśleṣā and not Puṣya, or (2) Monday, 25th February, 1230 A.D. on which day the *tithi* was *dvādaśī* and not *trayodaśī*. The equivalent of the second date is, according to him, Sunday, 12th September, 1249 A.D. And he contends that both dates indicate that the regnal years used in Someśvara's inscriptions in the Tamil country are to be reckoned from a year anterior to A.D. 1234-35.

This opinion seems to me to be untenable. It is evident, in the first place, that the above-given equivalents of these two dates, assuming that they are correct, point to different years as the initial year of Someśvara's reign ; that is to say, it is not possible to determine from these equivalents the exact year in which Someśvara 'began to rule in the Tamil country', and these two dates are, in case the equivalents proposed for them by Dr. Krishna are correct, useless for purposes of chronology.

In reality, however, none of the two equivalents proposed by Dr. Krishna for the first of the above dates is correct ; for, on neither of these two days was the *tithi* śuddha-trayodaśī associated with the nakṣatra Puṣya. In fact, such association is impossible [1] in

[1] The true or apparent longitude of the sun at the moment of Mīna-saṃkrānti, that is, at the beginning of the solar month Mīna, is 330° according to all Siddhāntas ; and even if we suppose that this *saṃkrānti* occurred at the very moment when *śuddhadvādaśī* ended and *trayodaśī* began, that is, at the moment when the apparent distance between the moon and sun was 12 × 12° or 144°, the true position of the moon at that moment would be 144°+330° or 114°. That is to say, by the equal-space system as also by the unequal-space systems of Garga and Brahmagupta, the moon would be in the third pāda of the nakṣatra Āśleṣā and not in Puṣya.

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the solar month Mīna ; and the word *Mīna*, in the given date, refers therefore to the twelfth lunar month or Phālguna (see in this connection §31, pp. 66ff. in my *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions*). Now, in the period 1224–1237 A.D., the only Mondays that were in any way associated with Phālguna-śuddha-trayodaśī were the following,[1] namely, Monday, 1st March, 1227 A.D. (*trayodaśī* began on this day at 39 *gh.* 43 *p.*), Monday, 13th February, 1234 A.D. (*trayodaśī* ended on this day at 36 *gh.* 39 *p.*), and Monday, 9th February, 1237 A.D. (*trayodaśī* ended on this day at 28 *gh.* 36 *p.*) ; and of these Mondays, the only one [2] on which *trayodaśī* was associated with the nakṣatra Puṣya was the last-mentioned one, viz., 9th February, 1237 A.D. (on this day Puṣya ended at 1 *gh.* 18 *p.*). Clearly then, it is this day that is the equivalent of the first of the above-given dates ; and it indicates that Someśvara's reign began in A.D. 1234-35. That is to say, it becomes plain from this date that, as in the Kannaḍa country, so in the Tamil country too, the regnal years of Someśvara commenced in A.D. 1234-35. This is confirmed, not only by the second of the dates given above, but by the following three dates [3] also :—

(*a*) No. 28 of 1891 : 21st year of Someśvara, Meṣa, apara-pakṣa, daśamī, Tuesday and Śatabhiṣā ;

(*b*) No. 102 of 1892 : 23rd year of Someśvara, Dhanus, pūrva-pakṣa, navamī, Thursday and Revatī ;

(*c*) No. 176 of 1914 : 21st year of Someśvara, Meṣa, pūrva-pakṣa, trayodaśī, Sunday and Hasta.

The equivalents of these four dates are, respectively—

Sunday, 24th September, 1256 (Su-5 of Kanyā began at 23 *gh.* 28 *p.*, and Anurādhā ended at 33 *gh.* 48 *p.*).

(*a*) Tuesday, 10th April, 1257 (Meṣa = Caitra here,[4] and we have to work for the Caitra at the end of the solar

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[1] The calculation of the equivalents of Indian dates, made by me in connection with this paper, is based on the Special Tables published by Prof. Jacobi in *Ep. Indica*, Vol. XI.

Unless the contrary is expressly stated, the Siddhānta used is the Sūrya Siddhānta, and the nakṣatras mentioned are those of the equal-space system. The *ghaṭikās* and *palas* are in all cases to be counted from the moment of mean Laṅkā sunrise on the days mentioned.

[2] On Monday, 1st March, 1227, the nakṣatra current at sunrise was Āśleṣā ; it ended at 37 *gh.* 42 *p.*, after which the nakṣatra Makhā began to be current.

On Monday, 13th February, 1234, too, the nakṣatra current at sunrise was Āśleṣā ; it ended at 52 *gh.* 5 *p.* after which began the nakṣatra Makhā.

[3] I am indebted to the Superintendent of Epigraphy, Madras for kindly furnishing me with the details of these dates.

[4] See in this connection *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions*, §31, pp. 66ff.

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year. Ba-10 of this Caitra began at 6 *gh.* 52 *p.* on this day, and the nakṣatra Śatabhiṣā at 21 *gh.* 38 *p.*).

(*b*) Thursday, 5th December, 1258 (Su-9 of Dhanus began at 4 *gh.* 7 *p.* and the nakṣatra Revatī at 14 *gh.* 15 *p.*).

(*c*) Sunday, 9th April, 1256 (Su-13 of Meṣa ended at 14 *gh.* 32 *p.* and the nakṣatra Hasta at 25 *gh.* 52 *p.*).[1]

And these equivalents too show that the commencement of the reign of Hoysala Someśvara was held to fall in the year 1234-35 A.D. even in the Tamil country.

It thus becomes certain that Someśvara began his reign in the year 1234-35 A.D.; and since, as we have seen above, there is an inscription of his dated in the 29th regnal year, it is also certain that he must have been living in 1262-63. It is also not improbable that, as suggested by Mr. Krishna Sastri, he lived till 1265 A.D. and was killed in a fight with Sundara-pāṇḍya.[2]

The statement of EC. IV, Kr. 9 that he died before 1st April, 1265 is therefore incorrect; and it is in fact shown by the equivalents[3] of four of the Tamil inscriptions referred to above that he was living after that date. There can be no doubt therefore that, as suggested by me, the date has been wrongly written either by the writer or by the engraver of the inscription.

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[1] In the *Madras Epigraphist's Report for* 1914, the late Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has given as the equivalent of this date Sunday, 12th April, 1253 A.D., and has observed that it was the 20th (and not the 21st year of Someśvara), and that the solar date was the 20th and not the 21st of Meṣa. These observations shows that he was labouring under a confusion, that he took the figure '21' given in the date as referring to the regnal year and also to the day of the solar month. There is in fact no reference in the date to the day of the solar month; and Swamikannu Pillai's equivalent is hence wrong.

[2] It is also possible that the expression 'Moon of the Karṇāṭa' employed in Sundara-pāṇḍya's inscription denotes, not the Hoysala King Someśvara, but some general of his who bore the name Soma and who pillaged Śrīraṅgam. There were many generals in Someśvara's service who bore the name Soma. We thus find, for instance, a Sōvidēva-daṇṇāyaka mentioned in an inscription at Cikkōli, dated in 1244 A.D. (*Mysore Archæological Report* for 1911, p. 48), and a *mahā-pradhāna* Sōmeya-daṇṇāyaka who is apparently different from the above, mentioned in an inscription, likewise dated in 1224 A.D., at Hāranahaḷḷi (*ibid.*, 1912-13, p. 38). Further, an aḷiya-Somaya-daṇṇāyaka, who held the office of *mahāpradhāna* and had the biruda *maṇḍalka-Murāri*, is mentioned in an inscription at Śivāyam in Trichinopoly District (No. 49 of 1913) as serving Someśvara in the Tamil country.

[3] Dr. Krishna's assertion (in the *Prabuddha-Karṇāṭaka*, l.c., p. 89) that 'neither in the Tamil, nor in the Kannaḍa country, has any inscription of Someśvara been found with a date later than 1256 A.D.' is shown to be unfounded by these equivalents.

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In his article in the *Prabuddha-Karṇāṭaka* (p. 90), Dr. Krishna has pointed out that the inscriptions of Narasiṃha III in the Kannaḍa country and of Rāmanātha in the Tamil country represent these kings as ruling in 1257 and following years and give them full imperial titles ; and he has therefore argued that this fact too shows that Someśvara was dead by that time. This reasoning is fallacious ; for, as Dr. Krishna has himself remarked (p. 89 l.c.), it was a well-known custom in the Tamil country for kings to associate the heir-apparent with themselves in the administration. The fact that Rāmanātha's inscriptions represent his reign to have commenced in 1256 A.D. shows only that Someśvara associated him with himself in the rule of the Tamil country in that year, and does not prove that Someśvara was dead by that time.

Similarly there can be no doubt that Narasiṃha III too was associated by Someśvara with himself in the rule of the Kannaḍa country at that time ; and in fact, it is very probable that it was in the year 1256 A.D. that Someśvara divided his empire into two portions and made over one portion comprising the Tamil country to his younger son Rāmanātha, and the other portion comprising the Kannaḍa country to the elder son Narasiṃha III, ceasing thereafter to take an active part in the administration of the empire. That he however continued to live after 1256 A.D. is shown by the inscriptions in the Tamil country referred to above. This seems to be shown by an inscription in the Kannaḍa country also, namely, EC. V, Bl. 74 in the following passage : so ' yaṃ samasta-praśasti-vistāra-viṣayībhūta-vimalatara-vicitra-caritraḥ | ripu-narapati-timira-haraṇa - dakṣa-pracaṇḍa - prabhā - bhāsita-nikhila-jaladhi-valaya-gotrah | nānā-sāmanta-cakra-cūḍāmaṇi-gaṇa-kiraṇa-caya-nīrājitāṅghri-yugalaḥ | śrīman-Nārasiṃho mahīpālaḥ svakīya-Hoysaḷa-maṇḍale nikhila-lakṣmī-vilāsāśrayāṃ sva-janaka-prema-pratiṣṭhāpita-prājya-rājya-sampadaṃ Dorasamudrākhyāṃ nija-rājadhānīm adhivasan. The epithet *svakīya* that is applied in this passage to his portion of territory is not very significant and seems, in fact, to be used in other inscriptions also. But the epithet *sva-janaka-prema-pratiṣṭhāpita-prājya-rājya-sampadam* that is applied to his capital Dorasamudra is significant and seems to indicate that Someśvara was still living at that time. The allusion to the ' love of his father ' and to the latter's solicitude in seeing that Dorasamudra contained everything befitting its position as capital would be apposite only if Someśvara were living at the time when the inscription was written ; it would be out of place if Someśvara had been dead at that time. And it hence seems to me that the above passage was written at a time when Someśvara was living and that it indicates that Someśvara

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was living on 15th March, 1261 A.D. on which day the above inscription is dated.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.

KĀVYA STYLE IN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SUCCESSORS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

G. Bühler in his famous article entitled *The Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry* (translated from German in *Ind. Ant.*, XLII, 1913) has proved the existence of a Kāvya literature in Sanskrit and Prakrit during the first five centuries of the Christian era and showed that a great period of literature following the style of the poetic school of Vidarbha (Berar) lies before the middle of the fourth century A.D. The poetic citations in the *Mahābhāṣya* (*Ind. Ant.*, XIV, pp. 326ff.) by Patañjali (second century B.C.), exhibiting metres characteristic of artificial poetry, such as Mālatī, Pramitākṣarā, Praharṣiṇī and Vasantatilakā and many verses in the Anuṣṭubh agree fully, as regards contents and the mode of expression, with the court Kāvyas. The *Buddhacarita* (translated into Chinese between 414 and 421 A.D.) by Aśvaghoṣa, said to have been a contemporary of Kaṇiṣka, also shows a marvellous development of the Kāvya style. The description of the literary capacity of a Śaka prince named Rudradāman (*c.* 130–150 A.D.) in the Junagadh record as *sphuṭa-laghu-madhura-citra-kānta-śabda-samay-odār-ālaṃkṛta-gadya-padya-*[* *kāvya-vidhāna-pravīna*] which marvellously agrees with the principles of the Vaidharbhī style explained by Daṇḍin (*Kāvyādarśa*, I, 41-42) and Bharata (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. XVI), and the prose style of the Junagadh record (150 A.D.) itself and of the Nasik inscription of the nineteenth year of Rudradāman's Sātavāhana contemporary Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi show, according to Bühler (p. 34 note), that 'in the second century, there had been many superior and more elaborate compositions; because the author of the Girnar (i.e. Junagadh) inscription was only an obscure provincial writer and the author of the Nasik inscription was only a court-poet of the Andhra (i.e. Sātavāhana) king.' Bühler has in this connection examined from *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, some eighteen inscriptions, which are partly or wholly metrical and of definitely known date, including (*a*) the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, described as a *Kāvya* by its author Hariṣeṇa, (*b*) the Junagadh inscription of Gupta years 136–138 (456–58 A.D.) described as a *Grantha* and (*c*) the Mandasor inscription of Mālava year 529

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(473-74 A.D.) described as a *Praśasti* by its author Vatsabhaṭṭi. The dates of the records examined fall in the period between 350 and 550 A.D. From the great number of similar inscriptions of the period, Bühler suggested that in the above period 'the use of the Kāvya style in inscriptions, especially in longer ones, was in vogue and from this very circumstance it follows that court-poetry was jealously cultivated in India'.

It should be noticed that, in considering the question, Bühler did not take into account the inscriptions of the Vākāṭaka and other successors of the Sātavāhanas. The reason seems to be that early writers like Bühler and Kielhorn did not think the records of many of these dynasties, e.g. the Vākāṭaka records, earlier than the middle of the sixth century A.D. It was therefore easy for Bühler to remark (p. 34 note), 'It is however very questionable whether the poetic art had reached in Southern India that degree of development which it had reached at the special centres of intellectual life, in northern India'. But evidence shows that Bühler's doubts are unjustified. It is true that the Prakrit language, which gradually began to die out from North Indian inscriptions as early as about the beginning of the second century A.D., lingered on in the records of southern India as late as the first half of the fourth century. It is also true that many of the southern inscriptions are written in a matter-of-fact style. But that the Kāvya style was cultivated in southern India is perfectly established by a number of South Indian inscriptions, especially those belonging to the family of the Kadambas. The poetic genius of the authors of the Junagadh and Nasik inscriptions was certainly inherited by their successors in the Vākāṭaka and Kadamba courts and, patronized by the Cālukyas, found in Ravikīrti a rival of Bhāravi and Kālidāsa.

The Vākāṭakas ruled the greater part of upper Deccan before the rise of the Cālukyas about the middle of the sixth century. All the Vākāṭaka grants are therefore to be assigned to a period anterior to 550 A.D. Most of their records are however written in elegant Sanskrit prose; but the prose style is not so artificial as that of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. Bühler has rightly remarked, 'it was a familiar custom in the fifth century to glorify the erection of temples and other edifices, by means of such occasional compositions'. The Vākāṭaka records, it should be noted, are ordinary land grants and cannot therefore claim to have been written in the style of *Praśastis, Granthas* or (*Gadya-*) *Kāvyas*. But the prose style of the Vākāṭaka records is as artificial as that of the contemporary ordinary land grants belonging to the Guptas. We know that Daṇḍin defines *ojo-guṇa* as *samāsa-bhūyastva* and describes it as the very life of artificial prose (*ojaḥ samāsa-*

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bhūyastvam=etad=gadyasya jīvitam ; Kāvyādarśa, I, 70). This *ojaḥ* is characteristic of the prose style of the Vākāṭaka records. The Chammak, Dudia and other records describe the Vākāṭaka King Pravarasena I in a compound phrase containing no less than thirty-six syllables. The Bhāraśiva relatives of the Vākāṭakas are described in several inscriptions as *aṃsa-bhāra-sanniveśita-śivaliṅg-odvahana-śiva-supari-tuṣṭa-samutpādita-rājavaṃśānāṃ parākram-ādhigata-bhāgīrathy-amala-jala-mūrdhv-ābhiṣiktānāṃ daś-āśvamedh-āvabhṛtha-snānānām* (33+21+11 syllables). The plurality of adjectival phrases, reference to epic characters in passages like *yudhiṣṭhira-vṛtti* and the length of sentences in these records exhibit the artificial nature of the style. It should also be noted that verses are sometimes found in the prose inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas. The Dudia grant of Prabhāvatīguptā, as for example, begins with the following verse in *anuṣṭubh* metre and Vaidarbhī style :

Vākāṭaka-lalāmasya krama-prāpta-nṛpa-śriyaḥ,
Jananyā yuvarājasya śāsanaṃ ripu-śāsanaṃ.

The figures of speech exhibited by this verse are *Anuprāsa* and *Yamaka*. Records like the Ajanta inscription of the Vākāṭaka King Harisena are wholly metrical and show that the Vākāṭaka court-poets were not of mean order. This record is fragmentary ; but the existing *pādas* show that many metres characteristic of artificial poetry were used by the poet. *Pādas* like *purandar-opendra-sama-prabhāvaḥ sva-bāhu-vīry-ārjita-sarva-lokaḥ ; pravaraṣeṇaḥ pṛthu-pīna-vakṣāḥ saroruh-ākṣaḥ kṣapit-āri-pakṣaḥ* ; etc., and the only existing complete verse :

Ari-narendra-mauli-vinyasta-maṇi-kiraṇ-āvalīḍha-kram-āmbujaḥ,
Pravarasenas=tasya putro='bhūd=vikaśan=nav-endīvar-ekṣaṇaḥ,

prove that the author of the Ajanta record tried to show his skill in the Kāvya style. Repetition of the hard sound *kṣa* in the line beginning with *pravaraṣeṇaḥ pṛthu°* shows that the poet preferred the Gauḍīya-rīti of poetry to the Vaidarbhī.[1]

The earliest records of the successors of the Sātavāhanas in Lower Deccan are written in Prakrit prose. That the influence of the Sātavāhana court-poets was still working on their successors in South Indian courts is proved by the artificial style exhibited by some of the Ikṣvāku records discovered at Nagarjunikonda. The artificial

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[1] The existence of Kāvya literature in the Vākāṭaka period is also proved by the existence of a Prakrit poem called *Setubandha* described in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* as the work of Pravarasena who has been identified with Pravarasena II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty.

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nature of the style of the Ikṣvāku court poet is shown not only by the *ojo-guṇa* and the length of sentences in the Ikṣvāku inscriptions, but also by the mode of glorifying the Buddha and the reigning king's ancestor with a large number of epithets some of which exhibit figures of speech characteristic of the Kāvya style. Most of the Nagarjunikonda records begin with an adoration to Lord Buddha—*namo bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa supabudha-bodhino savañuno sava-sat-ānukaṃpakasa jita-rāga-dosa-moha-vipamutasa mahāgani-vasabha-gaṃdhahathisa saṃma-sabudhasa dhātuvara-parigahitasa.* In one of these records, the adoration is—*namo bhagavato ikhāku-rāja-pravara-risi-sata-pabhava-vaṃsa-bhavasa deva-manusa-sava-sata-hita-sukha-maga-desikasa jita-kāma-kodha-bhaya-harisa-tarisa-moha-dosasa da-pita-māra-dapa-māna-pasamanakarasa dasabala-mahabalasa aṭhaṃga-maga-dhamacaka-pavatakasa caka-lakhaṇa-sukumāra-sujāta-caraṇasa taruṇa-divasakara-pabhasa sarada-sasi-sama-darisanasa sava-loka-cita-mahitasa budhasa* (4+20+19+19+16+9+14+16+11+12 +10 syllables). At least the figurative expressions *taruṇa-divasa-kara-pabha* and *sarada-sasi-sama-darisana* are conceived quite in the Kāvya style. But such is not the case with the adoration only ; the earlier king Cāṃtamūla I is generally glorified in his son's and grandson's records as *virūpākha-pati-mahāsena-parigahitasa agihot-āgiṭhoma-vājapey-āsamedha-yājisa hiraṇa-koṭi-go-satasahasa-hala-satasahasa-padāyisa savathesu apatihata-saṃkapasa vāsiṭhiputasa ikhākusa siri-cāṃtamūlasa* (16+17+22, etc., syllables).

The early Sanskrit records of South-Eastern Deccan are written in prose. They are not composed on special occasions like erection of temples or other edifices and are not to be classed with *Gadya-kāvyas.* But that the writers of these records were not unfamiliar with the artificial style of Sanskrit prose is proved by the *ojo-guṇa* of the records. Reference may be made to the description of Mādhavavarman I in the records of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family. The Chikkulla grant describes him with seven epithets the longest having no less than fifty-five syllables. The longest epithet describing Mādhavavarman I in the Ramatirtham plates contains as many as forty-nine syllables. It is however better to refer to the Ipur and Polamuru grants of Mādhavavarman I himself who ruled in *circa* 535–585 A.D. The Polamuru grant contains an epithet which has sixty syllables.

Ipur grant—*smṛti-mati-bala-sattva-dhairya-vīrya-vinaya-saṃpan-naḥ sakala-mahīmaṇḍala-manujapati-pratipūjita-śāsanas=trivara-na-gara-bhavana-gata-yuvati-hṛdaya-nandanaḥ sva-naya-bala-vijita-sakala-sāmant-ātula-bala-vinaya-naya-niyama-sattva-saṃpannaḥ sakala-jagad-avanipati-pratipūjita-śāsanaḥ agniṣṭoma-sahasra-yāji-hiraṇya-garbha-prasūta = ekādaś-āśvamedh-āvabhṛtha-vidhūta-jagat-kalmaṣaḥ*

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susthira-karma-mahārāja-śrī-mādhavavarmā (18+21+20+31+18+17+18+15 syllables).

Polamuru grant—*atula-bala-parākrama-yaśo-dāna-vinaya-sampanno daśaśata-sakala-dharaṇītala-narapatir=avasita-vividha-divyas=trivara-nagara-bhavana-gata-parama-yuvati-jana-viharaṇa-ratir=ananya-nṛpati-sādhāraṇa-dāna-māna-dayā-dama-dhṛti-mati-kṣānti-śaurya-audārya-gāmbhīrya-prabhṛty-aneka-guṇa-sampaj-janita-raya-samutthita-bhūmaṇḍala-vyāpi-vipula-yaśāḥ kratu-sahasra-yājī hiraṇyagarbha-prasūta=ekādaś-āśvamedh-āvabhṛtha-snāna-vigata-jagad-enaskaḥ sarva-bhūta-parirakṣaṇa-cuñcur=vidvad-dvija-guru-vṛddha-tapasvi-jan-āśra-yo mahārājaḥ śrīmādhavavarmā* (19+16+9+25+60+7+8+20+11+15+4+6 syllables).

The Early Kadambas who succeeded the Cuṭu-Śātakarṇis in South-Western Deccan in the first half of the fourth century were ousted from that region by the Cālukyas about the middle of the sixth century when the latter established themselves at Badami. Excepting the Talgunda inscription of Śāntivarman, no other early record of the Kadambas can be said to have been composed on special occasions like the inscriptions examined by Bühler. Nevertheless, the small Kadamba records, many of which are wholly or partly metrical, contain in them verses which are specimen of excellent poetry. We give below a collection of the *namaskāra* verses from different records of the Early Kadambas and the reader will see that they would make a *maṅgalācaraṇa* suitable to any work of the best writers of Sanskrit poetry.

Jayati bhagavān jinendro guṇarundraḥ prathita-parama-kāruṇikaḥ,
Trailoky-āśvāsakarī dayā-patak-occhritā yasya.
Jayaty=arhaṃs=trilokeśaḥ sarva-bhūta-hitaṃkaraḥ,
Rāg-ādy-ari-haro='nanto='nanta-jñāna-dṛg-īśvaraḥ.

Jayati sur-āsura-makuṭa-praṇihita-maṇi-kiraṇa-khacita-caraṇa-yugaḥ,
Daṇḍa-kamaṇḍalu-hastaḥ padma-pravar-āsano brahmā.

Jayaty=udrikta-daity-endra-bala-vīrya-vimardanaḥ,
Jagat-pravṛtti-saṃhāra-sṛṣṭi-māyādharo hariḥ.
Jitaṃ bhagavatā tena viṣṇuṇā yasya vakṣasi,
Śrīḥ svayaṃ bhāti devaś=ca nābhi-padme pitāmahaḥ.
Jayaty=ambujagehāyā patir=viṣṇuḥ sanātanaḥ,
Varāha-rūpeṇa dharā yo dadhāra yuga-kṣaye.

Jayati-viśva-saṃghāta-nicit-aika-mūrtiḥ sanātanaḥ,
Sthāṇur=indu-raśmi-vicchūrita-dyuti-maj-jaṭā-mukuṭa-maṇḍanaḥ.

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Jayati dhruva-bāl-endu-jaṭā-mukuṭa-maṇḍanaḥ,
Asādhya-nidhanaḥ śaṃbhur=viśveśo jagatāṃ patiḥ.

Hara-nārāyaṇa-brahma-tritayāya namaḥ sadā,
Śūla-cakr-ākṣasūtr-odgha-bhava-bhāsita-pāṇine.

The first of these verses written in the Āryā metre occurs in several inscriptions the earliest belonging to the time when Kākusthavarman was a *yuvarāja* and some eighty years passed since Mayūraśarman established Kadamba power in Kuntala about the middle of the fourth century.

When we find such beautiful lines as the following in a small and quite ordinary grant like the Halsi grant of Mṛgeśavarman's eighth year we cannot but think that the Kadamba court-poet was a consummate artist.

Kadamba-kula-satketor=hetoḥ puṇy-aika-saṃpadām,
Śrī-kākustha-narendrasya sūnur=bhānur=iv=āparaḥ.
Śrī-śāṇtivaravarm-eti rājā rājīva-locanaḥ,
Khal-eva vanit-ākṛṣṭā yena lakṣmīr=dvisad-gṛhāt.
Tat-priya-jyeṣṭha-tanayaḥ śrī-mṛgeśa-narādhipaḥ,
Lok-aika-dharma-vijayī dvija-sāmanta-pūjitaḥ.
Matvā dānaṃ daridrāṇāṃ mahāphalam=it=īva yaḥ,
Svayaṃ bhaya-daridro='pi śatrubhyo='dān=mahad-bhayam.
Tuṅga-gaṅga-kul-otsādī pallava-pralay-ānalaḥ, etc.

To illustrate how the writer of an ordinary small land grant brings in epic characters, we may refer to the Bennur grant of Kṛṣṇavarman II.

Yathā yudhiṣṭhirasy=eva śālāyāṃ yasya santatam,
Brāhmaṇānāṃ sahasrāṇi samaśnāti yathāsukham.
Sa rājā rāja-rājasya pranaptā kṛṣṇavarmaṇaḥ,
Pautraḥ śrī-viṣṇudāsasya putraḥ śrī-siṃhavarmaṇaḥ.
Śaśvad=brahmottaraṃ kurvan prajāś=ca paripālayan,
Mahī-vinihata-mitraḥ kṛṣṇo jayatu kṛṣṇavat.

In this connection we should also note the Bannahalli grant of the same king, which describes his grandfather Viṣṇuvarman (about the end of the fifth century) as *gandharva-hastiśikṣā-dhanurvedeṣu vatsarāj-endr-ārjuna-sama* and *śabdārtha-nyāya-vidvat.* We are here to notice not only the reference to epic and historical characters like Vatsarāja, Indra and Arjuna, but also to the fact that Kadamba Viṣṇuvarman claimed to have been skilled in *gandharva* (music), *śabda* (words), *artha* (their *vācya*, i.e. expressed, *lakṣya*, i.e. indicated and *vyaṅga*, i.e. suggested import), and *nyāya* (logical method). It is

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interesting that the poet (*kavi*) Śāba-Vīrasena, the *saciva* of Candragupta II, also describes himself in the Udayagiri cave inscription as skilled in *śabda, artha*, and *nyāya* (cf. *kautsaḥ śāba iti khyāto vīrasenaḥ kul-ākhyayā, śabd-ārtha-nyāya-lokajñaḥ kaviḥ pāṭaliputrakaḥ*). Evidently Kadamba Viṣṇuvarman claimed to have been a musician and poet like Samudragupta and his court encouraged artists like that of the Gupta king and of the Śaka king Rudradāman.

The metrical portions of the Early Kadamba records generally contain fine verses written in the Vaidarbhī style. As it is not possible to quote all of them we satisfy ourselves only with two excellent verses in the Upajāti (Indravajrā+Upendravajrā) metre from a little charter of the time of Ravivarman.

Śrī-viṣṇuvarma-prabhṛtīn=narendrān=nihatya jitvā pṛthivīṃ samastām,
Utsādya kāñc-īśvara-caṇḍadaṇḍaṃ palāśikāyāṃ samavasthitaḥ saḥ.
Raviḥ kadamb-oru-kul-āṃbarasya guṇ-āṃśubhir=vyāpya jagat-samastam,
Mānena catvāri nivarttanāni dadau jinendrāya mahīṃ mahendraḥ.

The only Early Kadamba inscription that was composed on a special subject is the Talgunda record of Śāntivarman (middle of the fifth century). It describes how a tank was constructed by Kākusthavarman, father of Śāntivarman, for a temple of Śiva. It is written in verse and can justly claim to be called a *Grantha*. The name of the poet is not recorded; but his work shows that his literary talent was not of mean order. We give here an analysis of the Talgunda inscription.

The inscription may be conveniently divided into four parts; Part I deals with *maṅgalācaraṇa* and *namaskāra*; Part II with the early history and glories of the family to which the hero of the performance belongs; Part III with the description of the hero and his performance, and Part IV with conclusion and benediction.

Part I. The record begins with the auspicious word *siddhaṃ* and a verse in adoration to Sthāṇu, i.e. Śiva. The *namaskāra* is then extended to learned Brāhmaṇas well-versed in the Ṛk., Yajus and Sāma Vedas.

Part II. Kākusthavarman, the hero of the performance, is introduced, as well as the family to which he belongs. The story how the family was named Kadamba owing to its early members tending a Kadamba tree with care. The birth of Mayūraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba family, and his exploits. His quarrel with the Pallava kings of Kāñcī and victorious campaigns against the

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Pallavas and the Bṛhad-Bāṇas. His installation by the king of Kāñcī on the throne of the kingdom lying between the Prehāra and the Western Ocean. Description of his *abhiṣeka* by Ṣaḍānana and the Mothers. His son Kaṅgavarman, grandson Bhagīratha, and great-grandson Raghu.

Part III. Description of Raghu's brother and successor Kakusthavarman, the hero of the performance. The prosperity of the Kadamba kingdom during his reign. His daughters married to princes of the Gupta and other royal families. How his feudatories obeyed him. How he constructed a *taḍāka* in (the compound of) the *siddhālaya* of Bhagavān Bhava, i.e. Śiva, which had been occasionally visited by such ancient kings as Śātakarṇi.

Part IV. Adoration to the Bhagavān, i.e. Śiva, residing at Sthāna- kūndura, i.e. Talgunda, in the kingdom of king Śāntivarman who wore three diadems. Benediction—Happiness for the dwelling, i.e. the temple, and prosperity for the subjects.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

NOTES ON THE GODLING MAHĀKĀLA WORSHIPPED BY THE RĀJBANSIS OF THE JALPAIGURI DISTRICT IN NORTHERN BENGAL

The Kochs are a people of Mongoloid origin, and are stated by anthropologists to have entered Bengal from the east through the valley of the Bramhaputra River. They arrived in Bengal towards the end of the 15th century or the commencement of the 16th century A.D., when Hājo founded the Koch kingdom on the downfall of the ancient Empire of Kamrupa. During the reign of his grandson Visu, the Kochs became semi-Hinduized and adopted the name of *Rajbansis*, that is to say, '*Of the royal race*'. They are, now, recognized as a distinct caste of the Hindus. From the census of 1901, it appeared that they formed $\frac{2}{5}$ths of the total population of the Jalpaiguri district.

After they had become Hinduized and had adopted Hindu manners and customs, they began to worship a number of Hindu godlings and goddesslings along with their old tribal deities.

Among the godlings worshipped by the Rājbansis in their Hinduized stage of existence, is one named Mahākāla or '*the Great Death*'. They call this deity Mahākāla Thākur and believe that he

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presides over the hills and jungles. They further state that if this godling is not propitiated with the performance of suitable rites and with the presentation of suitable offerings, he becomes very angry and sends down tigers and leopards to kill the people. They are so much afraid of this godling that, in the oath taken by them to speak the truth, they refer to their fear of this deity in the following words :—

'I shall speak the truth. *If I speak not the truth, may I and my wife and children be destroyed by Mahākāla (the deity who rules over the wild animals). Let tigers and bears kill us.* Let sickness seize us and all belonging to us. Let all perish and die.' [1]

Though this godling's name *Mahākāla* is a Sanskrit word and signifies '*Great Death*', this deity appears to be of animistic origin. When the Kochs entered Bengal from the east through the valley of the Brambaputra River, they were in a very low plane of culture and believed in the existence of a number of invisible beings or spirits, both benevolent and malevolent who were ever on the alert either to do them good or to cause them trouble and sickness. The dark and impenetrable forests that covered the Koch kingdom in those ancient times were haunted by numerous tigers, bears and other ravenous wild beasts which committed depredations upon the inhabitants of the Koch villages. Being stricken with terror at the deadly havoc committed by these ferocious denizens of the jungles, the ignorant Koch villagers imagined that these wild animals must be the myrmidons of some malevolent power or entity whom they personified into a supernatural being and whom they dubbed with the designation of *Mahākāla*. This invisible power, entity, or spirit is, to quote the well-known words of the famous anthropologist Sir Herbert Risley, one of 'the shifting and shadowy company of unknown powers or tendencies making for evil rather than for good, which reside in the primeval forest, in the crumbling hills, in the rushing river, in the spreading tree, which give its spring to the tiger, its venom to the snake, which generate jungle fever, and walk abroad in the terrible guise of cholera, smallpox, or murrain'.[2]

These Kochs, in their Hinduized stage of existence and under their Hindu designation of Rājbansis, also live in the adjoining district of Rangpur. In this new habitation of theirs, they, in addition to worshipping the principal Hindu deities, show their homage to a

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[1] *Vide The Gazetteer of Jalpaiguri*, by John F. Gruning, I.C.S. Printed at the Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1911, page 38.

[2] *Vide The People of India*, by Sir Herbert Risley, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Second Edition, Calcutta and Simla : Thacker, Spink & Co., 1915, page 224.

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number of godlings and goddesslings among whom is included a godling named Sonārāya who is said to preside over wild beasts.[1]

Now arises the question : Whether Mahākāla and Sonārāya are two different and distinct deities or whether they are one and the same deity figuring under two distinct names ?

For the purpose of answering the foregoing question, I shall have to take into consideration the under-mentioned facts :—

In my paper entitled : *' On the Cult of Sonārāya in Northern Bengal '*, which has been published at pages 141–172 of Vol. VIII of *The Journal of the Department of Letters of the Calcutta University*, I have shown that the agriculturists in the district of Rangpur in Northern Bengal worship the tiger-deity Sonārāya Thākura (बाघेर देवता) not only for the purpose of being immune from the depredations of tigers but also for obtaining other boons which are : (*a*) that the family-members, cattle and wealth of the worshipper may increase, (*b*) that they may receive honour in the office and at Court.

Then again in my paper entitled : *' On the Cult of Sonārāya in Eastern Bengal '* which has been published at pages 173–197 of the same volume of the aforementioned journal, I have shown how the same cult-hero Sonārāya is looked upon and prayed to as a *Pir* or a Musalman saint in the district of Pābnā and its adjacent parts in Eastern Bengal. I have further shown that, just as in the case of the tiger-deity Bāghāi (बाघाइ) of the district of Mymensingh in Eastern Bengal, the festival in adoration of the Pir Sonārāya is also held on the Pous-Sankranti day or the last day of the Bengali month of Pous (December-January).

Then again, in my paper entitled : *' On the Cult of Sonārāya in the district of Rājshāhi in Northern Bengal '*, which has been published in *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XIII, pages 1–12, I have described and dealt with the folk-rites which are performed in the district of Rajshahi in Northern Bengal for the propitiation of the cult-hero Sonārāya in his capacity as a Pir or Musalman saint.

On a careful consideration of the foregoing facts, I find that the Rājbansis of the district of Jalpaiguri, who are now recognized as a distinct Hindu caste, have dubbed the animistic spirit or supernatural being who rules over and controls the tigers with the name of Mahākāla ; while the Rājbansis of the adjoining district of Rangpur have conferred on the same spirit the name of Sonārāya. Then

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[1] *Vide The Gazetteer of Rangpur*, by J. A. Vas, B.A., LL.B., I.C.S, printed at the Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1911, pages 44-45.

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again, the Musalmans of the district of Pābnā in Eastern Bengal and of the district of Rajshahi in Northern Bengal also pray to the same spirit under the designation of Pir Sonārāya or Saint Sonārāya. This being so, I am decidedly of opinion that Mahākāla and Sonārāya are one and the same deity figuring under two different names.

Then arises the further question: Whether the tiger-spirit Mahākāla or Sonārāya is represented by symbols in any of the aforementioned districts?

I shall answer this question by saying that, only in the district of Jalpaiguri in Northern Bengal, the animistic conception about the tiger-deity, which had originally been personified into the supernatural being named Mahākāla, is now gradually being materialized into a symbol bearing the same name.

I have already shown in my paper entitled: '*A Note on Fetish-Worship in the Jalpaiguri District in Northern Bengal*' which has been published in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XVII, pages 205–208, that such a symbol named Mahākāla is now worshipped on the bank of the Karalā River in the heart of Jalpaiguri town. I am not aware whether the tiger-spirit named Sonārāya has been materialized into a symbol in the districts of Rangpur, Pabna and Rajshahi.

From a careful examination of what has been written above, we find that the afore-described belief is not only prevalent among the Hindus of North Bihar but is also current among the Uriyas of Orissa, the Mahrathas and the Guzrathis of the Bombay Presidency and the pre-Dravidian Santals of the Santal Pargannas. This shows that the Hindus of North Bihar, Orissa and of the Bombay Presidency were, in ancient times, in the animistic level of culture and believed in the existence of spirits or invisible beings, some of whom were malevolent and some benevolent and either did mischief to or conferred some benefits on their votaries. It is these latter spirits that loaned out utensils to needy travellers and persons and the aforementioned belief is a vestige of the reminiscence of the benefits conferred by the aforementioned spiritual benefactors.

Further researches will, perhaps, bring to light the prevalence of this belief among other peoples living in other parts of India.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

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NOTES ON A NORTH BIHARI BELIEF ABOUT THE WATER DEITY OR WATER SPIRIT

In my paper entitled: '*Studies in the Cults of the District of Champaran in North Bihar. No. IV.—The Cult of the Godling Ajgaibi Nātha*', which has been published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for March–June, 1924, I have described the shrine of the village-deity *Ajgaibi Nātha* or *Nātha Bābā* and the mode of worshipping his deityship. I have further stated therein that, in former times, persons who intended to go on journeys to other and far-off places and who were too poor to afford the expense of buying a bell-metal platter (*thāli*) for eating out from and a pot of the same metal for drinking out from, used to pray to this godling *Ajgaibi Nātha* supplicating that his godlingship would take pity on their poverty and give them the required utensils. I have further stated therein that his godlingship used to give a favourable ear to the would-be travellers and, by a miracle, used to cause the aforementioned utensils to float upon the surface of the water of the neighbouring *jheel*.

Since writing the above, I have come to know that the aforedescribed belief that a supernatural being or water-spirit supplies needy travellers with utensils, is also prevalent in other parts of India.

In a paper entitled: '*The Way to the Pantheon*' which was read before the Section of Anthropology of the seventeenth session of the Indian Science Congress, held at Allahabad, in January 1930, Mr. Sachindra Narayan Ray of Cuttack has stated that there is a tradition current in Orissa to the effect that the presiding goddesses of old tanks used to loan out utensils for the mere asking.

The same belief also prevails in the Bombay Presidency. The villagers of Western India say that the water-nymphs, who reside in the pools and other reservoirs of water, were in the habit of lending out pots for marriage festivities, if a written application was made to them one day previous to that fixed for the performance of the wedding ceremonies. The loan was given on the distinct understanding that the lent-out pots should be returned to the nymphs within a stipulated period. It is further reported that, on one occasion, a man to whom the pots had been loaned out, failed to return them to the lenders within the stipulated time. Consequently the water-nymphs have since then ceased to loan out these pots.[1]

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[1] *Vide* The Folklore of Bombay. By R. E. Enthoven. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1924, page 102.

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The aforementioned belief, in a modified form, is also prevalent among the Santals who are a pre-Dravidian people living in the Santal Pargannas of the province of Bihar. In this Santali form of the belief, which is described below, it is not a water-spirit or water-nymph who provides the needy traveller or person with utensils, but a spirit or supernatural being living upon a tree that does so.

It is reported that Sarjon-ghutu is a village about 4 miles distant from Barhait Bazar on the banks of the Badi River. On the banks of this river there grows a large *banyan* tree (*Ficus indica*) which is inhabited by a *bonga* or spirit. The villagers have appointed this *bonga* as their headman, because any human headman whom they appoint dies soon after his appointment. This spirit decides the disputes of the villagers. The villagers have very amicable relations with this ghostly headman. If any of them has a marriage ceremony or a number of visitors to entertain in his house, and does not possess a sufficient number of plates and dishes, he goes to the banyan tree and asks the *bonga* headman to loan out some to him. Then he goes back to his house and, returning after a short time, finds the plates and dishes kept in readiness for him under that tree. After he has done with them, he cleans those plates and dishes well and takes them back to the banyan tree.[1]

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

HIRED LABOUR IN ANCIENT INDIA

The position of hired unskilled labour in ancient Indian social economy is still obscure. Only a few data may be gathered from the law-books and the Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya and from certain incidental references in folk literature. By collation of these rules and references, lacking in details as they are, it may be safely inferred that living was not easy for all, that want and plenty prevailed side by side and that although people held it degrading to work for hire, the number of persons reduced to such straits was by no means negligibly small. In the Jātaka tales they are seen working in diminutive gangs under big merchants and farmers and individually with citizens for menial household work along with the slaves who stood in the next higher level in economic gradation. Leaving aside

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[1] *Vide* The Folklore of the Santal Parganas. By C. H. Bompas. London: David Nutt, 1909, p. 379.

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the better artisans who were more or less organized in guilds and had the instruments for collective bargaining to secure good terms of agreement, the unskilled 'hands' are found in five categories: (1) in agricultural labour employed for tillage, watching and harvesting of crops, etc.; (2) in pastoral labour employed for tending and grazing cattle and for dairy production; (3) in industrial labour employed for spinning or weaving or other manufactures; (4) in mercantile labour employed for hawking wares; and (5) in household labour employed for domestic service. Besides these, were sundry job-seekers without any fixed employment who stood between vagrancy and starvation, who eked out a miserable existence by any chance engagement, whose services might be requisitioned for a month, or fortnight, or even a day (Bṛhaspati, XVI, 9) and who sometimes offered themselves for a particular work apparently with many masters at a time, e.g. the water-carrier of the Gangamāla Jātaka (bhatiko udakabhatiṃ katvā) of whom we shall know more anon.

The wage-earner was commonly paid in money but he might be paid also in food or in both (Kaut. Arth., II, xxiv; Bṛhaspati, XVI, 13). In the Takkala Jātaka by working for hire or ploughing in the fields he procures rice gruel 'and thus fed his father in a manner suiting his station in life' (bhatiṃ vā kasiṃ vā katvā laddhavibhavānurūpena yāgubhattādini sampādetvā pitaraṃ posesi—IV, 43). Other curious mediums of payment are also mentioned in the Jātakas. In the higher courses of learning the pupils are admitted by teachers for an honorarium or for personal attendance and between the two, discrimination is made in favour of the former (Dhammantevāsikā divā ācariyassa kammaṃ katvā rattiṃ sippaṃ uggaṇhanti, ācariyabhāga-dāyakā gehe jeṭṭhaputtā viya hutvā sippam eva uggaṇhanti—II, 278). A Brāhmana youth serves a caṇḍāla as menial to acquire a charm (IV, 200). A girl is taken to service for three years in a family for a scarlet robe (V, 212) and a wife is 'got after working for seven years in a house' (Sattasaṃvaccharāni ghare katvā laddhabhariyā—VI, 338). The worker in these cases receives a specified reward for which he has a fancy and accordingly lets his service unconditionally for a period demanded by the master.

Although the subjects of these illustrations must not be classed with ordinary hired labourers and these illustrations fall outside the ordinary terms of service, they show unmistakably how low the value of labour was. In the popular stories the workman's diet never pretends to anything above the coarsest rice-gruel (Kummāsapiṇḍe gahetvā Jāt., III, 406). In Mahāummagga Jātaka, a potter's hireling after a full working day with clay and the wheel 'sat all clay besmeared on a bundle of straw eating balls of rice dipt in a

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little soup ' (mattikam āharitvā cakkam vattetvā mattikamakkhita-sarīraṃ palālapīṭhake nisīditvā muṭṭhiṃ muṭṭhiṃ katvā appasūpaṃ yavabhattaṃ bhuñjamānaṃ—*ibid.*, VI, 372). Sutana cannot make both ends meet and thinks ' I get a māsaka or half māsaka (the lowest Indian coin) for my wages and can hardly support my mother '; and he ventures to meet the yakṣa and certain death for a thousand pieces with which his mother may be provided (*ibid.*, III, 326). A pathetic humour pervades the story of the water-carrier who saved a half māsaka in the city rampart and was so transported by the thought of spending it on a festive day together with another half māsaka saved by his water-carrier wife that he ecstatically ran league after league to fetch the treasure under scorching sun-rays ' in yellow clothes with a palm-leaf fastened in his ear ' for ornament (*ibid.*, III, 446).

Such pittances of wage are corroborated by Kauṭilya who fixes a paṇa and a quarter per mensem for agricultural labourers and field-watchers with provisions proportionate to the amount of work done (II, xxiv). They were not always entitled to a full meal and sometimes the diet actually varies according to labour. The sight of a begging monk coming with full alms-bowl from his house inspires the thought in a seṭṭhi that if his dāsas and kammakaras had got that food they would have done more difficult work, and he sighs for the loss sustained (Jāt., III, 300).

Wages might be fixed or variable or they might be assessed at a fraction of the gain. In his regulations on textile labour, Kauṭilya lays down that wages are to vary according to the quantity and quality of the yarn produced ; only artisans who can turn out a given amount of work in a given time may be engaged on fixed wage (II, xxiii). Bṛhaspati distinguishes between servants engaged on pay and servants engaged for a share of the gain (XVI, 8). But whatever be the mode of payment, wages are uniformly of a low standard. The rates for share of profit are standardized by experts (kusalāh) at $\frac{1}{10}$ of crop for the cultivator, of butter for the herdsman and of sale proceeds for the pedlar (Kaut. Arth., III, xiii ; Nārada, VI, 2, 3 ; Yājñavalkya II, 194). This astonishingly inequitous rule is somewhat liberalized by Bṛhaspati who entitled a cultivator's servant to $\frac{1}{5}$ of the crop plus food and clothing or only $\frac{1}{3}$ of the crop (XVI, 13).[1] To revert to Nārada's rule : ' For tending 100 cows a heifer shall be given to the herdsman as wages every year ; for tending 200 cows a milch cow shall be given to him annually,

[1] Cf. the present rates prevailing in the districts of Western Bengal where the landless cultivator gets between $\frac{1}{3}$ and half of produce and the sleeping landowner the rest.

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and he shall be allowed to milk all the cows every eighth day' (VI, 10). And this rate is hardly more lucrative than the profit rate when the grave responsibilities of the herdsman tending his cattle in beast and robber infested forests are taken into account.

A contract entered into before appointment between the employer and the employee on the wages and the terms of service is frequently dealt with by jurists and politicians. This contract, freely agreed to between the parties so often propounded with zest, was no less a fiction than the freedom of contract insisted upon with cant by Victorian anti-trade unionists and meant nothing but terms dictated by the moneyed master to the destitute toiler with starvation staring in the face who had no organization like the 'senis' and 'gāmas' and no leaders like the 'Jeṭṭhakas' to bargain for a higher pay and better working conditions. As public conscience was not alive to the fundamental unfairness in distribution of wealth, labour legislation of the dharmasāstras was of little avail, especially when these protective laws themselves were derived from ancient tradition and current usage except for a thin humanitarian gloss which is less perceptible in popular literature reflecting actual conditions of society. The injunction that an 'ill-considered and improper' agreement shall not be insisted upon (Kaut. Arth., III, xiii; Nārada, VI, 18, 19) is only a pious wish, and even if it was ever observed, the proper and standard rate was enough to make the small wage-earner chafe of life.

The hired man had responsibilities unlike the slave for any injury to his master's chattel or any prejudice to the job undertaken. In the Sālikedāra Jātaka a hired man to whom were delivered by a Brāhmana farmer 500 karisas of land for a wage and who 'made a hut there and dwelt there day and night' is afraid, when the plot is ravaged by parrots, that 'the Brāhmana will have a price put on the rice, and fine me in the sum' (sāliṃ agghāpetvā mayhaṃ inaṃ karissati—IV, 276ff.). Any deficit out of the estimated output from the quantity of raw materials supplied must be made good from the wages—so goes Kauṭilya's rule on textile labour (sutrahrāse vetanahrāsah dravyasārāt—II, xxiii). If fines are remitted in special cases considering accident, disease, etc., the loss incurred by the employer must be compounded by extra work. Payment may be withheld if circumstances change since the employment or if the workmanship is below the employer's satisfaction (desakālātipātanena karmanāmanyathā karane vā na sakāma kṛtamanumanyeta—*ibid.*, III, xiv; cf. Yājñavalkya, II, 195). A workman who abandons his work before the expiry of the term shall forfeit his whole wages and pay a fine of 100 paṇas to the king (Vishnu, V, 153-4). He is responsible for the 'implements of work

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and whatever else may have been entrusted to them for their business' (Nārada, VI, 4). The herdsman is accountable for the damage done by cattle in others' fields (Vishnu, XII, 20–26) and for the loss of cattle through the havoc of thieves, robbers, wild beasts, reptiles, diseases and accidents unless he exerts himself timely to prevent the loss—a thing certainly not very easy to establish when the burden of proof remains on him (Nārada, VI, 11–17; Kaut. Arth., II, xxix).

It may appear at first sight that the household servants attached to a single family on fixity and permanence of term were comparatively better off [1] than those who piled in big plantation schemes or who had to purvey manual labour from door to door on a short term service. As a domestic slave by his constant association with members of the household develops an attachment for the house and is considered as unit of the family (Jāt., III, 428; V, 354) so the household bhatika is expected to be incorporated into family membership from a prolonged tenure of service. Asoka ordains proper treatment of the dāsa and the bhataka along with friends and relatives as consonant with dhamma (R.E., XIII). But this seeming analogy evaporates against deeper examination. In the Jātaka stories the paid servants are never admitted to the facilities which slaves commonly enjoy (I, 451; III, 428; V, 354). Nor is there any concrete evidence that they had an easy-going life in comparison with their brethren otherwise engaged. Bṛhaspati classifies the warrior, the cultivator, the porter and household servant in descending order of status (XVI, 10). The hirelings' position depended primarily on the master's solvency and sense of humanity and secondarily on his own brawns and brains. A petty craftsman's apprentice had generally a hard lot with little prospect of mitigation under any circumstances: but with a rich master the position was not necessarily reversed. We have seen the miserly merchant who grudges the alms of a monk which might be used with better advantage for his half-fed labourers and slaves and we have the counterpart in a rich and pious merchant whose labourers are engaged in outdoor work under good living conditions and with a full meal (Jāt., III, 445-6) and in a Brāhmana whose wagemen even give alms and observe moral rules (*ibid.*, IV, 50).

Lest workmen should spoil work in hand, Kauṭilya forbids indiscriminate sale of liquor to them, and in a curious fit of contradiction, a few lines below he gives the economic advice that bad liquor, fit for underselling may conveniently be given to slaves and

[1] See Fick's Die Sociale Gliederung im Nordostlichen Indien Du Buddhas Zeit, p. 197.

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workmen in lieu of wages ; or it may form the drink of beasts for draught or the subsistence of hogs (dāsakarmakārebhyo vā vetanam dadyāt. Vāhana pratipānaṃ sukaraposanaṃ vā dadyāt—II, xxv). The sentiment underlying this bare statement is more eloquent than pages of theorizing and legislation.

Obviously these people stood on a par with those pariahs (hinajātiyo) of ancient Indian society,—the caṇḍālas, the pukkusas, the veṇas, the nesādas, the ratthakāras, etc. who settled in villages of their own outside the towns in which the ordinary people lived. The serving folk as well are sometimes seen to dwell outside the city-gate as in the case of the water-carrier bhatika mentioned above and as befitted their economic and social position. Living outside the gate was an indication of social inferiority. ' I am the daughter of one living by the side of the gate ' (dhītā dvāravāsino, V, 441) so says a pauper girl questioned about his parentage. Their localization and isolation was not, indeed it could not be, as thorough as it was in the case of their prototypes, and they never attained to the community and solidarity of caste in the stricter sense. There are instances in the Jātakas of Brāhmaṇas and Gahapatis taking to servile occupations under the chill of adversity (I, 475 ; III, 325). But the great mass was evidently composed of the socially degraded classes in whom ' the profession of a hired labourer was as much hereditary as the poverty connected with it ' [1] and who had hardly any chance of access to a more respectable and remunerative calling. The elements of the upper classes relegated by shufflings of fate were probably equated with them after a course of levelling process. Thus it becomes intelligible why tradition called it the direst misfortune that a freeman should work for hire and how the fluctuations of fate of earlier days had a gradual tendency to give way to concentration and perpetuation of poverty in a plebian caste [2] a caste scattered and heterogenous without the blessings of a communal life. And it is because this caste did not crystallize into a community and because it was numerically smaller than the superior castes and smaller than the labour population of ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome, that it did not mature into an explosive material seething with perennial discontent under the superstructure of civilization and material prosperity.

ATINDRANATH BOSE.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 195.

[2] Note the term daliddakula frequently used in the Jātakas in connexion with labourers.

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SOME IMPORTANT SANSKRIT PUBLICATIONS

The Vedic literature is represented by two Gṛhyasūtras. The Vārāha Gṛhyasūtra, edited by Dr. R. Shamashastry, is an important work of some Maitrāyaṇīya School of the Black Yajurveda.

The Mānava Gṛhayasūtra of the Maitrāyaṇīya School is one of the oldest and most important Gṛhyasūtras, published with the complete commentary of Aṣṭāvakra.

Among the Mahākāvyas, the Naranārāyaṇānanda, edited by Vastupāla, is an excellent epic poem, written between 1220 and 1230 A.D., treating of the friendship between Arjuna and Kṛṣna, and Arjuna's abduction of Subhadrā.

The Padmānanda Mahākāvya, edited by H. R. Kāpadīā, is a highly artificial work of the famous Jaina poet and scholar Amaracandra Suri, who wrote in the 13th century, describing in 19 cantos the life of the first Jaina Ṛṣabha.

The Rāṣṭrauḍhavaṃśakāvya of Rudrakavi, published about the 16th century, contains the history of the Bāgulas of Mayuragiri.

The Rāmacarita of Abhinanda, edited by K. S. Rāmaswāmī Śāstrī Śiromaṇi, is an important work, dealing with the story of the Rāmāyana. The author was the court-poet of King Devapāla of the Pāla dynasty, somewhere between 800 and 900 A.D.

The Udayasundarīkathā of Soḍḍhala belongs to the Campu class of poetry. The author lived in the first half of the 11th century in Gujarat.

The Vyāyoga Pārthaparākrama is a dramatic work, based on the story of the cow-raid in the Virāṭa Parvan of the Mahābhārata, by the Paramāra Prahlādanadeva.

The allegorical drama, Moharājaparājaya, of the Jaina poet Yaśaḥpāla treats of the conversion of King Kumārapāla to Jainism and his wedding with Princess Kṛpā-Sundarī, ' Mercy the Beautiful ', daughter of King ' Understanding '. It is one of the most interesting dramas, not only from the literary point of view, but also as throwing much light on the history and social life of Gujarat in the 13th century.

The Hammīra-Madamardana, a drama in five acts, written in 1229 A.D. by the Jaina poet Jayasiṃha, describes how the pride of Hammīra, i.e. Amir Shikār or Sultan Samsu-dunyā, was broken.

The Nalavilāsa is a drama in seven acts, based on the Nala story, written by Rāmacandra Suri, and edited by G. K. Shrigondekar and L. B. Gāndhi.

Among the Śāstras, the Bhāratīya-Nāṭyaśāstra, published with the voluminous commentary of Abhinavagupta, and edited by M.

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Rāmakrishna Kavi, is an important work in the history of indological studies.

The Nāṭyadarpana of Rāmacandra and Gunacandra, edited by G. K. Shrigondekar and L. B. Gāndhi, is one of the most rare and valuable Nāṭyaśāstras. The chief value of the work lies in the quotations it contains from rare works, such as the Svapnavāsavadattā, the Daridracārudatta, and the Devīcandragupta.

The Bhāvaprakāśana of Śāradātanaya, edited by Yadugiri Yatirāja Swami of Mekot and K. S. Rāmaswāmi Śāstrī Śiromani, is a voluminous work on Bhāvas and Rasas, and on dramatic art, including also a chapter on music and dancing.

The Nañjarājayaśobhūṣaṇa is published by Narasiṃha Kavi, who calls himself 'The New Kālidāsa' and treats both of Alaṃkāra and Nāṭya, illustrating his rules by including in the Śāstra his own drama, in which Nañjarāja is glorified.

Among the Alaṃkāraśāstras, the Kāvyamīmāṃsā of Rājaśekhara, edited by C. D. Dalal and R. Anantakrishna Shastrī, is one of the most interesting works from the literary point of view.

The Kāvyālaṃkārasārasaṃgraha of Udbhaṭa, the contemporary and rival of Vāmana, is published, with a new anonymous commentary of considerable interest.

The Saṃgītamakaranda of Nārada is a work on music, edited by Mangesh Rāmakrishna Telang, who gives a brief survey of the materials for a history of ancient Indian music.

Among the works on Grammar and Lexicography, the Liṅgānuśāsana of Vāmana is a work of some interest. The Kalpadrukoša of Kešava, edited by Rāmāvatāra Śarmā, is one of the richest synonymous lexicons, consisting of nearly 4,000 ślokas, and giving, for instance, no less than 64 synonyms for earth, and 114 for fire.

The Śabdaratnasamanvaya Kośa of King Sāhaji of Tanjore is an important lexicon of the Nārārtha class.

The Daṇḍaviveka of Vardhamāna is a work of the Nibandha class, treating in seven chapters of all the details of criminal law and jurisdiction.

The Mānasollāsa is a work on Arthaśāstra, ascribed to the Cālukya King Someśvara, who ruled from 1127 to 1138 A.D. The first part of the work includes the first Viṃśati, containing a kind of code of moral and religious duties of kings, and the second Viṃśati, treating, as it does, of the virtues of a king, of the qualifications of ministers and Purohitas, of the calendar, of the duties of all kinds of officials and court menials, of the qualities of a country, of taxes, of the protection of the subjects, of the treasury, of fortresses, of war,

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the army, and the methods of policy. But the work contains also chapters on medicine, on elephants, on alchemy, on veterinary art, on astrology and omens.

The Lekhapaddhati is a compilation of models of government documents and specimens of official correspondence.

The Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra of King Bhojadeva, edited by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṇapati Śāstri, is an interesting work on architecture, treating in detail of the selection of sites, of the planning of towns and villages, the building of houses, halls and palaces, stables for elephants and horses, the construction of temples, statues and pictures of gods, etc., and also of different religious rites connected with the building of houses.

As for the philosophical literature, the chief work of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā, Śabarasvāmin's Bhāṣya, on the Sūtras of Jaimini, deserves mention.

The Tantrarahasya by Rāmānujācārya, edited by Dr. R. Shamashastrī, is a modern work, embodying the views of the liberal school of Prabhākara.

The Siddhāntabindu of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, edited by P. C. Divā Vānji, is a commentary on the Daśaślokī of Śaṅkara, treating not only fully of the life and works of the famous Advaita philosopher Madhusūdana, but also giving a survey of the whole history of the Vedānta system.

The Iṣṭa-Siddhi of Vimuktātman, edited by M. Hiriyanna, is a manual of Vedānta in Kārikās, to which the author himself wrote a prose commentary, called Vivaraṇa. Vimuktātman wrote between 850 and 1050 A.D., and his Iṣṭa-siddhi was used as an authority on Advaita both by Yāmunācārya and by Rāmānuja.

The Tarkasaṃgraha of Ānandajñāna is a treatise on Nyāya, trying to prove that nothing is real except Brahman.

The Mahāvidyā-viḍambana of Bhaṭṭa Vādīndra, edited by Mangesh Rāmakrishna Telang, is a special work on logic, dealing with the explanation and refutation of the so-called Mahāvidyā syllogisms, i.e. syllogisms starting from a purely positive probans.

The Nyāyapraveśa of Dinnāga (or Śaṅkara-swāmin, as some maintain) is an important contribution to Buddhist logic, edited by Professor A. B. Dhruva.

The Gaṇa-Kārikās of Bhāsarvajña is a rare work of the Lakulīśa Pāśupata sect, edited by the late C. D. Dalal.

The Paraśurāma-kalpasūtra is a digest of Śrī-Vidyā or Mother worship, edited by A. Mahadeva Śāstrī, laying down clearly and methodically the system of worship taught in the Sūtra.

The Jayākhyasaṃhitā is one of the most authoritative works of the Pañcarātra Āgama.

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The Pārānanda Sūtra is described by its editor, the Swāmī Trivikrama Tīrtha, as a work of hoary age.

The Śaktisaṅgama Tantra, edited by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, is one of the most authoritative and most extensive Hindu Tantras.

The Prācīna-Gurjara-Kāvyasaṃgraha is a collection of Jaina poems, Stotras and Caritras, in old Gujarati.

The Kumārapāla-Pratibodha of Somaprabha is an important didactic work, treating fully of Jaina ethics, illustrated by many interesting tales and legends.

The Dhaṇavālas Bhavisatta-Kahā is a notable religious novel in Apabhraṃśa, important from the religious, the literary, and the linguistic point of view.

The Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra is the first book of the Lives of the Sixty-three Excellent Men by the great Hemacandra (1088–1172 A.D.), containing the biographies of the first Jina, Ṛṣabha, and the first Cakravartin, Bharata.

The Sādhanamālā, edited by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, is a rare collection of Sādhanas, meditations, Mantras and hymns for the worship of Buddhist deities, which throw a great deal of light not only on Tantric Buddhism but also on Buddhist iconography.

The Tattvasaṃgraha of Śāntarakṣita, edited by Embar Krishnamacharya, is a highly important work, criticizing numerous philosophical systems of the day, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist.

The Advayavajrasaṃgraha, edited by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Shāstrī, is a collection of 21 short Buddhist texts.

The Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi of Anaṅgavajra and the Jñānasiddhi of his disciple Indrabhūti are published for the first time by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, with a valuable introduction on Tantric Buddhism by the Editor.

The Sanskrit Texts from Bali, critically edited with an Introduction by the late Professor Sylvain Levi, are remnants of ancient Indian lore, preserved in the island of Bali to the present day.

So far as Catalogues of MSS. are concerned, the Kavīndrācārya List, published by R. Ananta Krishna Sastry, is a list of rare and valuable MSS. collected by Kavīndrācārya, a contemporary of the Moghul Emperor Shah Jehan.

'A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jain Bhandars at Jesalmere', compiled by C. D. Dalal and edited by Lālchandra Bhagawandās Gāndhi, is an important work of considerable interest.

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These are some of the important works of the Oriental Institute of Baroda, published in the Gaekwaḍ Oriental Series.[1]

M. WINTERNITZ.

A SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON THE MANDASORE INSCRIPTION OF THE SILK-WEAVERS' GUILD

I contributed a short paper on the subject to the October issue of this journal in which I argued that the Sun temple of Mandasore had to be rebuilt in M.E. 529, because one of its portions had been destroyed by the Hūṇas who overran Malwa and the adjoining provinces during the reigns of Skandagupta's successors. I now find this inference supported by the description of these rulers in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, the Sanskrit text of the historical portion of which has been recently revised and published by Ven. Rahula Sankrityayana in Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's Imperial History of India. Three of these—Puragupta, Bālāditya, and Kumāragupta II—died within nine years of Skandagupta's death. This in itself bespeaks a time of great political trouble. We do not know exactly how Puragupta and Kumāragupta II died. But as regards Bālāditya, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* states explicitly that he was defeated by his enemies and committed suicide on account of the grief caused by the death of his son [2] who probably fell in the battle against his enemies, the Hūṇas. Our inscription was incised, I think, just a little time after this disastrous defeat of the Gupta forces. The Hūṇas occupied Malwa temporarily after their victory, and are in all probability the other rulers mentioned in verse 36 [3] as the destroyers of a part of the temple of Mandasore. The pious silk-weavers rebuilt it almost immediately, but while commemorating gratefully the deeds of their erstwhile emperors, the Guptas

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[1] Dr. Winternitz sent this note to us a few months before his death.—B. C. L.

[2] ततोत्मानं घातयेद् राजा परेण शत्रुणा जितः ।
पुत्रशोकाभिसंतप्तः यतिवृत्तिसमाश्रितः ॥
(Verse 652, p. 48.)

[3] बहुना समतीतेन कालेनान्यैश्च पार्थिवैः
व्यशीर्यतैकदेशोऽस्य भवनस्य ततोऽधुना ॥

For my comment on the meaning of the verse, see *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, p. 380.

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and the provincial governors, the Varmans, they left out deliberately, I believe, the name of the tyrannic Hūṇa leader who held sway in Malwa in 529 M.E., and was probably driven out from there a little later by some successor of Bālāditya, perhaps Budhagupta who is known to have had a fairly long and prosperous reign, extending from 476 to about 500 A.D.

DASHARATHA SHARMA.

THE PĀLA KINGS OF KĀMARŪPA

In his contribution on 'The Chālukyas of Kalyāni', published in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. iv, No. 1, pp. 43–52, Mr. Sant Lal Katare says that Ratnapāla Deva, king of Kāmarūpa, who resisted the invasion of the Chālukya prince Vikramāditya and forced him to retire, was a 'scion of the Pāla family' by which he no doubt means that Ratnapāla Deva belonged to the dynasty of the Pāla kings of Bengal and Bihar. I do not know on what basis he makes this statement. In the Bargaon copper-plate inscription of this king it is clearly stated that after the death of Tyāga Singha, the twenty-first king of the dynasty of Śālastambha, without any issue, the people elected Brahmapāla Varma Deva as the king of Kāmarūpa because he was a Bhauma, i.e. a scion of the dynasty of Naraka. This Brahmapāla Varma Deva was the father of Ratnapāla Varma Deva who, according to Mr. Katare, was the king when Chālukya Vikramāditya (Vikramānka) invaded Kāmarūpa. The Pāla kings of Bengal never traced their origin from Naraka or his son Bhagadatta. Ratnapāla of Kāmarūpa could not therefore have been a scion of the Pāla family of Bengal. Brahmapāla and his descendants down to Dharmapāla had the surnames Pāla as well as Varma. The Chutia kings, of the country round about Sadiya, in Assam, who ruled from the middle of the thirteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century also bore the surname Pāla though they had no connection whatever with the Pāla rulers of Bengal.

The Bargaon inscription of king Ratnapāla emphasized the excellence of the fortifications of his capital city which was, on this account, named Durjayā or 'impregnable'. Here it is stated that the fortifications of Durjayā 'were fit to cause discomfiture to the master of the Deccan country' (reading and translation of Hoernle) [1] or 'were, like Phthisis, the cause of destruction to the

[1] J.A.S.B., Vol. LXVII, Part I, (1898).

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king of the Daccan country' (reading and translation of Pandit Padmanāth Bhattacharya Vidyāvinod).[1] A reference to the conflict between the Deccan king and the Kāmarūpa king may no doubt be detected here. Mr. Katare points out that the Deccan king was no other than the Chālukya prince Vikramāditya of Kalyāni. The mention in the inscription seems to point to the fact that Vikramāditya failed to penetrate the fortified city and had to retire with heavy loss. If Pandit Vidyāvinod's reading is correct it would appear that in the eleventh century Tuberculosis was a deadly disease in Eastern India.

K. L. BARUA.

THE GOKARṆA-*TÎRTHA* AND DHARMAPÂLA

The seventh verse of the Monghyr copper-plate inscription of Dêvapâla of the Pâla dynasty of Bengal, reads, with reference to his father, Dharmapâla, as follows :

'*Kêdârê vidhin=ôpayukta-payasâṁ Gaṅgâ-samêt=âmvu(mbu) dhau Gokarṇṇ-âdishu ch=âpy=anu-*
-shṭhitvatâṁ tîrthêshu dharmmyâḥ kriyâḥ |
bhṛityânâṁ sukham=êva yasya sakalân=uddhṛitya dushṭân, =imân lôkân=sâdhayatô=nushaṅga-janitâ siddhiḥ paratr =apy=abhût ||
(*Ind. Ant.*, 1892, p. 255 ; *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 305).

Kielhorn translated the passage thus : 'With ease uprooting all the wicked and subduing this world, he (Dharmapâla) at the same time secured for his followers the blessings of the world to come ; for (*on his expeditions*) they bathed according to precept at Kêdâra (and) where the ocean is joined by the Ganges, and performed holy rites at Gokarṇa and other sacred shrines.'

The verse is introduced clearly not so much with the object of extolling Dharmapâla's valour or power or of determining the limits of his conquests, as of demonstrating one of the excellent traits of his character, viz. his regard for his followers.

As to the places mentioned in the passage, Kielhorn added the following note : 'It appears necessary to add this particle, because, so far as I know, there is only one Kêdâra, which is situated in the Himâlaya mountains. Gôkarṇa is in the North Kanara

[1] Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvali, p. 97.

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District of the Bombay Presidency ; it is even now a place of pilgrimmage frequented by Hindu devotees from all parts of India.' (*Ind. Ant.*, 1892, p. 257, note 56).

Kielhorn did not give any note on the phrase ' Gaṅgâ-samêt= âmbudhau (i.e. Gangâ-sâgara), evidently under the impression that it denotes the estuary of the Ganges in Lower Bengal. His identification of Kêdâra is past doubt, but in case of Gôkarṇa, there are in India more than one sacred place bearing this name.

Doubt about the correctness of Kielhorn's identification of Gôkarṇa was probably first expressed in the Bengali journal, *Sâhitya* (1320 B.S., pp. 286-87), by Akṣaya Kumâra Maitra, shortly after the publication of his *Gauḍalêkhamâlâ*, in which he had accepted it. ' The tradition of *dig-vijaya* by the victorious army of Gauḍa ', wrote Mr. Maitra, ' is unknown in the province of Bombay ; nor there is to be found any memorial thereof in that country ..... The Gôkarṇa *tîrtha* where the victorious army of Dharmapâla had arrived at was not included in the Bombay Presidency, but is situated at the summit of the Mt. Mahêndra (in Kaliṅga) ! So it appears that Dharmapâla-dêva ' uprooted the wicked ' up to the farthest limit of modern Kaliṅga, after having crossed Utkala.'

Besides the weakness of Maitra's argument, which is on the surface, he could not prove that there is any living tradition or standing memorial of Dharmapâla's expedition at the Gôkarṇa of Mahêndrâcala.

Subsequently another writer identified this Gôkarṇa, as in the Monghyr inscription of Dêvapâla, with Râmêśvara in the extreme south of India (*Mânasî-ô-Marmavâṇî*, Vol. X, Pt. II. p. 152). But it is idle to fancy, without any historical warrant, that Dharmapâla's army advanced as far south as the Adam's Bridge.

The difficulty of accepting Kielhorn's identification of Gôkarṇa is that the verse, as it is, would, in that case, come to imply that Dharmapâla ' on his expeditions ' first went to the Himalayas, then was forced to retreat to Lower Bengal (Gaṅgâ-sâgara), and then again set out for North Kanara. But such a meaning of the verse is not admissible.

In Nepâl, there is a Gôkarṇa, which is no less celebrated as a sacred place than the Gôkarṇa of North Kanara. In the *Râmâyaṇa*, it was at this place that Râvaṇa performed severe penances and got a boon (*Uttara-kâṇḍa*, 9), and that Bhagîratha practised austerities in order to bring the Ganges on the earth (*Bâla-kâṇḍa*, 42). This Gôkarṇa was the capital of the Kirâta dynasty of Nepal (*Ind. Ant.*, XIII, 1884, p. 412). The *Varâha Purâṇa* refers to this Gôkarṇa of Nepal, lying at the foot of the Himâlayas (*Śailapatêḥ pâdê Himavataḥ subhê Nêpâlâkhyê*, ch. 215, v. 38), and also to the holy river

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Bâgmatî, whose water is said to have been hundred times holier than that of the Bhâgîrathî (*Bhâgîrathyâḥ śata-guṇa-pavitram tajjalaṁ, smṛtaṁ*, v. 49). About its exact position, we have the following in Wright's *History of Nepal* (Cambridge, 1877, p. 22) : 'About four miles west of Saṅkhu, is Gaukarna, a small and very holy village, frequently mentioned in Nepalese traditions. It stands on the banks of the Bâgmati, about two miles above and north-east of Pashupati.' It is also relevant to note here that this Gôkarṇa is one of the *tîrthas* visited by Caitanya as late as in the sixteenth century (*Svayambhû Viśrâma Dîrgha-Viṣṇu Bhûtêśvara। Mahâvidyâ Gôkarṇ=âdi dêkhila sakala—Caitanya-Caritâmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadâsa Kavirâja, *Madhya-Lîlâ*, ch. xvii, v. 71).

What is extremely significant in this connection is that in Nepalese tradition as embodied in the *Svayambhû Purâṇa*, Dharmapâla, the king of Gauḍa, is represented as to have gone to Nepal in the company of Krakucchanda, and been placed on the throne of that country by Dharmâkar, a Chinese prince of Nepal, who being disgusted with the world, had abandoned his sovereign power. Dharmapâla, we are further told, 'governed his subjects with perfect justice and clemency, and made pûjâ at the Chaitya erected by Dharmâkar, and regarded with equal favour his subjects . . . . . ' (Hodgson's *Essays on the Language, Literature and Religion of Nepâl and Tibet*, London, 1874, pp. 117-18 ; also cf. Wright's *History of Nepal*, pp. 82-83.)

As regards Gaṅgâ-sâgara (*Gaṅgâ-samêt=âmbudhau*), we have it in the same *Svayambhû Purâṇa* that Kâsyap Buddha, who was born in Mṛgadâva-vana near Benares, visited 'Ganga Sâgara in the sthan of Kapila Muni, and city of Kapila-vastu' (Hodgson, op. cit., p. 119). Gangâ-sâgara, says Wilson correctly, has no necessary connection with the ocean (Ibid., footnote).

These identifications of the two places (viz. Gôkarṇa and Gaṅgâ-sâgara), I think, far better explain the verse in question, which appears to indicate a return march of the army of Dharmapâla from the Himâlayas in the north to Bengal in the east, through Kêdara in Garhwal, Gangâ-sâgara in Kapilavâstu in the Nepal Terai (north of the Basti District), and Gôkarṇa on the Bâgmatî in Nepal. I may further suggest that it was probably on this occasion that Dharmapâla and his protégée, Cakrâyudha, surrendered themselves in the Himâlaya Mountains to Gôvinda III, the Râṣṭrakûṭa, when the latter went thither in course of his *dig-vijaya*, as testified to by the Saṅjan Plates of Amôghavarṣa I. It has already been stated that the real object of the seventh verse of the Monghyr copper-plate inscription of Dêvapâla is not to sing the praise of Dharmapâla's prowess or valour.

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It has been of late suggested by Prof. H. C. Rai Chaudhury that the Pâla rulers of Eastern India together with their feudatories are alluded to by the expression *Pûrvarâjar* as occurring in the Vêḷvikkuḍi grant of about 769–70 A.D., which reads that a Pâṇḍya officer 'took part in a fight when Pûrvarâjar or eastern kings rose up and put to flight at Veṇbai the powerful *Vallabha* king, apparently the Râṣṭrakûṭa emperor Krishṇa I of the Deccan, on the occasion when the excellent daughter of Gaṅgarâja was secured and offered to the Pâṇḍya king (Koṅgarkôn=Neḍunjaḍaiyan).' (*Krishnaswamy Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, 1936, p. 197 f.) By the expression 'Pâla rulers of Eastern India', Professor Rai Chaudhury obviously means Dharmapâla, who was 'a contemporary and rival of the Râṣṭrakûṭa monarchs of the Deccan in the latter half of the eighth century'. His suggestion is based on the identification of Gôkarṇa in North Kanara, but it is rendered untenable if my identification of the place and interpretation of the verse under notice are accepted. Besides, the Pâla monarchy before 770 A.D. is not known to have been so very powerful as to justify the idea of a Râṣṭrakûṭa king's defeat in his own dominions at the hands of Dharmapâla before that date. Again, if Kṛṣṇa I had incurred such an ignominious defeat at the hands of Dharmapâla, Kṛṣṇa's son, Dhruva Dhârâvarṣa, had better reasons to make common cause with Vatsarâja of the Gurjara-Pratîhâra dynasty, to crush Dharmapâla than driving to the desert the former (viz. Vatsarâja), who had taken the fortunes of the king of Gauḍa with ease. So, at the present state of our knowledge, the term *Pûrvarâjar* of the Vêḷvikkuḍi grant need only be taken to denote the kings to the east of the Pâṇḍya kingdom.

NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA.

KṚṢṆA IN EARLY TAMIL LITERATURE

The ancient Tamil poets and grammarians who lived in the *Śangam* period have described literary conventions in their treatises; these conventions should not be discarded lightly as merely poetic and hence as having nothing to do with the actualities of life and conditions which are reflected by such conventions. A critical study of these early poems in Tamil takes us to the remote ages in which the literary conventions were realities, and an antiquarian reads into them five stages of human culture. The *Śangam* poets and grammarians like Tolkāppiyanār divided the whole region of

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then known land into five divisions :—desert, forest, agricultural, hilly and littoral.[1] A study of the anthropology of the region tells us that man should have spent thousands of years in each of these regions and developed peculiar traits and customs appropriate to each of them. For example, the man in the pastoral region lived a life of the nomad and tended cattle, while in the agricultural tract he pursued the arts of cultivation and peace. After several thousands of years the different cultures commingled and coalesced by the migration of peoples from one region to another and sometimes by making permanent settlements.[2]

The Tamil poems suggest that even long after such migration of culture and peoples each region preserved its distinctive individuality by following age-long occupations and by worshipping old and time-honoured deities. Each region had its own deity. The people of the pastoral region sent their prayers to Kṛṣṇa, of the littoral region to Varuṇa, of the hilly region to Muruga or Subrahmaṇya, of agricultural tracts to Indra and of the desert region to Durgā. We are concerned at present with the god of the pastoral region which goes by the name of Mullai in the Tamil literature.

The oft-recurring term for Kṛṣṇa in these classics is Māyōn or Māyavan designated by some Black God.[3] He was the chief herdsman and a companion of the cattle, of the cowherds and the cowherdesses. He tended the cattle by sending them to graze freely in the forest tracts and himself enjoying all the time singing sweet songs, by playing on the flute. (*Kuḻal*). Bamboo was a chief product of the forest region, and it formed an excellent material to make a flute with. So the herdsman took a tender bamboo bit and made it a musical instrument by boring holes in it. Though playing on the flute was a difficult art, Kṛṣṇa is said to have done it nicely and dexterously so as to enrapture both animate and inanimate objects. The cattle, besides the milkmaids, are said to have enjoyed Kṛṣṇa's music.[4]

It has been well said that, above everything else, pastoral life afforded more opportunities for indulging in the delights of love. Therefore Kṛṣṇa is said to have led a life of ease and leisure, whose only occupation was tending cattle. Besides music, it is said that Kṛṣṇa enjoyed dancing. Mention is made of a dance called *Kuravaikūttu*[5] which Kṛṣṇa is said to have danced once in the

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[1] See, for example, the *Narrinai*, and the *Kuruntogai*.

[2] See my article on the Anthropogeography of the Dekhan in the Journal of Madras Geographical Association, Vol. X, No. 3.

[3] See *Mullaippāṭṭu*, ll. 10–21f.

[4] For details, see to canto on Aycciyar Kuravai in the *Nilappadikāram*.

[5] *Ibid.*, also *Maṇimekalai*, XIX, 65-6.

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tāterumanṛam, the common hall of the herdsfolk along with his elder brother Balarāma and consort Nappinnai. In these dances wherever they are mentioned, a place to Balarāma and Nappinnai is unmistakably given. We may mention in passing that the cult of Balarāma was in vogue in the early centuries of the Christian era and there were special temples in which Balarāma was worshipped as a deity. But this cult had gone out of use by the time of the Āḻvārs who flourished in continuous succession from the 6th century onwards.

Nappinnai is frequently mentioned as the consort of Kṛṣṇa and there is no mention of the names Rukmaṇī or Rādhā. We venture to conjecture that Nappinnai is the Tamil name of Rādhā. The milkmaids claim Nappinnai with pride that she was a member of their community and that with her the Māyavan whose colour was of the sea-waters (añjanavaṇṇam) danced the *kuravaikūttu*. This *kuravaikūttu* we proceed to identify with Rāsa Krīḍa which is described in the *Bhāgavata*[1] and other Sanskrit literature. According to a description in the *Śilappadikāram*, the celebrated Tamil classic of the second century A.D., seven or nine cow-herdesses engage in it each joining her hands to those of another. This dance is said to have been originally danced by Kṛṣṇa himself in the presence of Yaśōdhā and subsequently brought into popular practice by the members of the cowherdsfolk as a form of prayer to Kṛṣṇa to avert impending calamities. When Mādari, the cowherdess, found portents which forbode evil, she arranged for a *Kuravai* dance.[2]

Another dance that is associated with Kṛṣṇa as a form of prayer goes by the name of *Kudakkūttu*. This was also indulged in as the members of the cowherd community.[3] In fact the Tamil classic *Śilappadikāram*[4] associated Kṛṣṇa with eleven kinds of dancing. It is indeed difficult to identify all these dances by finding parallels. The commentator explains some of these. The *Kuḍakkūtu* is the dance by Kṛṣṇa with the pot in the street of Śōnagar (Śōnitapuram) after vanquishing Bāṇāsura who imprisoned Aniruddha. Other dances mentioned are the *Alliyavāḍal* and *Mallāḍal*. There is one dance called *Pēḍu* in the *Maṇimekalai*,[5] another Tamil classic, where Kṛṣṇa is said to have danced this in the form of a hermaphrodite—(*Peḍi*).

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[1] X. ch. 33.

[2] See the canto entitled *Aycciyar Kuravai*.

[3] See my studies in Tamil Literature and history, p. 293.

[4] See my forthcoming English edition of this book published by the Oxford University Press.

[5] III, ll. 123–125.

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There are a few boyhood sports of Kṛṣṇa which find prominent mention in the *Śangam* and post-Śangam literature. There is the story of cutting off the *Kurundu* tree near Gōkula, mentioned both in the *Śilappadikāram* and *Tirikaḍugam.*[1] The commentator of the *Śilappadikāram* remarks in his gloss that a certain Asura stood there in the disguise of a *kurunda* tree apparently to attack Kṛṣṇa unawares. But Kṛṣṇa understood the trick and had it cut in twain. But Naccinārkiniyar, the commentator of the *Jivacintāmaṇi,* connects Kṛṣṇa's heroic deed of uprooting the *kurundu* with the water-sports which the gōpis indulged (stanza 180) in the Yamunā when Kṛṣṇa is said to have appropriated their clothes and hid them in a tree. When the ladies earnestly prayed, Kṛṣṇa is said to have uprooted the tree containing their clothes and went away. Here again the Tamil version differs from that in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa.*[2] There the tree mentioned in connection with the water-sports of gopis is nipa, and this had nothing to do with the asura.

Much more interesting is the account which is current in Tamil country and which finds mention in medieval Tamil literature. According to this when a baby, Kṛṣṇa was in the habit of stealing butter from his own home as well as others, once Yaśōdhā, his foster-mother, saw him actually approaching near butter. When she came near him to punish him for his theft, he took to his heels and entering the house of one cowherd Dadhibhāṇḍan asked him to keep him concealed underneath the churning stick (Tāḷi) and to tell his mother that he was not there. So he did. When Yaśōdhā enquired Dadhibhāṇḍan about Kṛṣṇa, he replied he did not go to his house at all. After Yaśōdhā left, the cowherd, who knew the Lord's *māya,* sat tight over the churning stick which kept Kṛṣṇa concealed. He stipulated that until Kṛṣṇa chose to promise him and his churning stick heaven, he would not get up. The Lord blessed him and the stick, when Dadhibhāṇḍan released him.[3]

We shall refer to one more account associated with Kṛṣṇa at Gokula. In the *Tirumoḷi* of Periyāḷvār, reference is made to the fact that one Simalikan, a cowherd and personal attendant, had been asking of Kṛṣṇa to give for sometime the divine *Cakra* in his possession. Kṛṣṇa had been consistently refusing him saying that it would cut off his head in case he took it up. One day he so much persisted that the Lord yielded to his entreaties and handed it over to him. No sooner had he touched it than it cut off his head and took him to heaven.

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[1] One of the eighteen minor works of the Sangam period.

[2] X, Ch. 22.

[3] See for details, Raghava Ayyangar's contribution in the *Śen Tamil,* Vol. VIII, 4.

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Kṛṣṇa is thus a loving and a lovable god of the ancient Tamilians. The *Śilappadikāram* mentions him again in connection with the taming of the cattle and especially the bull. In the opening lines of Canto XVII of this epic we are told that as many as seven milk-maids were tending particular bulls, and the custom among them was to let loose the bull at the time of their marriage, and he who succeeded in controlling the animal was regarded as a suitable husband to that maid. It is generally believed that this was a practice which Kṛṣṇa himself indulged in Gokula. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[1] there is a story which says that king Nagnajit of Ayodhyā had a daughter for marriage and he proclaimed that he who would bring under control the seven bulls in charge of his cowherd Kumbhāṇḍan, brother of Yaśōdhā, would be his daughter's fitting husband. All kings tried in vain. It is said that Kṛṣṇa successfully curbed the ferocity of the seven bulls and made Nagnajit bestow his daughter on him. It served in a way as a test for a man to be a fit husband for a lady. The rearing of bulls and letting them loose with some prize for the captor have become a regular social and popular amusement which persists even to this day in the Tamil districts.

Thus early in the centuries of the Christian era Kṛṣṇa had attained the status of a deity in Tamil India, and he was worshipped by the people as a very ancient god. The *Maduraikkanji*,[2] a Śangam work, refers to the festivities connected with the birthday of Kṛṣṇa, and it is also stated that his birth constellation was Onaṃ or Tiruvaṇam, though other tradition has it that Rohini was his birth star. There is a view that Kṛṣṇa was a Dravidian or Tamil deity, later on incorporated into the Aryan pantheon. But there is not enough evidence to support this even as a theory.

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR.

A NOTE ON EKĀNAṀŚĀ

In *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 2, pp. 41f., Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh publishes a very interesting article of 'Ekānaṁśā and Subhadrā'. He draws attention to the fact that Ekānaṁśā was a name of Durgā and that she was the tribal goddess of the Yādavas, later on identified with Subhadrā. In this

[1] X, Ch. 58, 32ff.

[2] ll. 590–592.

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connexion, one is reminded of a passage in the *Kaumudīmahotsava*, p. 38 :—

लोकाच्छिः—भगवत्येव विन्ध्यवासिनी ।

वेश्यरच्छितः—कुलदैवतं हि यदूनामेकानङ्गा । ... कथं कथितो भवान्या ?

The word printed as *Ekānaṅgā*, unintelligible to us before, now appears to be a mistake for *Ekānaṁśā*, so that here too we come across the goddess in her dual capacity, *viz.* as Durgā (Bhavānī) and as the tribal deity of the Yādavas.

We do not know at which stage the misreading has crept in. But it seems that it must have taken place by the eighth or ninth century, till which time the only difference between the two letters *ga* and *śa* was that the latter contained an additional horizontal crossbar.

AMALANANDA GHOSH.

TWO VERSES AND THEIR BEARING ON HORSE-SACRIFICE

In the April (1937) issue of this Journal, the following two verses have been quoted (pp. 760, 764) :—

(*a*) *aśvamedh-āvabhṛthake snātvā yaḥ śudhyati dvijaḥ*, etc. ;
(*b*) *eṣṭavyo bahavaḥ putrā yady=eko='pi gayāṃ vrajet,*
yajeta v=āśvamedhena nīlaṃ vā vṛṣam=utsṛjet.

It has been suggested on the strength of these verses that the celebration of the horse-sacrifice 'did not always entail the performance of the almost prohibitive *dig-vijaya*, and was sometimes designed for purposes entirely different from the establishment of paramountcy ; nor was it confined to kings in whose cases alone the question of *digvijaya* comes in'.

That the horse-sacrifice was sometimes celebrated with the purpose of purifying oneself from sin and also of getting progeny was long ago pointed out by me in *Suc. Sāt. East. Dec.* (J. D. L., Calcutta University, XXVI), p. 107, where the horse-sacrifices performed by Yudhiṣṭhira and Daśaratha were referred to. All students of *Mahābhā.* know that Yudhiṣṭhira celebrated the horse-sacrifice with a view to purify himself from sin and that he did not celebrate it without *digvijaya*. Why did Yudhiṣṭhira perform *digvijaya* even when he celebrated the horse-sacrifice with a purpose entirely different from the establishment of paramountcy ? Simply because the horse-sacrifice could not be celebrated without a formal

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digvijaya. It is again known to all students of *Rām.* that Daśaratha performed the horse-sacrifice for progeny. But did he do it without any form of *digvijaya*? Daśaratha's sacrificial horse is known to have been let loose under the guardianship of able fighters and returned to Ayodhyā after full one year when only the sacrifice could be completed. This is, as I have shown during this controversy, exactly the custom described in the Vedic literature.

In my opinion, the above verses do not prove that the horse-sacrifice was not confined to kings and that it could be performed by ordinary people. The first verse only shows that a twice-born, like Yudhiṣṭhira, could purify himself by the celebration of the horse-sacrifice, if only he was able to do that. As regards the second verse, it only indicates a pious wish and I may say that there is no harm even for the writers of the two notes in *Indian Culture* to pray for a son who may elevate himself to the position of an independent king and celebrate the horse-sacrifice.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

ON SOME VAIDYAKA WRITERS OF BENGAL

Mr. Nalini Nath Dasgupta in his interesting article on the Vaidyaka Literature of Bengal in *Indian Culture*, July, 1936, has raised certain points which invite discussion. An attempt has been made to appropriate to Bengal as many Vaidyaka writers as possible, but the question is not free from difficulty. It is true that mediæval Bengal developed peculiar names, surnames and titles, but it is hardly safe to rely on these indications alone; and traditional ascriptions do not always constitute safe guides.

There is, for instance, no strong ground to assign Mādhava, author of *Rug-viniścaya* (or *Nidāna*) and his father Indukara to Bengal. The arguments based chiefly on the cognomen *-kara* and on the extensive use of his work in Bengal are hardly conclusive for a definite statement. The existence of Devanagari MSS of Mādhava's work and of non-Bengal commentaries, as well as the fact that the work was known to Dṛḍhabala of Kashmir, undoubtedly shows that it was used outside Bengal, and had great influence on the Vaidyaka literature, not of Bengal alone but of India. It should be noted that there is uncertainty about the form of the name. Some commentators, no doubt, give it as Mādhava-kara, but in the work itself the name occurs as Mādhava only. It is doubtful if *-kara* (assuming it was a part of the name) was a cognomen at all; for his

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father's name Indukara is intelligible in itself, and need not be explained as a Bengal cognomen. A similar name is Bhānukara, where it is not a cognomen, for this author, who compiled the *Rasika-jīvana*, never belonged to Bengal. Arguments of this kind would lead to absurd results, for one might similarly appropriate the Kashmirian Abhinavagupta (had nothing been known about him) to Bengal. On the other hand, Mr. Dasgupta conveniently relinquishes his emphasis on *-kara* when he seeks to identify him with Indu (and not Indukara), who is cited by Kṣīra-svāmin in his comment on the Vanauṣadhi-varga of the *Amara-kośa*. The name of Indu's work is not given by Kṣīra-svāmin and the supposition that it was called *Nighaṇṭu* is gratuitous. The only point in favour of the proposed identity is that Indu appears from the quotations to have written on the subject of Vanauṣadhi, but there is no evidence that Mādhava's father Indukara was a medical writer or even a writer at all. Indu is by no means an uncommon name ; and such hazarding of guesses of identity of authors of similar names is hardly of any use.

There are other statements in Mr. Dasgupta's article which are equally doubtful. The *Cikitsā* of Mādhava does not seem to be, as Mr. Dasgupta assumes, a separate work written as a supplement to his *Rug-viniścaya*. The work unfortunately is not available for a final conclusion ; but an alleged MS of it is noticed in Rajendra Lal Mitra's *Bikaner Catalogue*, No. 1413, p. 647. The data supplied by Mitra, whose Catalogues or Notices are hardly ever models of carefulness and accuracy, are too meagre ; but two of the opening verses quoted from this work by Mitra are nothing but verses 3 and 4 of the *Rug-viniścaya*, while the only concluding verse quoted, which is too corrupt for identification, deals apparently with Viṣa-roga-nidāna, which forms the subject-matter of the concluding chapters of the *Rug-viniścaya*. It seems, therefore, that his so-called *Cikitsā* is identical with *Rug-viniścaya* or represents a version of it.

The MSS of the *Kūṭa-mudgara*, again, are in Devanagari [1] (even including R. L. Mitra's MS), and there is nothing to identify its author with our Mādhava except the similarity of a fairly common name. In the same way, our Mādhava is probably to be distinguished from Mādhava or Mādhavas whose name occurs as the author of an Āyurveda-rasa-śāstra,[2] a Rasa-kaumudī,[3] a Bhāva-svabhāva [4]

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[1] See Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i, p. 113*b*. Extracts in Mitra, *Notices*, ii, No. 792, p. 199 ; Jolly, *Skt. HSS. in Staatsbibliothek in München*, No. 394, p. 62. Mr. Dasgupta says that the work is printed in Bombay, but gives no bibliographical reference.

[2] Bühler, *Catalogue of MSS in Gujarat, Sindh, etc.*, Fasc. iv, p. 218.

[3] Mitra, *Notices*, iv, No. 1616, p. 178.

[4] Bühler, *op. cit.*, p. 230. See also Aufrecht, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 93 ; iii, p. 89.

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and a Mugdha-bodha.[1] Mādhava, author of a fragment of an *Āyurveda-prakāśa*[2] is also a different person, as he is described in the colophon as a resident of Benares, belonging to the Sārasvata-kula of Saurāṣṭra. Mr. Dasgupta cites as one of his authorities the writer of the introduction to an useful modern compilation called *Vanauṣadhi-darpaṇa* (Calcutta, 1908), but even this learned writer is doubtful (vol. i, p. 32) about the identity of at least three Mādhavas known to him, namely, Mādhava, author of *Rug-viniścaya*, Mādhava who compiled a *Dravya-guṇa* and Mādhava who commented upon Suśruta. And yet, Mr. Dasgupta would lump together indiscriminately most of the Mādhavas known as Vaidyaka writers.

The only other work which can plausibly be assigned to Mādhava, son of Indukara, is the *Prayoga-ratna-mālā*. This can be done, not on the alleged, but hardly conclusive, ground that the work contains Deśī names of herbs and plants current in Bengal, but because the concluding verse quoted by Mitra in his notice[3] of a MS of this work :

bheṣajā mādhavenaiṣā śīlahrada-nivāsinā ।
yatnena racitā ratna-māle[ndu]kara-sūnunā ॥

appears to indicate that its author, Mādhava, was the son of Indukara, if the missing syllable in Mitra's defective MS be read as we suggest above. There is, however, some uncertainty about the authorship of the work itself. In Mitra's description[4] of another MS of the same work, having the same introductory verses, the name of the work is given as *Paryāya-ratna-mālā* and of the author as Rājavallabha.[5] The same work, again, appearing under the title *Paryāya-ratna-mālā* and having the same introductory verses is noticed by Eggeling[6] in his India Office Catalogue. The name of the author here is not mentioned, and the work ends differently. Of our Mādhava's *Dravya-guṇa*, again, we have only the testimony of Śivadāsasena (16th century) ; but no information is available.

It is, moreover, not clear if Aruṇadatta, Vijayarakṣita, Niścalakara and Śrīkaṇṭhadatta really belonged to Bengal. We have no proof except the doubtful indication of respective cognomens and

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[1] Eggeling, *Catalogue of India Office MSS.*, v, No. 2680/807, p. 943.

[2] Eggeling, *op. cit.*, v, No. 2696/1703*b*, p. 950. Aufrecht (*op. cit.*, p. 449*a*) favours identification, but Eggeling leaves the question open.

[3] *Notices*, ix, No. 3150, p. 234. Where is Śilahadra which this verse mentions as the home of Mādhava ?

[4] *Ibid.*, i, No. 207, p. 111.

[5] Rājavallabha is also responsible for a Dravya-guṇa (Eggeling, *op. cit.*, v, No. 2717/1608*a*), which is a different work.

[6] *Op. cit.*, v, No. 2740/1511, p. 976.

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the popularity of their works in Bengal ; and the conclusion must be regarded as *non sequitur*. The danger of arguing from the popularity of a work in a particular locality is shown by a well-known Bengal work itself, the *Nyāya-kandalī*, which does not seem to have received much recognition in its land of origin, and the only two best known commentators on the work were the Maithila Padmanābha and the Jaina Rājaśekhara.

S. K. De.

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REVIEWS

GEOGRAPHICAL ESSAYS, VOL. I, by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, Ph.D., M.A., B.L.; Luzac & Co., London, 1937; pp. 225.

Students interested in the geography of ancient India, Burma and Ceylon would be grateful to Dr. Law for the publication of this work in which the learned author has collected all his articles relating to this subject, previously published in different journals of the East and West. The volume under review is practically a supplement to the author's *Geography of Early Buddhism* (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., London, 1932). It has eleven chapters dealing with the geographical data from Sanskrit Buddhist literature (i), South India as a centre of Pali Buddhism (ii), geographical data from the *Mahāvaṃsa* and its commentary (iii), Damiḷa and the Damiḷa-raṭṭha (iv), mountains and rivers of ancient India (v), countries and peoples of ancient India (vi), Kapilavastu (viii), Buddhist cave temples in India (ix), sacred places of the Jains (x), and the sacred places of the Vaiṣṇavas (xi). Chapter vii is an Appendix which gives a list of the countries and peoples of ancient India, mentioned in the '*Kūrma-vibhāga*' section of the *Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.

Dr. Law is one of the few scholars who have paid attention to the geographical aspect of ancient Indian history, and the identifications proposed in the present work are generally satisfactory. But, as is the case with many problems regarding India's past, some of his conclusions are not beyond dispute, and modification may be suggested with reference to some of the statements. I like to draw the attention of the learned author to a few such points.

(1) Dr. Law and many other scholars think (p. 157) that the Māhiṣakas of the Purāṇas were people of the Māhiṣmatī region on the Narmadā. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Hebbata grant (M.A.S., AR, 1925, p. 98) of Kadamba Viṣṇuvarman mentions a district called Mahiṣa-*viṣaya* which is evidently the origin of the modern Mahiṣūr(=Mysore). It is therefore possible to suggest that the Māhiṣakas were people of the Mahiṣa district.

(2) Dr. Law connects (p. 173) the Nīpas with the Kampil region on the Ganges. In this connection, we draw the attention of the learned Doctor to verses 45-46 of the *Raghuvaṃśa*, VI, where a Nīpa king is described as the lord of Śūrasena, i.e., the Mathurā region.

(3) In connection with the location of the Udumbaras (p. 174), the author's attention may be drawn to the find of coins belonging to this tribe in the Pathankot district (Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 11) and the Kangra and Hoshyapur districts (Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 160-61). They may therefore be located in the Punjab region.

(4) Dr. Law refers (p. 198) to the 'Andhra king, *Gautami-putra* Pulumāyi'. It is better to refer to the king as *Sātavāhana* rather than as *Andhra*. The metronymic is evidently a misprint for *Vāsiṣṭhīputra*.

(5) Dr. Law states (p. 14) on the authority of the *Divyāvadāna* that Pāṭaliputra was a great city at the time of the Buddha. The author's attention may however be drawn to the fact that, according to the unanimous testimony of the Purāṇas, Kusumapura or Pāṣaliputra was founded by Udayin, a son of Ajātaśatru, which seems to have flourished after the Buddha's death. The learned author is to decide whether we should prefer the *Divyāvadāna* to the Purāṇas.

These are a few of the points that crossed my mind while perusing Dr. Law's interesting work, and I offer them for the learned author's consideration. We

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recommend the book to students of early Indian geography, who would surely be benefited by it.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

ANCIENT INDIAN COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST, VOL. II—Suvarṇadvīpa, Part I—Political History, by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Professor, Dacca University ; Dacca, 1937 ; pp. xviii+436+16.

The first volume of *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, dealing with Champā (Annam), was published in 1927, and Indian scholars interested in the expansion of Hindu culture and the history of the Hindu colonies in the [Far] Eastern countries were eagerly awaiting the publication of the remaining volumes of Prof. Majumdar's work. The volume under review which is the first part of Vol. II (Suvarṇadvīpa) deals with the political history of ancient Malayasia.

The volume has been divided into four sections. Book I entitled ' The Dawn of Hindu Colonization ' deals with the land and people, pre-Hindu civilization and early Hindu colonization in Malayasia, and Hindu civilization in that country up to the end of the 7th century A.D. Book II deals with the empire of the Śailendra kings of Malayasia and Book III with the rise and fall of the Indo-Javanese empire. Book IV describes the downfall of the Hindu kingdoms of Malayasia. There are two maps, one of Malayasia and the other of Central and Eastern Java.

The early history of Malayasia, to which the Indian name Suvarṇadvīpa has been applied by the author, is wrapped up in obscurity. Prof. Majumdar, however, has marshalled the facts known from native and foreign (specially Chinese and Arabic) sources with wonderful skill. We congratulate the learned author for the keenness of his insight and the impartiality of his judgment. The account of the Śailendra emperors (p. 149ff.) is the most interesting section of the book, as is also that of the kings of Singhasāri (p. 292ff.) and of Maja-pahit (p. 308ff.). The Appendix (p. 204ff.) to Book II, in which some problems connected with Śrī-vijaya and with the Śailendras have been summarily discussed, is remarkable for the author's learning and clear vision.

There are however a few minor points on which we may not agree with the learned author. Prof. Majumdar seems to think (pp. 5–7) that the want of accurate knowledge of the Far Eastern countries on the part of the author of the *Periplus* was due to the facts that ' there was no direct communication between the Coromandel coast and the Far East ' and that vessels of South Indian ports bound for the Malay Peninsula made a coastal voyage along the Bay of Bengal. I am sorry I cannot follow the author's arguments. The reference to vessels called *Colandia* ' which make the voyage to Chryse and the Ganges ' in the *Periplus* shows that, whatever route might have been followed, South Indian merchants had first-hand knowledge of Malayasia during the first century A.D. Towards the east, the Greek vessels, however, do not appear at that time to have voyaged far beyond the Coromandel coast.

In connection with the origin of the name *Malaya* which has been connected with similar Indian names, we may draw the attention of the learned author to the fact that the name of Malaya, the southern *Kula-parvata* of India, is evidently derived from the Dravidian word *malai*, meaning ' hill ' and that the Indian tribe called Malaya, Mālaya, Malava, Mālava, possibly signified originally a Dravidian hill-tribe.

We have no doubt that the book dealing with a glorious chapter of ancient Hindu history will be favourably received by all interested in India's past.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

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A HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE, by Maurice Winternitz, Ph.D. Vol. II. Buddhist Literature and Jaina Literature. Translated from the original German by Mrs. S. Ketkar and Miss H. Kohn, B.A., and revised by the author. Only authorized translation into English. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1933; pp. xx+673.

The original German edition of the first part (Buddhist Literature) of this volume appeared in 1912, and the second part (Jaina Literature) in 1920, and in those days both parts were justly acclaimed as great achievements, for there was as yet no comprehensive work in which the Buddhist and Jaina Literature had been attempted. But things have changed much since. The additions and alterations which have been made in this translation are an eloquent index to the progress of research in Buddhistic studies in course of a comparatively short time. This progress has been so rapid that every work on the subject could not but be out of date as soon as it left the press, and this is the case, I fear, also with the volume under review. Had the author confined himself to Pāli Buddhism there would have been no great danger, though even in that case his work would have found a redoubtable rival in Dr. B. C. Law's excellent 'History of Pāli Literature'. The author's intention however was to give a comprehensive review of Buddhist and Jaina literature. But almost the whole of the Buddhist and Jaina literature deals with Buddhist and Jaina religion and philosophy. Any history of Buddhist and Jaina literature has therefore to do primarily with Buddhist and Jaina philosophy. This is however not the case with Winternitz's work, and this, I think, is its fatal weakness. There is indeed not much of philosophy in Pāli Buddhism. But the days are now long past when Buddhism used to be identified with Pāli. The untiring researches of MM. Haraprasad Shastri, Sylvain Lévi, L. Vallée-Poussin, Thomas Stcherbatsky and a host of other scholars have proved that the life of Buddhism was much more coloured, chequered and eventful than is suggested by the dull and peaceful rhythm of the Pāli texts. A history of Buddhism or Buddhist literature to-day will have primarily to analyze and digest a large number of very difficult Sanskrit texts, as can be clearly seen in the exquisite works of Professors Stcherbatsky (Buddhist Logic) and Satkori Mookerjee (Buddhist Theory of Universal Flux). Yet Winternitz's history of Buddhist literature is concerned almost wholly with Pāli texts. In the original German edition his section on Jaina literature was hardly more than a list of names, and the present translation is certainly a great improvement on it. But yet it must be regarded to-day as a mere relic of the past, for all that has been said about Jainism before Schubring's monumental work 'Die Lehre der Jainas' appeared can be hardly anything else. Jainism was till now almost a virgin soil. A firm foundation to Jaina studies has at last been laid by Schubring's work, and all future work on the field has got to start with a reference to it.

The work, I must confess, is not satisfactory to me. Yet, its shortcomings are more of omission than of commission, and therefore may be safely recommended to the students for whom it has been translated. A word at last about Winternitz's general method of dealing with literature. It is quite astonishing that in almost every work on Indian literature a large portion of the book should be devoted to futile discussions on chronology. There are much more comprehensive histories of Greek, Latin, German and English literature, but they are never encumbered with such hair-splitting disputes on what cannot but be of secondary importance. Such discussions should always be reserved for special articles in journals, or, in cases of particular importance, for special appendices at the end of the volume.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

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THE GLORIES OF HINDUSTAN, by Dr. Ernst Alfred Nawrath. Published by Methuen & Co., Ltd., 36, Essex Street, London. Price 25*s*. net.

This book contains 240 full-page pictures of all the important cities, lakes, rivers, mountains, caves, passes, palaces, temples, tombs, etc. of India with short descriptions. There is a map also. This book is not intended for the specialists but for the tourists who wish to see things of beauty in India. I quite agree with the author who admits that it is intended for the widespread class of educated people. I think that this book seems to be the best of all picture-books on India. We congratulate the author on the production of such an excellent work and on the excellent service he has rendered by giving notes on every picture. It is indeed a long-felt want which the author has removed to a great extent.

B. C. Law.

BRÂHMAṆA-ROMAN CATHOLIC SAṂVÂD (Argument between a Roman Catholic and a Brâhmaṇa) by Dom Antonio, edited by Prof. Surendra Nath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., published by the Calcutta University, 1937, Introduction and pp. 76 and Index.

This little volume contains the text of a seventeenth-century Bengali prose work, entitled 'Brâhmaṇa-Roman Catholic Saṁvâd' by a Bengalee prince of Bhuṣaṇâ, who happened to bear later on a Portuguese name. Of the personal history of this prince our knowledge is meagre, but the publication of this text has rendered the surmise ineffective that Dom Antonio was but 'a semi-legendary figure'. In 1663 he was taken captive to Arakan by the Arakanese, to be subsequently redeemed from captivity by a Portuguese missionary, who began to teach him the Christian scriptures. It was after his baptism that he, the Bengalee prince, was named Dom Antonio, and in the title-page of his work in the MS. recovered he is described as a 'great Christian Catechist (grande Chathequista) who converted so many Hindus (gentios)'.

The text of this Bengali work has been published from a MS. not in Bengali, but in Roman Script. The MS. is lying at Evora in Portugal, where Prof. Sen copied the major portion of it. The volume contains textual notes on difficult and obsolete words and expressions, and it also contains an Index. The text published is the earliest known specimen of Bengali prose style, and to the serious students of old Bengali language, the importance of the publication cannot be exaggerated.

N. N. Das Gupta.

NĀṬYAŚĀSTRASAMĪKṢĀ. By T. K. Ramachandra Aiyar. Printed at the Madras Law Journal Press, Mylapore, Madras, 1936.

The work under review gives a critical summary of some of the topics dealt with in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, e.g., theatrical stage, prologue, different types of acting and elements of drama. The introduction, which forms the first of the two parts into which the book is divided, is devoted to the investigation of problems like the origin and development of drama, the nature of drama and dramaturgical works, if any, in and before the time of Bharata, the authorship of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and chronology of the growth of the different types of drama. In this connection the results of the researches of experts in the field are set forth in these pages. As a matter of fact, the booklet gives within a small compass a good and popular idea about the subject and will be useful to students of indigenous schools (*catuṣpāṭhīs*) who cannot go through works in European languages in which excellent books and papers have been published by specialists.

Chintaharan Chakravartti.

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Karnataka and Mohenjo Daro by H. Heras.
A Great Contribution of Vijayanagara to the Tamil Country by C. S. Srinivasachari.
Identification of historical and geographical names in Laksmanotsava, a medical treatise composed in A.D. 1450 by P. K. Gode.
The Vira Saivas and their contribution to Vijayanagara by B. A. Saletore.
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The Missing Kārikā in the Sāṅkhyasaptati by S. S. Suryanarayana Shastri.

Some Important Dates from the Kharataragaccha Paṭṭāvalī by Dasharatha Sharma.

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Some Customs and Beliefs from the Rāmāyaṇa by Miss P. C. Dharma.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, July, 1937.

Social Life in the Rāmāyaṇa by Miss P. C. Dharma.

Just out ! **Just out !**

GEOGRAPHICAL ESSAYS, VOL. I

By

Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.

Contents :—(1) Geographical data from Sanskrit Buddhist Literature, (2) South India as a centre of Pāli Buddhism, (3) Geographical data from the Mahāvaṁsa and its Commentary, (4) Damiḷa and Damiḷaraṭṭha, (5) Mountains and Rivers of India, (6 & 7) Countries and peoples of India and Appendix to same, (8) Kapilavastu, (9) Buddhist cave temples in India, (10) Sacred places of the Jains, and (11) Sacred places of the Vaiṣṇavas. Index. Price Rs.3/8/-. To be had of the author, 43, Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta and Messrs. Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London.

Opinions

Dr. A. B. Keith.—It is a most valuable collection, rich in accurately stated and carefully collected facts, and lays all students once more under a deep debt of gratitude.

Dr. L. D. Barnett.—It is a really valuable digest of information, which I am very glad to possess.

Mr. Oldham.—Your careful and persevering researches in this respect will help very materially towards the preparation of a much-needed work, an Atlas of the ancient geography of India, which should contain maps of the continent at different periods of its early history. For the period of the Buddha you have already collected practically all the references available.

The Hindu.—Dr. Law, who is already known to the world of scholars as the author of a 'History of Pali Literature', 'Geography of Early Buddhism' and other interesting treatises on subjects relating to Ancient Indian History, has collected in this volume, in a revised and enlarged form, his articles published from time to time in various journals relating to the Ancient Geography of India, Burma and Ceylon ..... Dr. Law naturally deals at some length with the history of the Madhyadeśa so far as it relates to the Buddhistic period. One interesting and noteworthy observation made by the author in this connection is that the name *dīpa* applied to the ancient *dīpas* in the *Lalitavistara* and allied literature is obviously used in the sense of a country. Another point noticeable here is that the names *Kāśi* and *Bārāṇasī* referred respectively to a country and a city. The passing references made to the other *janapadas* of the *Jambudīpa* are also very informing. Interesting are the references to the āśrama of Vaśiṣṭha in the kingdom of the Mallas. Of interest to the Pauranic geographer is the reference to the places like Rāmagrāma in the land of the Koliyas where the eighth stūpa and a caitya were erected by Aśoka..... An interesting fact noticeable in these references is that Tanja (Tanjore) is stated to have been in Tambaraṭṭha of which the author Dhammapāla was a native. An entire chapter is devoted to Kapilavastu bringing together in one place all that is Buddhistically connected with it. Chap. IX devotes itself to a description of the several Buddhist cave temples of India. The work is on the whole helpful as it brings together all that could be readily desired to be known concerning the ancient geography of the country.

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Obituary

K. P. JAYASWAL

We deeply mourn the loss of Dr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, a well-known scholar of Bihar. He was a brilliant student of Oxford University and a successful Barrister of Patna. His contributions to the study of ancient Indian history and polity will long be remembered by scholars interested in the past history of India. He was the editor of the Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society. He was a man of simple and amiable manners, and was held in high esteem by all who came in contact with him. It is a pity that many well-known scholars of Indology have recently left the world, and I am sure that indological study will receive a great set-back in their deaths.

B. C. LAW.

HERMANN JACOBI

The death has snatched away from us one of our good friends and great indologists, Prof. Hermann Jacobi. He was an authority on Jainism and his valuable contributions to the study of the subject will be ever remembered by those working in the field of research. Europe is getting poorer day by day by the passing away of some of the well-known orientalists within a short time. May his soul rest in peace !

B. C. LAW.

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON

We regret to announce the death of another well-known American Indologist, Dr. Williams Jackson. He was an ardent student of Comparative Philology and Sanskrit. He was attached to the Columbia University as the Emeritus Professor of Indo-Iranian Languages and Literatures. He was the President of the American Oriental Society. He died on the 8th August, 1937. We sincerely condole this irreparable loss.

B. C. LAW.

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INDIA BETWEEN THE CULTURES

By O. STEIN

At a certain stage within a discipline the retrospective view appears not only necessary, it gets something of a self-purification, nay, justification. The decennies of the 20th century represent nearly in each year a centenary of the foundation of the various branches of Indology, in grammar, literary history, Vedic research. Thus 1838 the study of the Rigveda—by an never completed edition, of course,—was started by Friedrich Rosen. But also from a subjective point of view at a certain stage the student feels the necessity of reflection over the position of his discipline in the midst of the manifold sister-disciplines, he wants the urgent answer to the question of the justification of her existence and therewith of his own spiritual being, as he has devoted his life to that field of work. The student has the duty to repay in any form the possibility given to him by other sections of the people, to live according to his ideals. He can do it alone on the intellectual sphere : for the benefit of progress to search for objective truth, to spread knowledge, as narrow his field may be, to keep to, what may be called, a *mānasa vrata*.

In the case of India the question after her position in the history of culture is not an idle academical affair. From both the points of view, mentioned above, the objective and subjective, some reason in putting that question cannot be denied. It seems, however, that also a principal decision should be inaugurated to clear the question : is India entitled to have a place in the history of the ancient world or has she to be relegated to a more or less neglected corner, to range—as an outer look at the geographical reality seems to point at—with the Further East ? This question appears to be worth some consideration.

Since long sporadic vestiges hinted to a connection of India with the Western World. The excavations at the sites of Sind, which might receive a further extension to Kathiawar, are surprising in their richness and astonishing by the riddle which still surveils the bearers of the culture and mostly their script and language. By no means, however, the fact of India's relation with Western Asia can be called an unexpected event in her history ; only in finding the spot lays the ' hazard ' without which even in science many discoveries would not have happened. The novelty of the new knowledge, as imperfect it may be, is the chronological point of view and the inference to be drawn, as soon as the ethnical and linguistic

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secrets will be disclosed. Apart from prehistoric links between India and the West, apart from an alleged linguistic resemblance between Dravidian and Uralian languages, of Muṇḍā and even Indo-European with one of the other branch of the Finno-Ugrian, which in their generality or restrictness on the lexicon and by their operating with modern stages of ancient tongues are of a questionable value. There are facts which prove incontestably the existence of deities, known from the Rigveda, for the first quarter of the 14th cent. B.C. in Western Asia. That would tally with the suggestions made with regard to the influence of Babylonia on the other deities of the Veda, the Ādityas; here, however, the difference of a documentary p r o o f of the existence of gods, known from the Veda, in the 14th cent. and the p o s s i b i l i t y of a spiritual connection of ethic ideas, the substratum of the Ādityas, should not be overlooked. And further, in the former case the relation seems not yet clear, whether the Mitanni people have borrowed from a tribe among which the deities have been honoured, which tribe that has been, or whether the Mitanni themselves had a pantheon, including these deities; in the latter case, there is some resemblance between conceptions of ethical deities and the influence suggested would have worked from West to East. Or, the still controversary character of Varuṇa has been believed to be a contamination of a Hittite god of the Sea, Aruna, and of a god of Heaven and Sun, Asura, the name of the latter showing again a striking likeness to As(s)ur, a country in the neighbourhood of the Mitannis. The linguistic influences on the tribes, which speaking an Indo-European language, on their eastward migration invaded India, by Asia Minor are not proved, while those in the religious sphere are not improbable. Among the latter, though even Śiva has been said to be a borrowing from Asia Minor, the existence of a cult of a Mother Goddess in India may be as well influenced by the West, especially by Asia Minor, as it may have been influenced by indigenous ideas, prevailing in India, before the Indo-European dialects speaking tribes, immigrated from the West. This, of course, is an inference, as 'in the Vedic mythology goddesses played only a subordinate part' and even with Pṛthivī 'it was not until later, when Āryans and pre-Āryans had amalgamated, that her worship came to resemble that of the older goddess'. There is little doubt that the conception of a Mother Goddess or Earth Mother is a very simple, when taken from the natural impressions on human mind by birth and agriculture; but it becomes very composite and syncretic, if mixed with the male as *śakti*. It has been said that such a cult of a Mother Goddess must have its origin in a matriarchal society which is not found among the Indo-European dialects speaking tribes, immigrating in India, and points, therefore, again

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to a society with matriarchal organization, i.e. to Western Asia. Such a conclusion, it must be stressed, is not based on objective findings, it bears the stigma of a subjective opinion. With the same —perhaps even with more—right one could assert that in a patriarchally organised society, where the *pater familius* exercised a strong regimen, the feelings of the children tended towards the gentle protection of the mother, who might have been installed as a goddess. The position of the mother in the Indian joint family, even in modern time, is likely to be understood as that of a 'Mother Goddess', in the good and less benignant sense of the word. But the 'Motherhood' is only one side of that aspect; the 'Earth'-component as mother is so natural that no loan had to be raised by any people. Leaving aside such general reflections, the idea of a Mother Goddess in Vedic religion has not yet been thoroughly investigated, though vestiges of such a conception do not seem to be absent. A reference like that to Maitr. S. II 7, 16; Ath. V. XII, 1; Sat. Br. III 2, 2, 20; to the *devikāhavis*, are some, perhaps not reliable, instances of the idea of such a goddess and goddesses. It seems, on the other hand, to go far behind the facts, to establish the Āryan origin of these ideas; but the conception of a Mother Goddess and Earth Goddess is so simple, that no reason is to be seen why it should not have developed independently with the indigenous, or the immigrating tribes of India as well as with Western Asianic peoples, and afterwards have been amalgamated into the imponing figure of Durgā. Here, of course, the new problem of *śakti* arises, and a wide field of religious research is open to students.

Influences to have been exercised on the main figures of the Vedic pantheon by Western cultures are not isolated appearances in Oriental research. Babylonian parallels to Indian religious customs have been noticed, but the suggestion of an influence is not convincing. The *aśvamedha* represents such a peculiar Indian custom, the system of the sacrifice is so elaborate, the ritual in such a harmony with the basic priestly views that some features, not essential altogether, alone cannot be taken as proving a Babylonian origin of the rite. It seems to lie in the nature of the human mind to generalize and to simplify by that process the explanation of cultural phenomena the variety and multiplicity of which is otherwise vexatious for the mind. Sometimes elements which may have some resemblance, lead to the attitude of scholars to see influences, where analogous institutions came independently into existence with different cultures. Thus the celebration of the *uposatha* with the Buddhists on the 8th and 14th day of each *pakṣa* of a month, in addition to the Vedic holidays, is not to be explained as superposition of a 'neo-Babylonian system, based upon the four stages

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of the moon', as the latter can be as well attributed to India. In the Brahmanical law-books the fourteenth and preceding day in each half-month are known as fasting days, while Ceylon observes only four holidays. Again the idea of the Cakravartin has been led back upon the Babylonian conception of a 'king of the kings' and 'god of the gods'; neither the linguistic nor the general foundations are strong enough to allow such an inference, and from the chronological point of view a Persian influence in the Achæminian times would easier correspond to the age of the Ait. Br. of a still later Tranian the Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures, where the idea is met.

A far weightier importance had to be attributed to the Babylonian origin of the moon-stations, from which the Indian *nakṣatras* are to be derived; 'while the majority of students believe that the calendaric system of India was borrowed at least in part from Babylonia, there is no convincing evidence', has been said. Nevertheless, from the lunar calculation of day and night and from the division of a *pakṣa* into 30 *tithis*, consisting of threetimes 5 day- and 5 night-*tithis*, in the Candra-portion (Pāhuḍas X–XVI) of the Sūryaprajñapti conclusions have been drawn that there are preserved 'Pre-Āryan' views in the Jaina canon, and that the original Zodiac in India had a 'Far Eastern' form which was later on superimposed by a Western Asiatic one. This question would need an inquiry into Indian and Jain astronomy, whether there, especially in the latter, are some vestiges which would need the assumption of a borrowing from outside. Also cosmological ideas, like those of a celestial ocean above the firmament, of the world mountain, of the three spheres and of the seven worlds in the Upper- and Under-world, applied also to the Middle-world in the *dvīpa*-theory, that of world-guardians, *lokapālas*, of the colours of the walls of Ekbatana, compared with those of the Pātālas, all these ideas are of such a character that there exists only a resemblance, no identity, and an independent origin is not impossible.

Passing over the borrowing of words from Western Asia by India and *vice versa* by the Ancient Orient from India, the excavations in Sind have added some weight to the suggested connections between the two cultures in literature and science as in Art. The latter have been made the theme of papers and even of a just published book. It is not scepticism *pour* scepticism, the less in view of the latest archæological evidences, when also here a word of reserve may be said. For, the details can be deciding in any case of borrowing, if, however, also the main motives would be the same; but only by some, neither identical nor unique, decorative devices a closer connection cannot be established. As in the case of the Jaina canon which is alleged to have preserved an older astronomical

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tradition than the Brahmanical literature, it is surprising to find these resemblances in the late Buddhist art. Would it not be more likely to detect such resemblances in the art of the Harappa culture of Sind, where the cultural relations are chronologically as well as materially more natural? Moreover, India seems to have exported to Western Asia at least the beads, the various stages of making of which have been unearthed in Chanhu-Daro, and seals, the majority of which has been found on Indian soil. Thus the designs and motifs, occurring not at an earlier period than the inscriptions of India, may have been imported along with the latter's prototypes from Iran. These prototypes cannot belong to the Achæmenian period directly, otherwise there would exist some earlier vestiges, rather they must be ascribed to the period of the successors of the Achæmenids the artists of which may have handed over the art of Western Asia—comprising of course the traditional goods of the foregoing periods—to India. The argument, that such monuments of a period previous to that of Aśoka had been executed in wood only and therefore perished, is not decisive; quite on the contrary, it contains a contradiction in itself. First, if the Achæmenian art had influenced India directly, then there must exist monuments in stone since the 6th century B.C.; secondly, such stone buildings have been found, though very scarcely, but they do not show the Western influences. The only assumption left in accordance with the chronology and material seems to be that in the time of a more intensive connection of India with the West also the devices of decorations have been introduced, till in the last century B.C. the Greek element relieved the Asiatic.

Such a view seems to find its corroboration by history. Without recapitulating the known facts, proving a connection of India with Persia since the last but one decennium of the 6th century B.C., one remark must be made. The art of India flourishes since the first empire in her history. And further, that emperor under whose reign Buddhism became the official, if not to say the state-religion, proclaimed peace, renounced the war, he notifies in his enunciations the relations with the Hellenistic rulers. It is hardly due to a chance that under the Buddhist Aśoka art made her first great appearance in Eastern India. Apparently the forerunners of this emperor did not confess Buddhism which seems to imply that their Brahmanical faith, if so, did not need the monuments. Is it not remarkable that not a single temple has been preserved of the previous period? The wood-argument cannot be applied together with the direct Achæmenian influence, one of them must be wrong, probably the latter.

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The connections of India with the Near East seem to have been not restricted to Western Asia, they have extended to Egypt too, as has been asserted. At the outset, those with the former must have been easier than those with the African continent, where the Ocean till the discovery of the Monsoon formed a heavier obstacle than mountains. Putting aside the prehistorical connections of the two countries, it is possible that sailing along the coasts and the commerce even by land, using the intermediary of other peoples, could have brought the two cultures together. Connections with Egypt have been supposed for the Sixth Dynasty, about 2600 B.C. On a less unfirm ground based are the suggested relations put into the time of the New Realm, 15th century B.C., inferred from the adoption of the Indian blast by the Egyptians ; these connections should have been possible over North East-Africa, but an Indian influence upon the Old Realm has to be denied. As will be shown presently, it is again the 6th century B.C., in which reliable sources testify a connection between Egypt and India. It is the very same ruler, Dareios I, whose time (522–486) was filled with suppression of rebellions, waging wars against foreign peoples, who nevertheless created the inner organization of his vast empire and sent expeditions into the East, anticipating not only the Macedonian enterprise, but to some extent even an achievement of the 19th century A.D. For, he continued the construction of a canal from the Nile ' to the sea that begins from Persia ', which has been started by the Egyptian king Necho, he sent an expedition to explore India, from the North till to the Ocean in the South. This expedition, sent out after the reconstruction of the canal (517 B.C.), led to the subjugation of India on her Western border ; for she appears besides Gandhāra which belonged already to the Persian empire, in the list of provinces, between 516–513 B.C.

This is the starting point in the connections of India with the West. But these connections should not be exaggerated. India, that means Western India, up to the Indus, and the West, that means the Persian empire to which India had to pay gold as tribute and to send contingents in war-time. Otherwise India, the real India in her political and cultural aspect, led her own life. The political events of Alexander the Great's invasion led to the establishment of steady and intimate connections with the West as well as with Egypt. The reality of facts has found the conform expression in the records of Greek authors who underline that India has never been invaded before the Macedonians ; when they assert that rulers like Semiramis and Kyros had tried to subjugate India, they do not fail to add the unsuccessfulness of their attempts, apart from the not surprising inference that the North-West of India, just the province

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Gandhāra, may have formed a part of the empire previous to the time of Dareios I. The Iranian dialects and ethnic affinities up to this day on that borderland are to be ascribed to that past.

In Hellenistic times the Seleucids and Lagides entertained political relations with India ; on the courts of the Mauryan rulers, after the time of Candragupta where the first ambassador Megasthenes from Seleukos I had acted, at the time of Bindusāra the diplomatic representative of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos (285–246 B.C.). Dionysios met perhaps the successor of his colleague from the Seleucid ruler Antiochos I, namely Daimachos. Hellenistic rulers are mentioned in Aśoka's inscriptions as the contemporaries to whom he had sent his envoies. These facts are offered by literary and documentary sources. Besides the inscriptions the mutual relations of India with Egypt get a corroboration also by Greek papyri of the Ptolemaic time, though also these documents leave no doubt that the traffic with India by sea reaches its climax in the time of the Roman empire. And to this Ptolemaic period belong apparently the monuments on Egyptian soil which are believed to show influences of Buddhist art.

The Hellenistic period down to the times of the Roman empire means the most fruitful and forms an amazing chapter in the history of cultural relations. It is not only the steadily increasing intensity of these relations which evokes the great interest, it is the variety of them and the depth of their efficiency. The picture, manytimes drawn, from different points of view, can still bear some filling up with new colours. The ramification of the relations extend to the subtle questions of the highest spiritual character as well as those of science, art, literature, and material culture. Philosophy and religion, astronomy, medicine, mathematics, dramatic and narrative literature, shipping and commerce, currency are key words, which cover the treasures of an unique mutual giving and taking between cultured peoples during centuries.

Stress must be laid on the mutuality of these processes : India did not alone receive the impressions of the West in coining her cultural personality, she also had to present to the West spiritual and material wealths, both up to this day. The question of balance on either of the both sides, which a misunderstood partiality is sometimes ready to wiegh as if the *Habet* and *Debet* in cultural life would matter, as in the material world is quite irrelevant. Under the aspect of the highest ideals of cultural progress and humanity the historical fact and efficiency is the only deciding point of view.

The position which the *West* has occupied in the course of time with regard to India : from sporadic and not always apparent connections towards an increasing and lasting exchange, the same

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part of India is taking in her relations with regard to the *East*. There are differences in these two relationships : the West and India on the one side, India and the East on the other side, which could not be overlooked, though the similarities are tempting. For, there is again the land-route, the way of which is blocked by the barrier of high mountains in the North and less, though still considerable, in the East, and on the route by sea an unknown ocean. The differences, however, are of a more important character, as they lie in the ethnical and spiritual nature. The West, itself of heterogeneous structure, comprising the cultures of so many peoples, most of them with a great past, syncretizing in Hellenistic times into one culture, but bearing in that amalgamation the seed of the coming collapse, is working upon India. She, however, influences the West in her most noble achievements, absorbing the Western influences into her already undisturbed cultural physiognomy, and in her essential trends stands here as an entity, still growing to perfection. India enters into relations with the East in a period, when her own culture has gone through the basic developments and was on the way to evolve the final shape which could be enlarged only, not altered. But these cultures of the East which are exposed to India's influence, are of the very same character as the West, heterogeneous in ethnical and spiritual nature, only much less advanced than the West, nay, ascending from the dimness into the light of history.

The sources, of course, which would allow to pursuit the canals, carrying India's goods to the East up to the shores of the Pacific, are not so easy to detect, as they are scanty and hidden, sometimes more in the sand of the deserts than in writings of well-known authors. This is a further difference : the West had reached its culminating point, a rich literature, grand monuments, hoards of coins, a plenty of inscriptions offer an arsenal for finding the ways, leading to and from India. The East—China excepted—a world laying in its tribal infancies and slowly awakening, when the cultural giant India enters upon the plan.

According to Salinea prehistoric researches a connection of India with Indonesia has to be assumed on account of the finds of the neolithic quadrangular axe, showing the identical type in Further India as in Chota Nagpur and the Santal Parganas. A mixture of the Austronesian and Austroasian quadrangular and shoulder axe cultures has taken its course towards India. These parts of Eastern India where that culture has been introduced, are the home of the Muṇḍas today. These archæological results found, as it seems, a supplement in the linguistic researches which tries to establish a Austroasiatic family of languages to which also the Muṇḍā would belong. A further step in these endeavours was the recons-

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truction of the ethnic and linguistic past by peeling out among the names of Indian tribes and from the vocabulary of 'Āryan' India the vestiges of a 'Pre-Āryan' and 'Pre-Dravidian' population and to prove their connection with Austro-Asian, at least with Indonesian languages. The late S. Lêvi subsumes under the Austroasiatic family of languages, therefore, Muṇḍā and was willing, as it seems, to subscribe the theory of an invasion in succeeding waves, brought forward by J. Hornell, viz.: a Pre-Dravidian population on the Southern coast of India, Polynesian influence, Dravidian migration, Malayan immigration, Indo-Āryan immigration. Prof. Przyluski who has contributed many papers to that problem, expressed his own view in clear words: he believes that the aborigines of the Deccan were a population of black skin who have been the primitive ancestors of the present Dravidians; therefore, one cannot speak of a Dravidian invasion. Upon that black-skinned population were superimposed the conquering Kols or Muṇḍas, having a brighter colour; thus the scheme of the succeeding populations has to run: Proto-Dravidian, Muṇḍa, Indo-Āryan. In recent times the existence of an Austro-Asiatic family of languages has been denied and Muṇḍā has been declared to belong to the Ugrian branch of the Finno-Ugrian family of languages. Not alone this, also the people, speaking an Ugrian language, had, after the separation of the Ugrian stock of languages, and event, to be dated back to the 3rd millenium B.C., invaded India. A third view has been advanced in connection with the Dravidian languages and their relations to Muṇḍā. According to this hypothesis primitive Dravidian (proto-Dravidian) entered India from the North-West with Uralian elements already assimilated; the Uralian element of the Muṇḍā family is not directly connected with the Dravidian one, but points to a marriage between an indigenous Indian tongue (hailing probably from Further India) with an Uralian invader who thus became, possibly without having come in contact with the Draviḍas, the dominant agent in the formation of what are now the Muṇḍā languages. On the one hand, the Muṇḍas are said to have been in India before the immigration of the Draviḍas, or, according to another view, to have conquered these Dravida, who are the descendants of an indigenous black-skinned people; both these views acknowledge a connection of the Muṇḍa with the East, declaring Muṇḍā as a language, belonging to the Austro-Asiatic family; but they differ in the question inasmuch as the former view believes the Muṇḍas to form a population in India previous to the immigration of the Draviḍas, while the other view sees in the Muṇḍas a people, conquering the autochthon Draviḍas; and even a third view acknowledges the Muṇḍā family as a marriage of an indigenous Indian

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tongue, hailing from the East, Further India, with an Uralian invader who has affected two indigenous families of speech in different ways. On the other hand, the Muṇḍas are said to be immigrants from the West, after the separation of the Ugrian languages in the 3rd millen. B.C. The quadrangular axe culture, says prehistoric archæology, to which the megalithic culture of Indonesia seems to belong, has come from China by the way of Further India, probably between 2000 and 1500 B.C., and has probably been introduced from the Malay Peninsula into Indonesia by peoples speaking Austronesian languages. If the Muṇḍas show that quadrangular axe culture and, according at least to one party, are hailing from Further India, speaking an Austro-Asiatic language, than the introduction of the quadrangular axe culture cannot happen much before 1500 B.C. And assuming the hypothesis of their conquering the Draviḍas, this latter population must have felt themselves like in a press, squeezed from the North-West from the invading tribes, speaking an Indo-European language, from the East driven back by the invading Muṇḍas. Of course, the immigration of the 'Āryans' can have happened some or only one or two centuries later or earlier; in any case, one wonders that under such ethnical muddle there exists still up to this day something like Dravidian languages and that those comparatively poor rests of that once conquering population of the Muṇḍas has not evolved a higher standard in the life of India. Again says the prehistoric archæologist, that the early metallic civilization 'took its origin in Southern China and the Northern part of Further India, under strong Western—chiefly Halstattian and Caucasian—influences in the 8th or 7th century B.C. From there it must have spread over Further India and Indonesia in the 3rd century B.C. at the latest'. If these chronological statements are to be taken only approximately, then a cultural borrowing from the Muṇḍas who may have belonged to Further India by the tribes who spoke Indo-European dialects at that time in India, offers some difficulties, the more, as Western influences are seen in Further India. The question of Muṇḍā as an Ugrian branch needs from a historical and linguistic point of view so many supports that nothing could be stated as yet as proved. It will be a further task to take into consideration the alleged appearance of an Uralian element in Dravidian and the connection between Iranian and Finno-Ugrian.

Of such a hypothetical nature are these very important problems of the connections of India with the East, leading into the beginnings of settlement of indigenous and immigrating peoples on her soil. But even the contact of India with the East in less remote times is by far anything else than a settled question. Some scholars have tried to show that connections of India with China go back to the

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12th century B.C. by India's borrowing the zodiac from China. The once promulgated view of the antiquity of Chinese culture has not remained uncontradicted and even such a zealous advocate of Chinese influences on the West like L. de Saussure has been forced to modify his statements. On the other hand there are not missing assertions that in the 7th century B.C., Indians had visited China and that the Chinese astronomy has raised a loan on Indian culture in the 6th century B.C. Influences between Indian and Chinese philosophy have been constructed since Pauthier's book (1831), and A. Conrady was convinced of Indian influences on the successors of Lao-tse's teaching. Such views have been the subject of many discussions, the result of which seems to be that relations between India and China previous to the Han dynasty (202 B.C.–221 A.D.) are simple hypotheses. These hypotheses, however, have got a new impetus by the occurrence of the term Cīnabhūmi in the so-called Kautilīya Arthaśāstra, a work ascribed to the Prime-minister of the Maurya Candragupta (4th century B.C.). Among Sinologists does not exist unanimity about the derivation of the name Cīna, though still the view that the name owes its origin to the Ts'in dynasty has not disappeared. Loses the argument for early commerce between India and China by accepting this view its basis—apart from other proposals to explain the name Cīna—in any case the deductions drawn from the existence of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in Chinese Turkistan are impossible to be accepted. There is no proof that Candragupta's home has been Gandhāra and an inquiry into the Prākrit of the inscriptions, chiefly from Niya, has shown that their language points to a close agreement 'with the (post-Aśokan) Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions from N.W. India'. In Aśoka's time, though his inscriptions at Nigālī Sāgar and Rummindeī lead to the border of modern Nepāl, no vestiges of connections with Further India have been traced, while the emperor underlines his embassies sent to Hellenistic rulers. It is true, that the Mahāvaṃsa ascribes to that ruler's time the missionary work, done in the West, North, in Ceylon and also in the East, Suvaṇṇabhūmi, i.e. Burma. The trustworthiness of this statement seems to get some confirmation, as has been observed, by the inscriptions from Sanchi where the relics of monks have been found with inscriptions, bearing names like those of the missionaries of Aśoka's time. Suvarṇabhūmi's missionary is not represented there, and it is remarkable that the teacher of the people in the Himalaya was according to two inscriptions (Lueder's List No. 158, 655) has been Kotīputa Kāsapagota, while the literary source mentions also Majjhima as the leading missionary.

About the middle of the 2nd century B.C. begun that migration of tribes in Chinese Turkistan the consequences of which were felt by

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India in the establishment of foreign reigns, the culminating power of which are the Kuṣāṇa in the 1st century A.D. Since that time the relations with the North and East, chiefly with China, are not restricted to India, the Roman empire came into commercial contact by Parthians, as Greek, Latin and Chinese sources show. The first century A.D. seems to be the epoch, when the North, North-East as well as the South-East of Asia opens his commercial and cultural relations with India, mostly by enterprise of Indians. Chinese Turkistan occupies a special position among the countries where Indian culture was spread: invaluable archæological and epigraphical sources offer an insight into the depth of Indian influences in language, religion, art, and perhaps also in administration, an influence which, sometimes mixed with Iranian elements, penetrates through Tibet, China, and Japan. While Indian sources as those of the Classic world are silent about a knowledge of South-Eastern Asia till to the 2nd century A.D., since that century the commerce, certainly enlarged by the shipping discoveries of the 1st century A.D., finds its way to these countries which, like once the Greek colonization in Italy led to a Greater Greece, are today called by the term 'Greater India'. Into the 2nd or beginning of 3rd century A.D. belongs the first Sanskrit inscription of Vo-canh which is situated on the territory of the ancient Campā, south of modern Annam. In 399 A.D., opens the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien the row of pious students of his country who came, in spite of the dangers and troubles on their long journey, to visit the country of that doctrine which had been introduced in China perhaps in the 1st century A.D., to study Buddhism, though there seems some probability of an existence of Buddhists in China already in the 1st century B.C. It is beyond the frame of these lines to give a history of the spread of Buddhism in Western and Eastern Asia, the importance of which cannot be overrated as that religion formed chiefly the vehicle for the introduction or influence of India's art and literature in Indo-China. It is noteworthy that into this period, starting with the 1st or 2nd century A.D. also Indian literature notices a knowledge of the Far East. The historical value of that cultural penetration is enhanced by the establishment of Indian reigns like that of the Śailendra dynasty in Śrīvijaya in the 8th century A.D. which comprised Sumatra and Java.

Incomplete as that survey must be, the singular position of India between the cultures of West and East shows the importance she has for the history of the ancient world. With the West India's relations can be dated back, apart from the future revelations of the discoveries in Sind, to the 6th century B.C. This contact grows up by the 4th century B.C. when for the first time not sporadic travellers, but huge masses enter Indian soil, though also the Greek do not

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know anything about Eastern India first. That happens in the Hellenistic period. Cultural influence, as yet handed over by land routes, is enhanced by commercial connections which begin in the 3rd century B.C. and are intensified in the time of the Roman empire. In the 2nd century A.D. the Western knowledge of India is perfect, the mutual influences last during the next centuries up to the mediæval period. Close connections with the East begin in the 2nd century A.D., though Buddhism may have found its way into China already one or two centuries earlier. The differences in the relations of India with West and East are obvious : in the West India's part is working mostly indirectly, as the commercial canals may have formed also the routes for the cultural influences, and on their ways participated on the land and sea side other nations. Further, the West had climbed up already its cultural climax, and was politically a world-empire when he entered in closer contact with India. On its side the West imported also material goods from India which it tried to exploit since its first appearance on Indian soil. Therefore, India's influences are less visible and more difficult to trace than in the East, where Indian elements lay on the surface of the cultural and political life. The reasons are the opposite of those mentioned before : the direct contact between India and the East, the culturally and politically less advanced stage of the countries in the North and South-East of India. That finds its expression in the fact that the West not only received India's cultural and material goods, but wanted also to subjugate India, while the East never played an active rôle against India. It is tempting to say that India meant for the East what the West for India. Comparisons in historical matters are always less than half of the truth. For, never India has resorted to forcible means on her cultural and commercial penetration into the East, quite on the contrary, the East accepted spontaneous what India had to spend from her treasures and her high standard. That position of India between the cultures cannot be better circumscribed than by a word of one of the noblest rulers in the history of mankind : *dhammavijaya*. India's relations towards West and East was never defiled by waging wars for material gain and only self-defence forced the weapons in her hands. Thus she won her victory in accordance with the command of *dharma*, be it religion, be it morality, call it culture or humanity. That is the importance of India's rôle in the history in which a place hardly shared by any other country belongs to her, from the remote past up to this day, that is her unique and noble position between the cultures.

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NOTES.

Windisch, Geschichte der Sanskrit-Philologie I, 93f.

Cf. Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology X, 1ff., 4f.

Schrader, ZII 3, 1924, 81ff. On the same scholar's view in BSOS VIII, 1936, 751ff. See below, p. 11.

For the last paper, see W. de Hevesy, OLZ. 1936, 273ff.

Jacobsohn, Arier und Ugrofinnen; Zeitschrift fuer vgl. Sprachforschung 55, 1927, 304ff.

The Boghaz-köi texts have brought also Agni whose missing name in the treaty of Suppiluliuma with Mattivaza is remarkable. Without vindicating neither the 'Pre-Āryan' nor the 'Post-Āryan' value of the names of the deities, their appearance in the 14th century B.C. in Asia Minor shows the existence of some gods of the Vedic pantheon in that time and the connection with the West. For a view that the language of the Mitanni chieftains represents a third, yet unknown, branch of the Āryan group cf. Lesný, Arch. Or. 4, 1932, 257ff., where the reference for Agni is given (p. 259, n. 2).

Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, 2 Aufl., 191ff.; B. Geiger, Die Ameša Spentas 139ff., but cf. 159 ff.

Kretschmer, WZKM 33, 1926, 1ff.; Zeitschr. f. vgl. Spr. 55, 1927, 75ff.

For the linguistic influences cf. Porzig, XII 5, 265ff., contradicted by Keith, Dr. Modi Memorial Volume, 81ff.

Porzig l.c. 278; the 'Śiva' of Mohenjo-Daro (M.-D. and the Indus Civilization I, Pl. XII, 17) in the posture of a Yogin is not convincing, in spite of the parallels to later ideas of the god; in any case, even the author of the concerned chapter, Sir John Marshall (I, 52ff.) refers to analogies in Mesopotamia. For a Gallic analogon cf. Schrader, ZDMG 13, 1934, 285ff.

For the Mother Goddesses in Mohenjo-Daro, see M.-D. I, 49ff. (the quotation above from p. 51f.; for Chanhu-Daro see Mackay, Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1936, Oct., 89, also Ill. London News 1936, Nov. 21, p. 911, fig. 37. Dr. Mackay points (Bulletin 89) to the doves, found associated with the idol, which occur in Crete, Sardinia, etc. also.

E.g. Przyluski, Revue de l'histoire des religions 105, 1932, 182; Keith, Religion and Philosophy of the Veda 149.

No better proof of the role played by the wife and mother in India could be cited than the wide-spread idea that the man is re-born in his son by the wife. For Mother Earth cf. Rigv. X, 18, on which hymn Hocart, Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G, Vol. I, Part 1, 1924, 41f. refers to Fijian parallels. The king is husband and master of the Earth.

Translated into German and interpreted by Lindenau, Festgabe Jacobi 248ff.

Hillebrandt, Ritual-Literatur 165.

Sten Konow, referred to by Atul K. Sur, Calcutta Review 1931, April, 227ff.; IHQ 10, 1934, 14ff. Cf. Stein, WZKM 34, 21ff.

As yet there are only the papers by Prof. Przyluski, dealing with the problem of the Great Goddess: Revue de l'hist. des rel. 105, 1932, 182ff; 108, 1933, 50ff.; 109, 1934, 149ff.; 110, 1934, 157ff.; IHQ 10, 1934, 405ff.; Muséon 49, 1936, 293ff.; Harvard Journal of Aisatic Studies 1, 1936, 129ff. The 'Dravidian' institution of the matriarchale should not be overlooked. On Kuṣāṇa coins the goddess Nannaia is found (Rapson, Indian coins §36) which seems to refer to the Scythic Nane (Aphrodite) or to a Mother Goddess.

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Albright and Dumont, JAOS 54, 1934, 107ff.; Keith, Kuppuswami Sastri Comm. Vol. 67ff.; Przyluski, Revue de l'Université Bruxelles 1937, 14 (separ.), 24 who compares the *vājapea*.

Przyluski, IHQ 12, 1936, 383ff.

Cf. Kern, Buddhism 99.

Przyluski, Rocznik Orientalist. 5, 1927, 165ff.; for the seven walls and their colours of the city of Ekbatana cf. also Kirfel, Kosmographie der Inder 35f.

JAOS 54, 127f.

J. F. Kohl, Die Sūryaprajñapti (Bonner Orientalistische Studien 20, Stuttgat, 1937), XXVIIIff. On the Jaina Calendar cf. S.R. Das, Jaina Antiquary III, 2, 1937, 31ff.

Kirfel, Kosmographie der Inder 28ff.

They have been treated many times, for reference H. G. Rawlinson, Intercourse between India and the Western World, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1926; some of the words are uncertain (e.g. for Sanskrit karpāsa an Austro-Asiatic etymology has been proposed, see Przyluski in Bagchi, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India 23ff.), and new words had to be added. For Indian loan-words in European languages cf. Lokotsch, Etymolog. Woerterbuch der europ. (german, n roman. und slav.) Woerter orientalischen Ursprungs, Heidelberg 1927, to which additions have been given in the reviews of the book.

The most important item is the story of the deluge; other motives have been found occasionally, e.g. the Ṛsiśṛnga-episode, for which see Mitteil. der altorient. Gesellschaft II, 3, 1927, and JAOS 40, 329f., also OLZ 1927, 390. In science the astronomical achievements have been referred to already; another parallel would be the calculation according to Yugas.

Western Asiatic prototypes have been alluded to already by Gruenwedel, Buddhist. Kunst, 2nd ed., 41, 49, 51; cf. the new edition by Waldschmidt, Berlin 1932, I, 115ff.

Fábri, JA 217, 1930, 298ff. I; Mesopotamian and Early Indian Art: comparisons (Études d'Orientalisme publ. pr le Musée Guimet à la mémoire de R. Linossier, Tome I, Paris 1932) 203–253 (with an ample bibliography); Combaz, Inde et Mēsopotamie (Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d' Histoire, Sēr. 3, t. 5, nr. 6, 127–132; and the same author's just announced book: L'Inde et l'Orient classique.

Frankfort, Annual Bibl. Ind. Arch., VII, 1ff.; Fábri, Ind. Culture 3, 663ff.

Marshall, CHI I, 632, 644, Coomaraswamy, Gesch. der ind. Kunst 10ff.

In Candragupta's time, as Rudradāman's Junāgaḍh inscription shows, the provinces Ānarta and Surāṣṭra were governed by an Indian, under Aśoka by a Yavana king, who according to his name seems to have been an Iranian.

In prehistoric times, geologists say, 'that India and the southern and central parts of Africa were once united into one great stretch of nearly continuous dry land is proved by overwhelming evidence', Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. I, 85.

For the routes, by land trough Arabia, see Warmington, The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India, 10ff.

W. J. Perry, The Children of the Sun 560, according to the quotation by Slater, The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture 25, which view, as remarked there and 158, n. 1, has been accepted by Grafton Elliot Smith in the latter's book 'Ancient Mariners', who again agrees with Slater's modified theory (p. 158f.): 'The bringers of the heliolithic culture from Egypt mingled their blood with the Dravidians, and the result was the Brahman caste'. For racial affinities between North Africa and South-West Asia to the Deccan at least cf. Slater 35f. Of hardly

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less controvertible nature are the resemblances between South African and Dravidian customs, constructed upon the ritual of killing the king in connection with the phases of the moon, with Jupiter and Venus, asserted to by Frobenius, Indische Reise, Berlin 1931, 90f.

Foy, Festschrift Kuhn 426f. For motives cf. Printz, ZDMG NF 11, 1932, 111f.

For the Suez-canal inscriptions, see Annual Bibliogr. Ind. Arch. 1931, 45, sub. No. XIV.

There, in Kaspapyros, Skylax of Karyanda started on his expedition down the Indus and led it back to Persia. On the pertaining question, whether previous to Dareios I parts of India have belonged to Persia cf. Jackson, CHI I, 329ff. The same scholar disbelieves the record by Herodot IV, 44, but prefers the view that Dareios 'must previously have won by force of arms a firm hold over the territory traversed from the headwater of the Indus to the ocean, in order to have been able to carry out such an expedition'. The notice of Hekataios about a 'royal fort' among the Opiai seems to point to some place in Sind, while other reasons would locate the people and place in modern Afghanistan. In any way, the notice shows that the Indus formed the eastern border of the Persian empire, whatever may have its course in these times. It is difficult to see the reasons which could compel one to the assumption that the persons, portrayed on a relief of Persepolis, represent Indians, see Annual Bibl. Ind. Arch. VIII, Plate Ia and p. 4f.

See CHI I, 329ff. and Pauly-Wissowa's Realenzykl. XV, 243ff.

For a collection of the pertaining papyri, see Stein, Indologica Pragensia I, 34ff.; for the Roman period Warmington, and Sarasin, Der Handel zwischen Indern und Roemern zur Zeit der roemischen Kaiser, Basel, 1930.

Cf. W. E. Clark, Classical Philology 14, 1919, 310 (with references to Flinders Petrie's works); Tarn, Journal of American Archæology 14, 1928, 251.

Besides the indispensable work by Lassen, Ind. Alterthumskunde, cf. G. N. Banerjee, Hellenism in India, 2nd ed., Calcutta 1920; Clark, Classical Philology 14, 1919, 297ff.; 15, 1920, 1ff.; CHI I, 391ff. A short treatment was given recently by the late *Winternitz*, Arch. Or. 7, 1935, 280ff., translated and revised in Visva Bharati Quarterly N.S. II, P. IV, 1937, 1ff. Mc Crindle's works, bringing in English translation the passages of the classical authors, need a modern and critical revision, in accordance with the new material in Jacobi's 'Fragmente der griechischen Historiker', though not yet complete.

The latter has been dealt with by Warmington and already in Robertson's Historical disquisition concerning the knowledge which the Ancients had of India, etc., Basil MDCCXCII. For the former cf. Brandl, who wrote in 1858 (in German) on India's influence on Europe; in recent days Swami Ashokananda published his booklet: The Influence of Indian Thought on the Thought of the West (Mayavati 1931). Specially Indian vestiges in German Philosophy and literature have been made the subject of many papers: cf. H.v. Glasenapp, Calcutta Rev. 1928, Dec., 189ff., where the pertaining works are quoted; further: P. Th. Hoffmann, Der indische und der deutsche Geist von Herder bis zur Romantik, Tuebingen 1915. For Schopenhauer see, besides the book by Max Hecker also the 'Jahrbuch der Schopenhau ergesellschaft' 15, 1928 which is entirely devoted to the problem Europe-India.—For Spinoza a book by S. M. Melamed, Spinoza and Buddha, New York 1930 may be quoted (see Bibl. Bouddh., VI, 282).

R.v. Heine-Geldern, Anthropos 27, 1932, 600. 609.

Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian 95f.

Ibid. 124.

IHQ 6, 1930, 145ff.

Ibid., 146.

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W. v. Hevesy, OLZ 1936, 273ff.
F. O. Schrader, BSOS VIII, 1936, 751ff.
[This note belongs to page 12, line 9, to be added after the word 'archæology']
R. v. Heine-Geldern, Annual Bibl. Ind. Arch. IX, 1936, p. 35.
Ibid., 36f.
See the references, quoted above n. 5.
Kennedy, JRAS 1898, 241ff., 269f. Cf. OLZ 1933, 57f.; Lueders, Sitz. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch. 1933, 998ff.
In Pflugk-Harttung's Weltgeschichte III, 545; ZDMG 60, 1906, 335ff.
G. Tucci, Storia della filosofia cinese antica, Bologna 1922, 109ff.
Jacobi, Sitzungber. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch. 1911, 961.
Pelliot, T'oung Pao XIII, 1912, 460.
H. C. Seth, JIH 13, 1937, 413ff.
Burrow, The Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan, Cambridge 1937, Introd. VI.
CHI I, 499.
For other alleged relations with Nepāl, see CHI I, 501f.; Smith, Early History, 4th ed., 170.
Herrmann, Die Verkehrswege zwischen China, Indien und Rom, Leipzig, 1922.
Cf. OLZ 1937, 255.
A succinct and illuminating survey by Sir A. Stein, On ancient Central-Asian Tracks, London 1933.
R. C. Majumdar, Champa, Lahore 1927; G. Maspero, Le Royaume de Champa, Paris 1928.—On other colonies see the publications of the Greater India Society which are not at our disposal here.
Franke, Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches I, 407f.
H. v. Glasenapp, Der Buddhismus in Indien und im Fernen Osten, Berlin-Zuerich 1936.—A short history of Buddhism in Indo-China by L. Finot, B. C. Law's Buddhistic Studies, 749ff.
See the contributions by S. Lévi, JA XI, 11, 1918, 1ff.; in Études Asiatiques, Paris 1925, Tome II, 1ff.

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JAHANGIR'S RELIGIOUS POLICY

By SRI RAM SHARMA

When Akbar lay dying, Jahangir was but nominally reconciled to his father. However when he at last entered the royal presence, he was acknowledged by Akbar as his successor and on his father's death he quietly succeeded him. He now inherited Akbar's liberal policy and as we shall soon see he tried to follow it.

The Mughal government was at best personal despotism tempered by Akbar's institutions. Akbar in setting up the new framework of government set certain limits to his own and his successor's freedom of action. Normally the Mughal kings could be expected to act within those limits, but, now and then, their personal traits would break out and transcend them. There was no institution in the Mughal government that could deny them anything on which they set their hearts. The study of Jahangir's religious policy well illustrates this struggle between Akbar's institutions and the inherent powers of the Mughal kings. It sometimes becomes difficult to talk of a policy, so many are the exceptions to which it is subjected. The following study, however, aims at systematizing the known facts of his reign as far as his religious policy is concerned.

Akbar had abolished the Jizya and the Pilgrimage Tax, permitted conversions from Islam to other religions, put an end to persecutions for religious opinions, and freely allowed public celebration of the religious fairs and festivals of non-Muslims. Places of public worship had been built by the Hindus and Christians without hindrance. Admission to higher public services had ceased to be governed by religious considerations ; Hindus, Muslims, and even Christians, were welcome at his court and allowed to serve the State to the best of their abilities. He patronized literature, art, and science without narrow theological considerations. To conciliate the Hindus, he gave up many practices that were offensive to them. The court ceremonies were enriched by the introduction of many Hindu and old Persian customs. Administrative convenience further led him to adopt many measures that, to some, appeared opposed to Muslim tradition. His religious toleration however was bound up with humanitarian considerations and he made war on what he considered to be evil even if it was sanctioned by contemporary Hindu or Muslim religious opinion. To bring the two communities together, he had *Persian* translations made of Hindu religious works

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so that even Jahangir could assert that there was not much difference between the Sūfī traditions in Islam and the Vedāntist school of Hindu Philosophy. Akbar's religious policy had resulted in fraternization of the two communities; as they were drawn together, their angularities were rubbed off, their hatred of each other decreased. The Hindus came to consider the Muslims less of a defiling influence when they met them on terms of equality in the private audience-chamber, on the battlefield, and in the administrative secretariat. The Muslims ceased to think of the Hindus as an offence against their religion when they stood shoulder to shoulder with them in the great enterprise of governing India.

Jahangir had no intention of generally altering this state of things. He continued, with some exceptions, his father's practice of allowing non-Muslims to build public places of worship. His friend Bir Singh Bundela built a magnificent temple at Mathura [1] which was now once again rising into prominence as the sacred city of the Vaishṇavas. He raised another magnificent place of public worship in his own State as well. More than seventy new temples were built in Benares alone towards the end of his reign. They were however not yet complete when Jahangir died.[2] He allowed the Christian Fathers to open a church at Ahmadabad in 1620 and another at Hugli. At Lahore and Agra public cemeteries were allowed to be set up.[3] But when he made war on the Hindus and Christians, these considerations were sometimes given up. When Mewar was invaded many temples were demolished by the invading Mughal army.[4] When he visited Kangra, he decided to celebrate this first Muslim occupation of this famous fort by a Muslim emperor by desecrating the temple and gloried therein.[5] When he was at war with the Portuguese, the church at Agra was closed and the churches elsewhere also suffered similar indignities.[6] Sometimes his fury would break out even without the aggravating cause of war. When he visited Ajmer in the eighth year, the temple of the Boar god Virāha was destroyed and the idols were broken.[7] It was probably these instances that made a contemporary poet of his

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[1] *Persian Letters* (Ethe's Catalogue, MS. No. 2118), pages 15 and 16, Travels of Abdul Latif, 35.

[2] The temple at Mathura was destroyed by Aurangzeb and that at *Urchha* by Shah Jahan. Badshāhnāma, Lāhaurī, Vol. II, 121, Lāhaurī mentions the temples that were built but were not completed when Jahangir died, Vol. I, 451, 452.

[3] J.P.H.S.V., 12, 17, 21.

[4] Qazvīnī, *Badshāhnāma*, f. 82*b*. *Tārīkh-i-Haqqī*, 37f.

[5] *Tuzak-i-Jahāngīrī*, 346 to 349. *Ma'āthir-i-Jahāngīrī*, f. 161*a*.

[6] Withington, in *Early European Travellers to India*, edited by Foster, p. 223.

[7] *Tuzak-i-Jahāngīrī*, 125. *Ma'āthir-i-Jahāngīrī*, f. 98*a* and *b*.

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court, the author of the *Zafarnāma*, sing his praises as the great Muslim emperor who converted temples into mosques.[1] These exceptions apart, Jahangir usually followed the path shown him by his father. It is interesting to note that, despite these outbreaks of fanaticism, some of the Hindu shrines at Kangra and Mathura continued to attract a large number of Muslim pilgrims besides their Hindu votaries.[2]

Jahangir again continued the permission granted by Akbar to Hindu pilgrims to visit, without hindrances, their holy places. Coryat estimated the number of annual pilgrims to Hardwar at 400,000, Roe was prepared even to take it to half a million visitors.[3] Of course there must have been other similar places of pilgrimages in other parts of the country as well.

Akbar had permitted conversions from Islam to other faiths. Under Jahangir converts to Islam, according to Jesuit authorities, were given daily allowances.[4] Just in the beginning of his reign in 1605 Jahangir forcibly converted an Armenian Christian, Zulqārneyn, to Islam but finding him steadfast in his religion he released him later on.[5] In the tenth year Roz Afzūn, son of Raja Sangram, was honoured by admission into Islam and given the status of his father.[6] A Hindu who had been circumcised during Akbar's reign is said to have been converted to Islam by Jahangir.[7] A Goanese was admitted into the 'true faith' in 1606.[8] Certain prisoners were offered pardon if they turned Muslim.[9] In order to protect the law, so Jahangir assures us, he had two Muslim young men, Qutub and Qumār Khān, whipped and imprisoned in his fourth year because they had been frequenting the house of a Sanyasi and seemed inclined towards Hinduism.[10] Kalyān kept a Muslim dancing girl. In order to conceal it he killed her parents and was duly punished in the second year.[11] Further, when Jahangir discovered in his fifteenth year that the Hindus at Rajauri converted and married Muslim girls of the locality, he gave orders that this practice be put a stop to and the guilty be punished.[12] Thus Jahangir attempted to act as the protector of the true faith and defend it against attacks from without. But he would not tolerate forcible

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1 Cf. also, Lāhaurī, I, 136.
2 *Tuzak-i Jahāngīrī*, 347. Finch in *Early European Travellers to India*, p. 180.
3 Coryat, in *Early European Travellers to India*, p. 269. Sir Thomas Roe's *Embassy to India*, edited by Foster for the Hakluyt Society, p. 312.
4 Botelho in Hosten, *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, p. 154.
5 Payne's translation of Guerreiro's account, pp. 16 to 23.
6 *Tuzak*, p. 146.
7 Payne, 15.
8 Payne, 27, 29.
9 Payne, 72, 73.
10 *Tuzak*, 83.
11 *Tuzak*, 51.
12 *Tuzak*, 322.

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conversions. A royal order issued to provincial governors in the sixth year openly declared that they were not to convert forcibly anyone to Islam.[1]

Nor did he withdraw the permission granted to the Christians to make converts to their faith.[2] Non-Catholic writers are all agreed that most of the converts the Christians made were attracted by pecuniary considerations, an allowance according to Withington, and renounced Christianity when it ceased to benefit them.[3] The annual Jesuit Letter from Goa, dated February 1, 1621, bears this out.[4] Besides the needy, the Jesuits were able to convert the dying or to buy slaves and convert them.[5] Guerreiro tells us that some twenty persons, most of them whilom Christians, were baptized at Agra.[6] A Brahman and a Moor were converted at Lahore, but in secret.[7] But the most sensational of the conversions was the public baptism of Danyal's sons and a grandson of Jahangir in 1610. The Fathers were overjoyed, even the English Protestants participated in the public procession[8] that was held through the streets in order to proclaim such good fortune. To the Jesuits it seemed that grace was at last settling on the princely house of Temur and they counted the time when it would be possible for them to number the Emperor himself among their followers. But they counted without their host. Jahangir had not got the princes converted because he was convinced of the truth of Christianity. He had been told by his astrologer that his brother's line, rather than his own, would succeed him. To make that impossible he decided on this ingenious method of disqualifying them for the imperial throne by making them Christians.[9] Roe has another motive to offer. The King wanted a Portuguese wife and thought this was the easiest way to secure one.[10] Anyhow their conversion proved but a fitful affair and in 1611 they renounced Christianity and re-embraced Islam.[11] Thus were the Jesuit castles in the air shattered. Jahangir was broad-minded or cynical enough to tempt Hawkins to his service by the offer to procure a Muslim wife for him and allow him to convert her to Christianity.[12]

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1 *Tuzak*, 101.
2 Terry in *Early European Travellers to India.*
3 Roe, 316, Withington, *op. cit.*, 223.
4 Quoted in Hosten, *op. cit.*, 124.
5 Payne, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 41, 42.
6 Payne, *op. cit.*, 2.
7 Payne, 25.
8 Finch, *op. cit.*, 147.
9 Roe, 315. Hawkins, in *Early European Travellers to India*, 86, 116.
10 Roe, 316.
11 Roe, 316.
12 Hawkins, *op. cit.*, 84.

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Jesuit accounts of their success in making converts seem to be more hopeful than true. Some of these assert that Muqarrab Khān, Customs Officer at Cambay, was secretly converted to Christianity in 1611 when on a mission to Goa.[1] It is difficult to believe this story for various reasons. Muqarrab Khān did not give up his numerous wives.[2] While he was Governor of Surat in 1611–1618 he always favoured the Portuguese as against the English. Now his conversion, howsoever secret it may have been, would have at least become known among the English especially when they must have been on the lookout for anything that could give them an advantage against him in their dealings with the Emperor.[3] Further Maclagan, on the authority of the Annual Letter from Cochin, dated 1621, asserts that Muqarrab Khān's son got ill, was cured by Christian spells and prayers, and converted to Christianity.[4] But Guerreiro as translated by Payne, stops short at the child's getting well and mentions no conversion.[5] It is likely, therefore, that in this case the fact that Christian prayers were uttered in order to restore the child to health was interpreted by some of the Christians to imply that he had become Christian. Probably something similar must have happened to result in the Jesuit's giving currency to the report that Muqarrab Khān had been converted to Christianity.

The Jesuit account of these conversions soared even higher. Some of them gave currency to the report that Jahangir had himself become a Christian in 1627[6] though they made no attempt at reconciling this with the number of wives he kept. If, as the Fathers asserted, the number of Akbar's wives stood between him and Christianity, Jahangir was in no better position to be admitted to Christianity. In Akbar's case one of them invented the story that he had distributed all his wives except one among his nobles in preparation for Christianity. But to Jahangir they do not pay even that much of a compliment.[7]

Jahangir not only tolerated Christianity, he maintained it as well. The Christian Fathers were paid from Rs.3 to Rs.7 daily; occasionally he would give them money for their religious services,

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[1] Maclagan, *op. cit.*, 78.

[2] *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, V. 15.

[3] Cf. Roe's account of the difficulties experienced by him on account of Muqarrab Khān's opposition.

[4] Maclagan, *op. cit.*, 77, 78.

[5] Payne, 41, 42.

[6] Maracci as quoted by Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[7] Maclagan, *op. cit.*, 38. Austin of Bordeaux writing on March 9, 1632 declares that Shah Jahan poisoned Jahangir because he was afraid he would become a Christian, J.P.H.S., IV, 14. Unfortunately Shah Jahan was not even near his father,

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and once at least he tried to relieve the distress of the Christian poor by a monthly grant of Rs.50.[1]

Jahangir's relations with the Sikhs raise many a thorny issue. Guru Arjun, the contemporary head of the Sikhs, had incurred Jahangir's displeasure on account of his proselytizing activities. Some Muslims accepted him as their religious leader and thus came to renounce Islam. Two courses, Jahangir tells us, were open to him. He could either convert him to Islam forcibly or take steps to close his religious shop. He had been considering both these courses when fortune provided him with an excuse which settled the matter for him. When Khusru rebelled, he met the Guru who blessed his enterprise. After the suppression of this rebellion, Jahangir called the Guru to his presence and awarded him capital punishment for countenancing treason.[2] Some influential Hindus, however, intervened and it was decided that the Guru might be let off if he paid the heavy fine of Rs.100,000.[3] A Hindu, probably Diwan Chandu Lal of Lahore,[4] stood surety for him in the hope that the Guru's followers would probably pay that sum for the release of their spiritual chief. The Guru seems to have discountenanced the attempt whereon the Diwan tried to force him to pay the money. Every attempt, however, failed, the Guru died in imprisonment and soon after the surety also suffered the same fate.[5]

Though Jahangir declares it to have been his intention to close the shop of the Sikh Gurus for religious reasons, the actual facts gainsay him. Had Jahangir's persecution of the Guru been directed by religious motives he would have persecuted the Sikhs as well. Neither Sikh tradition nor Muslim fanaticism tells us anything of any further persecution of the Sikhs. Guru Arjun's son, Guru Hargovind, was no doubt imprisoned by Jahangir but here again the motive was not religious. It is difficult to reconcile the Sikh tradition, which puts the imprisonment at a very short period followed by a reconciliation between the Emperor and the Guru, and the account given in *Dabistān* which extends this imprisonment over twelve years. The reason for this imprisonment according to *Dabistān* was the non-payment by Hargovind of the fine imposed on his father. The Sikh tradition places the imprisonment in 1612

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[1] Withington, *op. cit.*, 223, Payne, 35. Botelho in Hosten, 153.
[2] *Tuzak*, 34.
[3] Payne, 11, 12.
[4] Sikh tradition, recorded in Macauliffe, III, pp. 90 to 101.
[5] Payne, 11, 12, Macauliffe as cited above.

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whereas according to *Dabistān*, it occurred after 1616.[1] It seems probable that in taking action against Guru Arjun, Jahangir acted from mixed motives but when once his immediate purpose was served he left the Sikhs alone. It is further probable that Jahangir thought that the execution of their religious leader was so severe a blow to the Sikhs in the Punjab as to make it unnecessary for him to take any further action against them.

There is then the question of his attitude towards the Jains. Mān Singh and Bāl Chandra, the leaders of the two Jain schools of thought, had enjoyed royal hospitality under Akbar. When Khusru rebelled Mān Singh became guilty of an act of indiscretion. Rāi Singh of Bikaner consulted him in order to shape his own conduct during those troublesome days. Mān Singh told Rāi Singh that Jahangir's reign would not extend beyond two years. Believing in the prophecy of the Jain monk, Rāi Singh rebelled, threw up his command under Jahangir, and repaired to Bikaner. Khusru's capture however soon brought matters to an end. Rāi Singh was defeated but was soon pardoned and restored to his former position in the royal service.

Now Mān Singh's prophecy seems to have been reported to Jahangir. He could, however, take no action against him as Rāi Singh had been pardoned and Mān Singh was living under his protection at Bikaner. In the twelfth year, however, when Jahangir visited Gujarat where there were many Jains, he decided to embark upon their persecution. They were accused of having built temples and other buildings which were reported to be centres of disturbance. Their religious leaders were accused of immoral practices. They were generally believed to be a troublesome class of the Hindus. Jahangir first of all summoned Mān Singh to the court. Afraid of meeting a more ignominious fate, he took poison on his way to the Emperor from Bikaner. Jahangir issued orders thereupon for the expulsion of the Jains from the Imperial territories.[2] These orders do not seem to have applied to the territory of the Rajput Rajas. As the result of this persecution Jains were driven to seek protection at the court of friendly Rajput Rajas.

These orders of Jahangir seem to have been prompted by religious rather than political motives. Unlike Guru Arjun, Mān Singh was let alone for several years after his alleged act of treason. Again unlike Jahangir's attitude towards the Sikhs, all Jains were

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[1] *Dabistān*, 234. Macauliffe, IV, pp. 10 to 41. The author of the *Dabistān* knew the seventh Guru. His account seems to be more reliable. The Sikh tradition is full of the miracles of the Guru.

[2] *Tuzak*, 63, 219.

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punished irrespective of their political proclivities. Still further there was a section of the Jains who did not even acknowledge Mān Singh as their religious leader.[1] They were also included in the order of expulsion. Dr. Beni Prashad is wrong in stating that the order of expulsion was confined to one sect alone.[2] His version of this event is vitiated by the fact that he has neglected to take notice of the time when the order for expulsion was issued. His statement that the order was withdrawn some time after is not supported by any authorities though he says that Jain works of the period are clear on the point.[3] He has named no works nor quoted from them. In the absence of such authorities it is not possible to believe that Jahangir withdrew the order. But even if any Jain authorities mention the withdrawal of such an order it is necessary to know the date thereof. Dr. Beni Prashad's statement leads one to believe that it was withdrawn some time after Khusru's rebellion. In that case the Jain testimony becomes valueless as Jahangir is referring to an order issued in the twelfth year of his reign. But, withdrawn or not, it was clearly an act of religious persecution. Jahangir himself is far from asserting that he issued the order on political grounds. We have to remember that Shah Jahan was the Governor of Gujerat at this time.[4] His orthodoxy may have had something to do with the issue of the order.

Restrictions on the propagation of religious opinions placed by Jahangir's order include the case of Shaikh Ibrāhīm. Soon after his accession it was reported to Jahangir that Shaikh Ibrāhīm Afghan had set himself up as a religious leader in a Parganah of Lahore. He had gathered together a large number of Afghans as his followers. Jahangir ordered him to be brought before him. He was not able to satisfy the Emperor and was thereupon entrusted to Parvez to be imprisoned in the fortress of Chunar.[5] We hear nothing of Shaikh Ibrāhīm thereafter. He is not mentioned either among the scholars or the writers of the age in the Persian accounts of the reign.[6]

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhandī's case is sometimes cited as another example of persecution for religious opinions. He had his deputies and followers in every country (province) and city. He was the leader of the Chistia, Qādaria, and Naqshbandia groups of Muslims. The Muslim theologians complained to Jahangir that in some of his writings he claimed to have risen to a status higher than that of the Caliphs.[7] Jahangir thereupon called him from Sirhind and

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[1] *Tuzak*, 219. [2] *Jahangir*, 414. [3] *Jahangir*, 453.
[4] *Tuzak*, 218. [5] *Tuzak*, 37.
[6] An account of the Scholars of India (in Persian) by Rahman Ali, pp. 10 to 12.
[7] *Tuzak*, 275.

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asked him to explain his position. The Shaikh was ready with his answer. He told Jahangir that when he called one of his meanest servants to him, in order to approach him, the servant traversed the stations of all the Amirs, and stood nearer to the Emperor than even the highest among them. Similarly there was nothing blasphemous in his stating that he had passed and left behind him even the Caliphs. It did not prove that he claimed for himself any higher status. Jahangir was not satisfied with this explanation. The Emperor became silent. To add to the Shaikh's enormities, a Mansabdar suggested that the Shaikh had not performed the Sijidah even. Now Khurram was a follower of the Shaikh. When Jahangir had summoned him, the prince had sent his messenger to the Shaikh telling him that as the Emperor was very keen on having the Sijidah performed to him, the Shaikh should perform the Sijidah. Shah Jahan undertook to see that no harm came to him. The Shaikh, however, had turned down the suggestion of the prince and declared that no one could claim the rite of prostration from him except God.[1] Jahangir now ordered that the Shaikh be imprisoned in Gwalior under the supervision of Ani Rāi Singhdalan.[2]

Unlike Shaikh Ibrāhīm, Ahmad was a great scholar. The punishment that was awarded to him had been more in the nature of chastisement for his refusal to perform the Sijidah than for his religious opinions. He was released in the fifteenth year on condition that he accompanied the Emperor. Soon, however, he was given leave to go to Sirhind.[3] His opinions had remained unchanged meanwhile—but Jahangir had discovered that his earlier order had been extorted from him by interested court theologians. He was honoured by royal gifts and was left alone by the Emperor during the rest of his life. He died on 27 Safar, 1034.[4] Ahmad's persecution therefore was the result of theological animus rather than religious persecution. He was a great scholar and a profound writer. His writings include three volumes of his letters besides many theological works. Ahmad is still honoured as a great writer, scholar, and religious leader.

Such seems to have been the contradictory and divergent facts with regard to the toleration extended by Jahangir to followers of other religions for the propagation of their religious beliefs. The supremacy of Islam was not allowed to be disturbed by the concessions he made to the followers of other faiths. All through his reign he took care to assert from time to time the privileged position of Islam in the State, witness his attempts at suppressing conversions

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[1] Rahmān 'Alī, 11, 12.
[2] *Tuzak*, 275.
[3] *Tuzak*, 312, 279. Rahmān 'Alī, 12.
[4] Rahmān 'Alī, 12.

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to Hinduism in the cases cited above. Yet, except in the case of the Jains whom he expelled from his empire, he did not punish followers of other religions for their religious beliefs. To Christians he granted more than toleration and permission to convert. He maintained the Christian missionaries at the public expense. It is difficult to believe, however, that he encouraged conversions to Christianity despite all that has been said by the Jesuit Fathers about it.

Then there was the question of the public celebration of the fairs and festivals of different religion. Guerreiro tells us that on his accession Jahangir restored the fairs and festivals of the Muslims.[1] Pelsaert gives an account of the celebration of the Muharram when so intense was the religious fanaticism engendered that no Hindu ventured out till midday.[2] The Governor of Surat held a public polo match soon after the feast of the Ramadan on October 10, 1614.[3] In his thirteenth year Jahangir kept the fast of Ramadan and in the evening invited all the local Shaikhs and Sayyids to break their fast with him.[4] In his fourteenth year Jahangir celebrated the Shab-i-Barāt.[5] He met the Jogis on the night of the Shivarātri in his eleventh year when he was staying the night at Sangor in Bengal renamed by him Kamalpur.[6] Dusehra was celebrated by the Emperor by holding reviews of troops and elephants.[7] On the Dipawali Jahangir allowed gambling to go on in his presence.[8] In the seventh year, Jahangir celebrated the Rākhi festival for the first time and had auspicious threads bound on his wrist.[9] The Christians were publicly allowed to celebrate Easter, Christmas, and other festivals.[10] Thus there was no restriction whatever on the public celebration of religious festivals.

Jahangir to some extent continued the practice of his father of holding religious discussion with the followers of different faiths. The first one he records was with the Hindu Pandits against their belief in reincarnations of god in different forms.[11] Guerreiro speaks of his discussing religious questions with the Jesuits in 1607.[12] But in this case, unlike Akbar's discussions in the Abadat-Khana, it was the King alone who sat listening to the discourse of the Fathers on Christianity. A Mansabdar or two and the King's reader are said to have been present but they do not seem to have taken much part in the discussions. The King would now and then try to

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[1] Payne, 75.
[2] Pelsaert, translated by Moreland and Geyl. 75.
[3] Payne, 72.
[4] *Tuzak*, 243.
[5] *Ibid.*, 276.
[6] *Ibid.*, 179.
[7] *Tuzak*, 280, 319.
[8] *Ibid.*, 132.
[9] *Ibid.*, 124.
[10] Payne, 32, 33, 46, 47, 75.
[11] *Tuzak*, 15.
[12] Payne, 49 to 56.

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bring in his Muslim courtiers within the circle of conversation but it was mainly the King listening to the Jesuits. He saw the famous Muslim saint Mian Mir at Lahore in order to benefit by his discourses.[1] He sent a letter to the Governor of Gujarat asking him to pay something to the son of Wajib-ud-Din, whose reputation had reached the court, to send a string of names of God specially selected for Jahangir's recitation,[2] though he had already got prepared a list of such names by the learned men of his time.[3] With Jadurup, the leader of the Vaishṇavas at that time, he held many discussions at Ujjain and at Mathura and came to the undisputable conclusion that the Vedāntism of the Hindus and the Sūfī thought among the Muslims were almost identical.[4] He visited the Gorakhtiri in order to gain something from the Yogis reported to be living there. But he found no Yogis there.[5]

The admission of the Hindus to the higher public services, begun under his father, continued. Of forty-seven Mansabdars holding the rank of commanders of 3,000 horses or above, mentioned by Hawkins, six were Hindus.[6] The position of the Hindus at his court was threatened by the events connected with Khusru's rebellion. Mān Singh, the highest Hindu dignitary in the empire, was suspected of complicity therein. Raja Rāi Singh of Bikaner, another commander of 5,000, actually rebelled during the course of the insurrection. It seems, however, that the Hindus were soon able to remove the Emperor's suspicion. But in Jahangir's reign of twenty-two years we come across only three Hindu governors of provinces, and these served only for short periods. Mān Singh, who was Governor of Bengal when Akbar died, was continued in that office.[7] Some time after Raja Kalyan, son of Raja Todar Mal, rose to be the Governor of Orissa,[8] though it is difficult to say whether he was in independent charge of the province.[9] Raja Vikramajit was appointed the Governor of Gujarat. Unfortunately not many appointments of provincial Diwans are mentioned and we do not know whether or not here the preponderant proportion of the Hindus was disturbed under Jahangir. Indeed Hawkins tells us that Jahangir preferred to employ Muslims under him.[10] Only one Hindu, Mohan Dass, is mentioned as serving as a Diwan under Jahangir in the third year.[11]

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[1] *Tuzak*, 290.
[2] *Ibid.*, 62.
[3] *Ibid.*, 10.
[4] *Tuzak*, 176, 177, 252, 282 to 284.
[5] *Ibid.*, 50.
[6] Hawkins, *op. cit.*, 98, 99.
[7] *Tuzak*, 8.
[8] *Ibid.*, 99.
[9] Cf. *Bengal under Jehangir*, by the present writer in the Journal of Indian History, Vol. XIII, Part n. 69.
[10] Hawkins, *op. cit.*, 106, 107.
[11] *Tuzak*, 75.

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Jahangir made war on certain social evils. Public sale of intoxicants, *bhang* and wine, was forbidden.[1] No one was allowed to drink wine without permission and Roe records some cases where certain nobles were punished for drinking.[2] Herein Jahangir reversed Akbar's practice of allowing the sale of wine for medicinal purposes and in moderation, and conformed to the Muslim law by prohibiting public sale. But he was a hard drinker himself, and it is difficult to say whether Jahangir was any more successful in dealing with the problem than his father had been. The issue of the order prohibiting public sales twice, immediately after coronation and in the fourth year, proves that at any rate the first order must have remained ineffective for some reason. Again he departed from his father's practice and ordered total suppression of public gambling.[3] Here again he followed the Muslim law. The castration of children in Bengal was also forbidden,[4] if Jahangir obeyed the Muslim law in these matters, he continued his father's disregard of Hindu religious sentiments by prohibiting Sati without permission. The burning of child widows, whose marriage had not been consummated was ordinarily prohibited though special permission could be granted by the governors.[5] In other cases as well permission had to be obtained. This naturally prevented unwilling Satis. At Agra the Emperor himself decided all these cases.[6]

Some of the ceremonies introduced by Akbar to increase the regal splendour of his court continued. The New Year was celebrated as of old.[7] Weighments of the Emperor continued.[8] Jahangir had himself weighed during an eclipse in order to ward off evil.[9] When he was foretold some evil likely to befall Khurram, he had him weighed as a protective measure.[10] Employment of Hindu astrologers for fixing auspicious hours for most things continued and Muslim nobles took up the fashion and kept Hindu astrologers attached to them.[11] On the vexed question of the Sijidah Jahangir made a compromise. The Mīr 'Adals and Qāzīs were excused Zimin Bos in the sixth year.[12] Thus the two classes likely to object to the practice on religious grounds were granted exemption. But it was possible to stir up trouble when too orthodox a Mulla came to the court, if he refused to perform the Sijidah. We have already seen that Shaikh Ahmad suffered partly on that account. But the reconciliation that took place on his release seems to have been

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[1] *Tuzak*, 5, 76. [2] Roe, 303, 34. [3] *Tuzak*, 76.
[4] *Tuzak*, 73. [5] Withington, *op. cit.*, 219.
[6] Hawkins, 119. Pelsaert, 78, 79. Withington, 219.
[7] *Tuzak*, 23. [8] *Ibid.*, 79. [9] *Ibid.*, 183.
[10] *Ibid.*, 56. [11] Pelsaert, 77. [12] *Tuzak*, 100.

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based as Jahangir's exempting him from the performance of the Sijidah. Jahangir was too anxious to have him with him to subject him to this indignity. Jahangir's meeting with another great scholar of his times, Nāsir-ud-Din Burhānpurī, bears out the suggestion that Jahangir was prepared to allow the same concession to scholars or theologians of eminence which he had granted to the officials of his court. This great scholar was summoned from Burhanpur and met the Emperor as he was coming out of the royal garden. He was getting ready to perform the Sijidah when Jahangir advanced and embraced him.[1]

Jahangir continued Akbar's abstention from slaughter of animals twice a week on Sundays and Thursdays.[2] This was strictly enforced. Guerreiro speaks of the King's visits to the city in order to discover how far his orders were being obeyed. Once he discovered meat being sold on one of these visits. The Kotwal, the officer responsible for seeing that the royal orders were observed, was called for and flogged.[3] Soon however he was restored to favour. So strict however was Jahangir in enforcing these injunctions that when in the fifth year the Id fell on a Thursday, the sacrificial slaughter of animals was postponed to the Friday following.[4] Now this was not merely a concession to Hindu feelings. These days were sacred to Jahangir's day of accession (Thursday) and Akbar's birthday (Sunday night) according to official Muslim reckoning. Safety of life was accorded to all living creatures on those days in order to keep them sacred. Jahangir refers to this practice as Sūfiyāna, pertaining to the Sūfīs.

In Gujarat, Roe describes slaughter of certain animals, being prohibited by royal orders chiefly because rich Jains of the place agreed to pay highly for this concession.[5] Whether the order continued after the expulsion of the Jains is not known.

Jahangir continued Akbar's work of bringing the learned of the two communities together by having translations of Hindu sacred books made under his patronage. Two Persian renderings in verse of the Rāmāyaṇa were made during his reign. Girdhar Dās, a Kaisith of Delhi, rendered Vālmīkī's Rāmāyaṇa into verse, called it Rām Nāma and dedicated it to Jahangir.[6] Masīhī made another Persian translation of the Rāmāyaṇa and took pains to prove by inserting a section in praise of the Prophet, that he

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[1] Rahmān 'Alī, *op. cit.*
[2] *Tuzak*, 5, 90.
[3] Payne, 38.
[4] *Tuzak*, 92.
[5] Roe, 124.
[6] Cf. the present writer's description of the work and its date in the *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, October, 1933.

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still remained a Muslim.[1] Jahangir asked Sayyid Muhammad to prepare a plain, unvarnished Persian translation of the Quran and send it to the court by his son Jalal-ud-Din.[2] This was probably the first attempt at translating, rather than expounding the Quran. It had been fashionable to write commentaries on the sacred book, but it was felt a translation was almost an act of profanation, an attempt at matching the Prophet's own miracle of revelation. Nothing further is heard of this translation and it seems the matter was not further pursued. Sayyid Muhammad was probably the scholar known as Sayyid Muhammad Maqbūl Khān Ahmadābādī who died in Shah Jahan's reign early in 1045 leaving a large number of works to his credit.[3] Persian and Arabic translations of the Bible were also presented to Jahangir by the Jesuit Fathers.[4] In the appendix a list of Sanskrit writers of Jahangir's reign has been given.

Some of the scholars of Jahangir's time acted as a link between the two communities. 'Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān under his Hindi penname of Rahīm wrote all sorts of Hindi verse including many in praise of Hindu gods and a description of the feelings of a devotee towards his God in various incarnations.[5] Jahangir is said to have patronized Sūr Dās whose *Sūr Sāgar* is reputed to have been compiled under Jahangir's patronage who gave one gold coin for every verse of Sūr Das.[6]

Like Akbar, Jahangir continued his patronage of painting, including portrait-painting.[7]

The accounts of European travellers and Christian missionaries at his court throw a good deal of doubt on Jahangir's Islam. Coryat makes him a follower of a religion of his own making.[8] Roe speaks of him sometimes an atheist, sometimes a Hindu in his ceremonies, professing Islam when it was necessary, glad whenever any one broke out against the Prophet. Finch makes him declare openly that Christianity was the soundest faith.[9] A later Jesuit tradition declared him to be a baptized Christian afraid of openly declaring himself for fear of his son.[10] A contemporary Persian writer accused him of being a member of the Din-i-Ilahi.[11] Fortunately for Jahangir, he could not have been all these things together or even by turns. His modern critics do him less than justice.

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1 *Rāmāyani-i-Masīhī*, printed.
2 *Tuzak*, 244, 245.
3 Cf. Rahmān 'Alī.
4 Payne, 30, 31, 32.
5 Cf. *Rahīm Sudhā*, edited by Tripathi.
6 Cf. *Sūr Sāgar*.
7 Cf. Brown's *Mughal Paintings*.
8 Coryat, *op. cit.*, 280.
9 Finch, *op. cit.*, 147, 148.
10 Maclagan, 92.
11 *Tadhkarat-ul-Mulūk*, 567.

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Blochman[1] sought safety in dividing his religious opinions into fits or periods without stopping to enquire whether these periods, by cutting into each other, did not destroy themselves. Dr. Beni Prasad blunders into stating that Jahangir did not believe in the Prophet.[2]

Let us examine these statements. The Jesuits, unaccustomed to religious liberty as they had been in Europe, seem to have been as much dazzled by the toleration granted by Jahangir as they had been under Akbar. To them, if a man believed in the truth of a religion, he could only prove it by persecuting non-believers. If Jahangir listened to their statements of the merits of the Christian religion, he lost caste among Muslims. We have already seen that their statements about his conversion are wrong. Jahangir maintained intact the Muslim organization of the State in its essential aspects. The Muslim magistrates and judges remained as heretofore in office.[3] The Sadr-us-Sadūr remained in charge of justice and charities.[4] As we have already seen, he punished heresy and suppressed conversions to Hinduism. He ordered that escheated property should be spent, among other things, on mosques.[5] In the thirteenth year he gave Shaikh Pir Rs.8,000 for building a mosque.[6] In the thirteenth year he publicly kept the fast of Ramadan. In the year eight, he walked on foot to Ajmer.[7] However much he may have indulged in Hindu ceremonies, he rejected the Hindu doctrines of reincarnation and idol-worship.[8] One of his magistrates held in 1610 that debts to Christians need not be paid.[9] When the Roman Catholic Jesuits refused to allow the body of a Protestant Englishman to be buried in their graveyard he insisted on the burial being carried out.[10] The most that can be said against him is that he hunted wild boars and presented their meat to Rajputs and Christians.[11] Now this betrays a gross ignorance of the Muslim attitude towards the question of pigsticking. Pigs are not sacred to Muslims, pork is unlawful to them. Hunting of pigs therefore is not an unlawful act according to Islam.

It is said that in the beginning of his reign Jahangir favoured Islam in order to seat himself securely on the throne of Delhi, but

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[1] Blochman in *Calcutta Review*, 1869, pp. 139-140.
[2] *Jahangir*, 431.
[3] *Tuzak*, 100.
[4] *Tuzak* mentions Sadr-i-Jahan as his first Sadr-us-Sadūr (page 22). Rahmān Alī describes Mullā Taqī as his Sadr-us-Sudūr. Mūsawī Khan was his last Sadr-us-Sadūr. Lāhaurī, Vol. I, 181.
[5] *Tuzak*, 5.
[6] *Ibid.*, 119.
[7] *Ibid.*, 125; Coryat, 280.
[8] *Tuzak*, 15.
[9] Finch, *op. cit.*, 147.
[10] Payne, 81.
[11] Roe, 105, 157, 284, Coryat, 281.

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thereafter his orthodoxy relaxed. The answer is found in Shah Jahan's rebellion. When he rebelled he could very easily have assumed the position of a defender of the true faith. Yet during the whole course of his rebellion, not once did he try to gain any advantage over his father by such a suggestion.[1] Naturally, whatever Jahangir's personal shortcomings might have been, he was to all intents and purposes, to a majority of his subjects, a good Muslim. Only a Muslim could have desecrated the temple at Kangra, destroyed idols and temples in Pushkar and in Mewar, upheld the true law by preventing the conversion of Qutub and his companion to Hinduism, stopped the conversion of Muslim girls by marriage to Hindus in Rajauri, ordered a simple translation of the Quran and supported the whole structure of a Muslim kingdom.[2] It is rather strange that, though his subjects had no appreciable fault to find with him, it was left to the contemporary non-Muslims to discover flaws in his profession of Islam. How much truth there was in their accounts is proved by the fact that all of them assert without truth that Salim was not circumcised, whereas we have the definite statement of Arif Qandahari that Salim had undergone this Muslim rite.[3] They do not stop short even of making him a baptized Christian, without at the same time showing how they overcame the obstacle presented by his vast harem. It seems that the Jesuits were in these matters more concerned with sending in good reports of their labours rather than with truth.

In short, Jahangir ordinarily continued Akbar's toleration. He experimented in the simultaneous maintenance of several religions by the State. He did not in most cases, make any distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims in public employment. He placed no restriction, except in the case of the Jains, on the public celebration of religious fairs and festivals. With all this, a new solicitude for Islam was coming into being and sometimes Jahangir acted as protector of the true faith rather than as king of a vast majority of non-Muslims. Departure, however slight, from Akbar's wide outlook had begun.

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[1] Shah Jahan's letter to Jahangir in *Munshiāt*, quoted by the present writer in an Unexplored Source of Mughal History, Lāhaurī, Shah Jahan's Official historian, accuses Jahangir of wasting Akbar's treasure, leaving the work of the state to the governors and officials or to Nur Jahan-(Lāhaurī) II, 148, 475, 713, but he casts no doubt on Jahāngirī's religion.

[2] Roe, 313, Coryat, 246.

[3] *Tārīkh-i-Muhammad 'Ārif Qandahārī*, MS., p. 270. The present writer has described the only known fragment of this work for the first time in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, October, 1933.

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APPENDIX

Sanskrit Writers of Jahangir's Reign

1. Ananta Bhaṭṭa wrote nine works on various subjects, one of them *Vidhāna Pārijata* was definitely composed in 1625 A.D.
2. *Caitanya Caritāmritam* was composed in 1625 A.D. probably by Kriṣna Dāsa Kavirāj.
3. *Karkabhāṣyam* was composed in 1615 A.D. by an unknown writer.
4. *Astodayādhikāra*, on astronomy, was written about 1624 A.D. by a writer whose name is not traceable.
5. Kamlākara Bhaṭṭa. Between 1610 and 1640 A.D. he wrote about ninety works in Sanskrit on Law, daily duties, consecration of wells, etc., coronation of kings, astronomy, astrology, Samskārs, philosophy, judicial procedure, and poetry. His famous work, *Nirnaya Sindhu* (printed), written in 1612, has been accepted as a work of authority on Hindu Law by the High Courts of Bombay and Calcutta.

5A. Kṛṣna Ganaka served under Jahangir and wrote several works on astronomy and astrology.

6. Gaṇeśa Daivajña, son of Gopāl, wrote *Jatakālamakāra* on horoscopy in 1613 A.D.
7. Gangādhara, son of Rāma Candra, wrote *Pravāsakritya* at Cambay in 1606-1607 A.D. This describes the duties of a Nāgrik Brahman driven to a foreign country for the sake of livelihood or otherwise.
8. Gaurīśo Bhaṭṭa wrote *Anumarnapadipa* in 1609.
9. Cāmuṇḍa Kāyastha wrote *Jvartimirābhaskara* in 1623.
10. Cintāmani composed *Muhūrtacintāmani* in 1607.
11. Jayaratna, a physician, wrote *Jvaraparājyah*, on the treatment of fevers in 1605.
12. Jaganñātha, another Hindu physician, wrote *Yogasangraha* on medicine, in 1616 A.D.
13. Jinarāja (1591 to 1643) wrote *Naiśadhīyatīkā*.
14. Dāmodara.
15. Dādā wrote *Dattarka Dharmśāśtra* in 1621.
16. Divākara, born in 1606, and a voluminous writer, author of some seventeen works wrote some of them during Jahangir's reign.
17. Nanda Pandita a great writer on law, wrote mostly between 1595 to 1630 A.D.
18. Narasiṃha wrote a commentary on *Āpastamba Grhyasutra*.
19. Nārāyana wrote a work on devotion at the instance of Raja Hari Dass of Benares in 1609.
20. Nārāyana Śarman wrote a commentary on the famous dictionary of Amara Sinha in 1619.
21. Nāgeśa wrote a tract on astronomy in 1620.
22. The literary activities of Nīlkanṭha Bhaṭṭa ranged between the year 1610 and 1645. His famous work on Hindu law, dedicated to his patron, Bhagavanta Deva, a Bundella chief and known after him as *Bhagavanta Bhāskara*, is recognized as an authority by the High Court of Bombay.
23. Narasiṃha wrote a commentary on the astronomical work *Suryasiddhānta* in 1611.
24. Bālkṛṣna Bhaṭṭa. He was alive in about 1610 A.D. and wrote verses in praise of Hari.
25. The famous grammarian and author of the *Siddhantakaumudi* and several other works lived about the years 1575–1650 A.D. and was alive during Jahangir's reign. Some of his works must have been written during this period.

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26. Balbhadra Śukala wrote his *Kunda-tattvapradīpa* in 1623.
27. Mahādev Vidyāvāgiśa wrote a commentary on *Ānanda Lahri* in 1606.
28. The literary activities of Mitra Kṛṣṇa the famous jurist, whose work *Vīrmitrodya* is recognized as an authority by the Privy Council on the Hindu Law of the Benares school, were spread over a period of 30 years between 1610 to 1640.
29. Mohan Miśra Tarkatilaka wrote a commentary on *Kālanirnaya* discussing auspicious times for various sacrifices.
30. Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa who flourished between the years 1545 to 1625 wrote his *Kālatattavavivecana* in 1620 and may have written some of his other undated works in the reign of Jahangir.
31. Ratna Sinha wrote his *Pradyumna-carita*, a biography in verse of Pradyumn, in 1615.
32. Rāma composed his *Rāmavinoda* for Rāmdāsa, a former Minister of Akbar, in 1613-14.
33. Rāmarṣi commented on Ravidāsa's *Nalodaya* in 1608.
34. Rūpa Gosvamin whom Jahangir respected so much died in 1618 A.D. Though he was very old on Jahangir's accession (being 78), he seems from Jahangir's account to have still led an active life in his reign. Some of his 39 works may have been written in Jahangir's time.
35. Lakśmana Bhaṭṭa is the author of two works on Dharmaśāśtra, one of them has already been printed.
36. Lakśmana wrote a treatise on Yoga in 1613 A.D.
37. Lakśami Dāsa wrote on the determination of auspicious hours in 1618.
38. Vitthala Diksita wrote his *Kundamandapasiddhi* and its commentary in 1620. Some of his other works may also have been written during Jahangir's reign.
39. Viśnu Daivajna wrote a commentary on *Suryaprakāśaśarna* in 1613.
40. Viśvanātha Daivajna wrote several works between the years 1612–1630.
41. Vaidya Nātha Bhaṭṭa, a Vedic scholar, wrote *Lakṣanaratna* as an aid to the study of the Black Yajurveda.
42. Śankara wrote several works on devotion, astronomy and ritual.
43. Śrivimalaprabodha Parivrājaka wrote in 1610 his *Kalikalakramā Vacanam.*
44. Sadhu Sundaragani wrote several lexicons. *Uktiratnākara* explains Sanskrit words in Prakrit.
45. Samaya Sundaragni, a voluminous writer, wrote works on various subjects.
46. Sundara Miśra wrote on dramaturgy.
47. Sumati Harṣa wrote several commentaries.
48. *Vonṭhalakṣana*, an index of words in the Rig Veda arranged according to their peculiarities was written at Benares in 1622 by an unknown author.

(Summarized from the author's forthcoming work on Sanskrit Writers of the Mughal Period.)

Authorities

1. *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society.*
2. *Badshāhnāma*, by Qazvīnī (MS.).
3. *Tārīkh-i-Haqqī* (MS.).
4. *Tuzak-i-Jahāngīrī*, Persian Text.
5. Withington
6. Coryat
7. Hawkins
8. Finch
9. Terry

} In *Early European Travellers to India.*

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10. *Ma'āthir-i-Jahāngīrī*, by Kamgar (MS.).
11. *Zafarnāma Jahāngīrī* (MS.), the author is not named nor is the date given. Internal evidence however shows that it was written by some poet of Jahangir's reign.
12. Sir Thomas Roe's Embassy to India.
13. Hosten, M.A.S.B., V.
14. Guerreiro (translated by Payne), *Jahangir and the Jesuits.*
15. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Moghal.*
16. *Sikh Religion*, by Macauliffe.
17. *Tadhikara-i-'Ulmāi-Hind*, accounts of Indian Scholars, by Rahmān 'Alī.
18. Pelsaert's (translated by Moreland and Geyle) *Jahangir's India.*
19. *Dabistān-i-Madhāhib.*
20. *Bengal under Jahangir*, by the present writer in the Journal of Indian History.
21. Girdhar Dāss's *Ramāyān* (MS.).
22. *Rāmāyan-i-Masīhī.*
23. *Rahīm*, by Tripathi.
24. *Sūr Sāgar.*
25. *Mughal Paintings in India*, by Brown.
26. *Calcutta Review.*
27. *Jahangir*, by Dr. Beni Prasad.
28. *Tārīkh-i-Muhammad 'Ārif Qandahārī* (MS.).
29. *Adi Granth*, English Translation, by Trump.
30. *Munshiyāt* (MS.).
31. *Iqbālnāmah-i-Jahāngīrī*, by Mut'mid Khān.
32. *Jahangir*, by Gladwin.
33. Price's *Memoirs of Jahangir.*
34. Zakā Ullah, *History of India*, Reign of Jahangir.
35. *Travels of 'Abdul Latīf* (MS.).
36. *Badshāhnāma*, by Lāhaurī.

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STUDIES IN GUPTA PALEOGRAPHY

By SUSHIL K. BOSE

(2)

The inscriptions from Mâṇḍâsor

The region round about Mâlava is of the utmost importance to the student of paleography. But this importance has been very scornfully overlooked by those who have, both in the past and the present, dealt with the question of paleography, specially of the Gupta period. In this present note I shall try and bring out the importance of this region and determine what light it throws on the solution of some very important points of contemporary paleography. Mâṇḍâsor would be a very fit spot to turn our attention to. It is well-known that no less than some eight or nine inscriptions, all belonging to the Gupta period, hail from this region. All of these records are very well preserved and therefore well suited for a critical study. In the life of the Brâhmi alphabet, the sixth and the seventh centuries A.D. are of great importance as during this period great changes were effected in this alphabet which made possible the growth of new scripts both in Northern and Southern India. All of the inscriptions that come from Mâṇḍâsor during this period can be classified into two groups according as they exhibit characteristics of the southern alphabet or that of the northern one. Such inscriptions as the Mâṇḍâsor record of Naravarman, Prabhâkara, Kumara Gupta, and Bandhuvarman, etc. belong to the former class while such records as the stone pillar inscription of Yasôdharman, duplicate stone pillar record of the same monarch, and the inscriptions of Yasôdharman and Viṣṇuvardhana would come under the latter group. Down below, we have critically examined the aforesaid inscriptions and have tried to explain why and how two different varieties of scripts were simultaneously used in the same region and what were its subsequent effects. I shall first consider those inscriptions which are incised in the southern variety of scripts, by first closely examining the individual records and pointing out their general bearing on the subject. The inscriptions incised in the northern characters will follow in next in the same order.

1. *The Mâṇḍâsor inscription of Naravarman.*—In this record the characters belong to the southern alphabet. According to Bühler[1]

[1] Bühler, *loc. cit.*, p. 62.

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the Central Indian variety in its simplest form, agrees with the western variety of the southern alphabet. The characteristics of this southern alphabet, according to the same scholar, are as follows :—

(*a*) The retention of the ancient forms open at the top, of *gha*, *pa*, *pha*, *sa*, and *ṣa*, of the old *ma* and of the tripartite *ya* which is looped only occasionally especially in the Grantha.

(*b*) The retention of the long stroke on the right of *la* which is, however, mostly bent towards left.

(*c*) The *ḍa* with the round back.

(*d*) The curve, originally open at the top, at the end of the long verticals of *A*, *Ā*, *ka*, *ña*, and *ra*, as well as of the subscript *ra* and of medial *u* and *û*.

(*e*) The medial *ṛ* with a curled curve on the left with occasional exception as in *kṛ*.

Regarding this inscription of Naravarman we note : [1]

The letters *pa*, *pha*, *ṣa*, and *sa* are open at the top. The letter *gha* is also open at the top which, according to Bühler, is a characteristic of the southern alphabet ; see *maghê* (l. 2). The *ya* is tripartite in all cases with a curled curve which is closely akin to a loop. Only once a bipartite *ya* occurs in °*puny-ôpachaya* (l. 4). The long vertical stroke on the right of *la* is kept up and it always inclines towards the left. Medial *ṛi* is shown by a curve to the left ; see *prâvṛi*° (l. 2). *Ā* which occurs only once has a loop at the bottom ; see *Asvôja* (l. 3). Medial *i* is indicated by a loop and a curve to the left. Initial *î* occurs only once in *îdrik* (l. 4). The medial form is indicated by a double curve, the left one being smaller as in *Śrir* (l. 1) and *Jîvalôkaṁ* (l. 7). Medial *u* is indicated in three different ways : (1) The usual one consisting of a hook turned towards the left and attached to the bottom of the letter ; see *samudra* (l. 1). (2) A curve to the right ending in a vertical line of the height of the full letter and attached at the right bottom ; see *śuklasya* (l. 3), *duhitur* (l. 9). (3) A curve to the left attached to the bottom of *ra*, rising upwards and intersecting the vertical limb of the consonant ; see *châru* (l. 7), *kâruṇikaḥ* (l. 9). *Ru* in *puruṣâya* (l. 1) is somewhat different.

Initial *ê* occurs only once in *êka* (l. 2) ; the medial form is expressed by two ways. One is a hook attached to the left *śêrif*

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[1] Dr. Śāstri has noted the peculiarities very carefully. I have accepted his notes but the remarks are mine as he did not make any remark himself in Epi. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 359.

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of a letter as in *śirasê* (l. 1) ; another is to attach a stroke on the top of the letter slanting towards the left as in *dêva* (l. 8). There are some peculiar letters in this record which are worthy of note. *Kha* in *śikhâchalaṁ* (l. 6) has a triangular base as in the northern variety. *Na* consists of semi-circular top stroke. The crossbar in *tha* is usually a horizontal stroke sometimes curved. In *pârthivê* (l. 5) the crossbar of *tha* is a slanting vertical stroke. In *pa* the left vertical stroke has been slightly bent inwards as in *paryyaṅka* (l. 1). Similar curvature is noticeable in *pha* ; see *phaladam* (l. 7). *Ma* has retained its ancient form of the Scythian inscriptions. In *śa* the left limb curves inwards. The left limb of *ha* shows a curve to the right. The third horizontal line of *ja* slants downwards and occasionally shows a curve at the end ; see *Jayavarmma* (l. 4). According to Bühler this is a characteristic of the northern alphabet.[1]

Mâṇḍâsor inscription of Kumara Gupta and Bandhuvarman.— The chief features of this record are that the *ya* is generally tripartite and without a loop. The letters *gha, pa, pha, ṣa,* and *sa* are, as in the previous inscription, said to be open at the top. The meaning of this remark of Bühler is not quite clear to us. Compare, for instance, *gha* as found in the Allahabad inscription of Samudra Gupta and as it appears in *stana-jaghana-ghan-âlingana°* (l. 19) of this inscription. It is very difficult to find out any difference. Similarly, most of the letters are equally open at the top in the northern alphabet. Besides, great similarity exists between some forms of the letters *gha* and *pha* of this record and those of the northern records. In this inscription, particularly, two distinct types of *kha* occur. One is with a triangular base, as in the northern variety, and the other with a square base. For the former ; see *śikhara-skhalita* (l. 2), *asukhâ* (l. 3), *lêkhaka* (l. 24) ; for the latter see *lêkha* (l. 23). According to Bühler the true southern form of *kha* appears in the Valabhi grants of Dhruvasêna II. This true southern form, he says, has a small loop and a large hook.[2] The letter *kha* in *likhitam* (l. 20, Pl. II) of the above grant no doubt conforms to Bühler's views. But in the same grant, a little above, can be seen the type of *kha* with a large loop. See *khêtaka* (l. 5, 6) of the same grant. In our opinion, therefore, it seems that there does not exist any distinct southern type of the letter *kha* and what Bühler calls the true southern type, is so rare, that it might reasonably be attributed to the same hand writing in a different way. Even in the present day we cannot always use the same form of letters in our writings. As regards *ḍa*, the southern characteristic is to have a round back. In this inscription the *ḍa* is not

[1] Bühler, *loc. cit.*, p. 47.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 63, f.n. 8.

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so and Fleet has rightly remarked that this separate form of the lingual *ḍa* as distinct from the dental *da* is borrowed from the northern alphabet. See *ḍa* in *taḍit* (l. 6). As regards *da*, it is worthy of note that the letter is of a different form here than what appears in the inscription of Naravarman. The latter has types with cursive back closely akin to those found in the Allahabad record of Samudra Gupta. In this inscription *da* has a definitely round back. Fleet says that the letter *ḍha* as found in *dṛiḍha* (ll. 9, 11) of this record is borrowed from the northern alphabet. There can hardly be any doubt that all the Mândâsor records of this period show the peculiar northern type of *ḍha*. If we compare this letter in its various stages from Allahabad prasasti (*ruḍha* l. 18) through Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandra Gupta II (*âṣâḍha* l. 1) to Mândâsor stone slab inscription of Yasôdharman, Viṣṇuvardhana, etc., we shall at once detect how this letter was borrowed from northern records by the southern alphabet. The letter *ḍha* as illustrated in Bühler's chart of southern alphabet really owes its origin to the northern alphabet. The letter *la* is of the typical southern type—having a long stroke on the right which mostly bends towards the left. But this letter has marked a change over the Mândâsor inscription of Naravarman. The bend of the right long stroke of *la*, in most cases in this inscription, comes down to encircle the whole letter. This form occurs in the inscription of the Saravapura kings.[1] Moreover, unlike the letters in Naravarman's inscription, *la* in this record is more angular. There is no other letter to call for individual attention. But most letters show changes with regard to the inscription of Naravarman. The whole writing is more angular here. The letters *śa*, *ṣa*, *ta*, and *ga* are of different types in this record, being much less cursive. The medial signs of *i* and *î* have also changed. In this inscription *i* is denoted by a circle above the letter and *î* is denoted by putting in a small vertical stroke inside the circle. Fleet calls this inscription to represent the Western Mâlava alphabet of the fifth century A.D.

Mândâsor inscription of Prabhâkara.—The remarks which have been applied to the above inscription, may also be said to be true with regard to this inscription. They seem to agree very closely; as a matter of fact only five years intervene between the two records. There are, however, certain new forms which are worthy of note. In contrast to Bühler's observation *ya* is in most cases looped though not bipartite. *Kha* is of the northern variety with a big triangular base. Unlike the above inscription, the right long stroke of *la* does not encircle the letter but only stops after bending towards the

[1] C.I.I., Vol. III, pp. 191ff.

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left. In some cases *ṣa* shows some changes. *Va* generally and *ma* sometimes show a prominent flat bottom. The initial *a* (l. 14) of this inscription is somewhat different from that in the above inscription (l. 6). The letter *tha* calls for some remark. Writing on the western script of the southern alphabet Bühler observed with regard to *tha* that it has a ringlet on the base line instead of the cross-bar. In the Mâṇḍâsor records *tha* has the cross-bar in all cases ; but in this record we can just mark the transitional stage when the cross-bar gradually gives place to the ringlet. For *tha* with a ringlet, we have only to look up Bühler's chart (plate VII, 23, IV). Now, a look at the letter *tha* in *nâtha* (l. 10) of this inscription will convince us that it has arrived at the transitional stage. Medial *i* is indicated by the circle on the head of a letter while *î* has a horizontal stroke inside the circle.

These inscriptions from Mâṇḍâsor are all incised in the southern alphabet. The real point of difference between the southern and the northern alphabets are the letters *ma*, *la*, and *ya*. As has been shown above, the five common characteristics of the southern alphabet as noted by Bühler, do not always stand good. On the other hand the letters *ma* and *la* can well claim to be definite test letters. Inscriptions incised with the older Mauryan type of *ma* are of the southern variety ; and likewise those that have the letter *la* with a long stroke on the right bending towards to the left, sometimes to enclose the whole letter, are also of the southern variety. The group of inscriptions that we have just dealt with satisfy the test of being incised in the southern variety. The letter *ma* and *la* are always of the peculiar southern types ; *ya* is almost always without any loop and more often tripartite ; dental *sa* has neither a loop nor a filled triangle as is to be met within the records of the northern variety, but shows instead a semi-circular curl. As was observed by Bühler, the medial *ṛ* has almost uniformly a curled curve on the left. The most interesting thing, however, is to see how much the southern variety was influenced by the northern scripts. Like the latter, it was also ordinarily written with ink. This is made highly probable by the use of wedges on the top of the letters during the Gupta period.[1] It would appear highly probable that this variety of the alphabet, a mixed one, if we may say so, had its birth in this region during a period when paleography itself was in the melting pot. Slowly, however, this variety took shape and gave rise to the subsequent South Indian varieties. Let us take for instance, the Valabhi records. There cannot be any doubt as to the southern nature of these records. After all that

[1] Bühler, *loc. cit.*, p. 63.

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we have tried to show, it becomes clear and certain that these Mâṇḍâsor inscriptions are very closely allied to the Valabhi records in point of paleography. If the general cursive style of execution of the latter are left aside there will be nothing much to distinguish between the two. The Valabhi records also have the peculiarity of having thick heads on their signs. It will be neither difficult to trace how the Gurjara and Râṣṭrakuta inscriptions can be shown to have developed out of this same source, but this would be better reserved for a separate place.

Mâṇḍâsor stone pillar inscription of Yasôdharman.—This inscription, though it hails from Mâṇḍâsor, is quite distinct from the group of inscriptions that we have just dealt with. The characters here belong to the northern class of alphabets. Fleet has observed that in some respects this record is a development of the type of the Allahabad praśasti and in others a development of the Mathura inscription of Chandra Gupta II. He has not, however, pointed out any instance in his favour. The two records named by Fleet are typical specimens of the eastern and western variety of the so-called Gupta alphabet. To say that this Mâṇḍâsor record is similar in some respects to both the inscriptions mentioned above would be virtually to admit that it contains developed form of eastern and western varieties of script. Such, however, is not the case. Our record is a clear specimen of the western variety of the northern alphabet. All the typical letters of the eastern script, to be seen in the Allahabad praśasti, are conspicuous here by their absence. It is difficult to guess if Fleet had in his mind such letters as *ma, da, va*, etc. which struck him as a later development of the eastern variety. Truly speaking, those letters differ very little in the two alphabets of Northern India and nothing should be deduced from them alone in the absence of some definite test letters. On the other hand, it will be evident that this record is incised in the western style. There has been, no doubt, a change in the western alphabet itself since the early days of the Imperial Guptas. Bühler noted that about the beginning of the sixth century a change came over in the inscriptions of Northern India. This change, in the learned doctor's opinion, was simultaneously effected in the inscriptions of both Eastern and Western India which ultimately gave rise to the form of the Gayâ inscription of Mahânâman (588 A.D.). This new type of the script was termed as the acute angled alphabet discarding the old terminology of the nail headed variety.[1] We take leave to observe that the change noted by Bühler as marking the acute angled alphabet, first came upon the epigraphs of the western style. As I

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

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have shown elsewhere, the Gayâ inscription of Mahânâman though found in the east, was really the case of a western record intruding in the region where, as a rule, the eastern variety of the northern alphabet prevailed. The changes that ultimately lead to the form of this record can first be traced in the records of Western India. The inscription of Aṁsuvarman of saṁ 39 is written in the eastern style and shows that the alphabet of the changed western script was not yet felt on this record even so late as the third decade of the seventh century A.D. Throughout this inscription the cursive form of *ya* does not occur even once. The chief feature of the acute angled alphabet, as is evidenced by such records as the Gayâ inscription or the Lakhâmaṇḍal praśasti, is the substitution of the cursive *ya* for the more archaic tripartite one. I have shown elsewhere that the eastern variety of the northern alphabet kept up the old form of *ya* much longer than the western variety and that it was in the epigraphs of the latter school that we observed the first advent of the cursive *ya*. We can, therefore, postulate with reasonable probability *that it was from the western alphabet that the eastern variety borrowed those characteristics which mark out the acute angled alphabet, subsequently destined to become the parent of the Nagari alphabet.* It would be better now to examine some particular features of contemporary inscriptions to show the plausibility of our theory. The Gayâ inscription of Mahânâman is recognized by all authorities as a typical representative of the acute angled variety of northern alphabet, which later on gave rise to the Nâgari script. The chief characteristics of this script are that the letters slope from left to right. It is strange that Bühler speaks of them as sloping from right to left.[1] Besides most of the letters have developed acute angles at the lower right extremities. The *ya* is cursive as opposed to the archaic form. Another feature is a floridity in the ductus of writing though not of the same type as the Asirgaḍ seal of Sarvavarman.[2] The next step would best be to examine whether the eastern records or the western ones first begin to exhibit traces which ultimately developed into the above script. The Mâṇḍâsor inscription under discussion is a specimen of the western variety. Though the record itself is not dated it is very well certain that it would belong to the twenties of the sixth century. A typical north-eastern record of this period would be one of the Nâgârjuni or Barâbar cave inscriptions of Anantavarman Maukhari. On closer study it will be clear that the inscription from Western India reveals greater affinity, in certain peculiar features, with the Gayâ inscription of Mahânâman. Letters like *ma, sa, pa, gha,* in the Mâṇḍâsor

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

[2] C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 219.

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inscription have acute angles in the right lower extremities. The tendency to slope from left to right can also just be seen. The subscript *ya* is peculiar in being very long and with a tail. In the Mahânâman inscription this sign, though shorter, bears some resemblance to that of the Mânḍâsor inscription. In the latter record there are one or two cases when the subscript *ya* is also short like the Gayâ inscription (see *dhanurjayê* l. 2, *vrityâ* 13, °*anyêṣu* l. 3). Similarly the letters *dha* and *sa* show great similarity. The medial sign for *ê* is exactly the same as is used in the Gayâ inscription—an arrow like line drawn from the head of the letter towards the left. The signs for medial *i* and *ô* are also similar in the two records (see *vyâptô* l. 1 in Bôdh Gayâ and *padayôr*, l. 5 in Mânḍâsor). There are one or two cases of the cursive *ya* in the Mânḍâsor record (*yasya* l. 5, *viryâ* l. 4) showing that the process by which the cursive *ya* came to replace the old *ya* has begun. With regard to the acute angled alphabet we had up till now overlooked the observation of Bühler[1] that the tops of the vertical or slanting lines invariably bear small wedges and their ends either show the same ornaments or protuberances. . . . . For the development of the Nâgari alphabet the above observation is of the utmost importance. In our present record we can see that the lower end of the vertical lines of certain letters like *ka*, *ra*, etc. have angular protuberances. This feature, which seems a new innovation here will become the rule in the Gayâ inscription and still more so in the Âphsâd inscription. *And once the form of the Âphsâd letters are established the way to Nâgari is well laid out.*

(3)

Susunia rock inscription of Chandravarman

This record, a very early one, was found incised on the Susunia hill in the Bankura District. The text of the record together with a facsimile was produced in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*[2] by the late MM. Haraprasad Śâstri. It mentions a Mahârâja Chandravarman who was the son of Mahârâja Siṁhavarman. The historical significance of this inscription was fully dealt with by the same author in a different issue of the journal. I shall reconsider here the position of Dr. Śâstri and show how we can profitably requisition the evidence of paleography towards the solution of a much debated problem of Indian history. First we shall recount the views of Dr. Śâstri. He is of opinion that Siṁhavarman, father of Naravarman, mentioned in the Mânḍâsor inscription of the latter

[1] Bühler, *loc. cit.*, p. 49.

[2] Epi. Ind., Vol. xiii, p. 133.

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monarch and Simhavarman, father of Chandravarman of the Susunia record are one and the same person. Chandravarman and Naravarman therefore, become contemporaries and brothers. The date of the latter king as found in his inscription is V.S. 461 or 404-5 A.D. The elder (?) brother is made a contemporary of Samudra Gupta and finally Chandra mentioned in the Meharauli iron pillar inscription, has been supposed to be the same as the above-mentioned Chandravarman. The Susunia inscription, he goes on to say, supplies us with a king named Chandra with the family title Varman who belonged to Pushkarana. This Pushkarana is undoubtedly the ancient name of the city of Pokharan in the Jodhpur State in Western India. But the king's might extended far to the east where he dedicated a wheel of Viṣṇu in the Vaṅga country. The Meharauli pillar itself is the very *dhvaja*, another ensign of Viṣṇu, the dedication of which is recorded in the inscription itself, and it also speaks of a conquest of Bengal. The natural conclusion is to state that Chandra of the Meharauli pillar inscription and Chandravarman, son of Simhavarman, of the Susunia inscription are identical. Pushkaraṇâ seems to have been the capital of the Kshattriya kings of Mâlava. Dr. Śâstri has no doubt put his case very clearly but a close study of the paleography of these records concerned will reveal that his position cannot be maintained. The inscriptions that we shall have occasion to refer to in course of this note are mainly the Allahabad praśasti of Harisêna, the Meharauli inscription of Chandra and the Susunia inscription.

Dr. Śâstri would have us to believe that during the fourth century A.D. there was a powerful dynasty of Kshattriya rulers who had their seat in Western India. Amongst many rulers of this dynasty a king called Chandravarman rendered a very good account of himself and for a time made his sway felt over the whole of Northern India. As a proof of his victorious military dash to the west he left the Meharauli inscription on the *Viṣṇupadagiri*. His conquests in the east were culminated by a victory over the Vaṅgas. If the inscriptions are connected in any way then the latter feat must have been performed earlier as the victory over the Vaṅgas is mentioned in the Meharauli inscription. Are we to suppose then that this king set out with his host of army to the east and then went away to the extreme west after his victories in the east ? If the subjugation of the entire region was not effected in the course of one protracted campaign then how many years must have elapsed between the two ? We are left to guess as best as we can. But the main question is when was this military feat achieved and how long was Chandravarman allowed to enjoy his imperial supremacy. Dr. Śâstri says that this king was a contemporary of Samudra

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Gupta. It is well-known, however, that Samudra Gupta launched his scheme of conquest immediately after he came to the throne. If Chandravarman were in the enjoyment of so much power as Dr. Śâstri would have it, then it would be very natural for the Gupta monarch to fall out against the Varman king as his only powerful foe. There is, however, not the least evidence of such an event in the official record of the Gupta king. On the other hand we are given to understand quite a different story. I shall quote here the relevant passage from the Allahabad praśasti for the sake of verification. In the list of kings of Northern India appears *Rudradêva-Matila-Nâgadatta-Chandravarmmâ-Gaṇapatinâga-Nâgasêna-Achyuta-Nandi-Balavarmm-âdy-anêk-Âryyavartta-râja*. . . . We then see that when Samudra Gupta set out to conquer Northern India, it had many (*anêka*) chiefs of whom probably the more important nine were mentioned by name and Chandravarman was one of these nine. Hence Dr. Śâstri's Chandravarman could not have been a contemporary or at least could not have been an all-powerful monarch during the time of Samudra Gupta. Could he then have been earlier than Samudra Gupta and a contemporary of Chandra Gupta I ? This assumption also becomes untenable when we consider the question of paleography. The Kshattriya Varman kings had their seat of government in Western India and in the usual course the Western or Central Indian variety of the southern alphabet ought to have been used in their documents as is found in the Mâṇḍâsor inscription of Naravarman himself. It is also usual that when a king sets out from his capital, either for conquest or some other purpose, a whole retinue generally follows him ; and this includes, besides others, the court scribes. This is a very ancient custom of India and is prescribed by the Arthaśâstra. Take for instance the Udayagiri inscription of Chandra Gupta II. The script of this record is of the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet and this is explained by the fact that the record was incised by the command of Vîrasêna the minister, by the eastern scribes who were employed in the court of Chandra Gupta and who must naturally have accompanied the king in his conquests. If Chandravarman came to Bankura from Mâlava region, we would have expected to see the Susunia record incised in the script of the western variety. An alternative suggestion that can possibly be offered is that Chandravarman, as soon as he secured his victories over the Vaṅgas, employed some local scribes to incise the inscription. Such a course of action would not in itself be unnatural. But then the question arises as to how was the Meharauli pillar incised ? This inscription is in the eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet. It is wondering

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how Bühler put it in the western group.[1] If Chandravarman had no scribes in his camp then how could this inscription in the far west came to be incised in eastern characters ? We will now put forth our view which shall satisfy all these interrogations.

The Susunia record is incised in the eastern variety of northern alphabet. All the test letters can be seen in their best forms such as *ṣa, ha,* and *sa*. As was observed by Bühler, the base stroke of *ṣa,* in the eastern variety, is made round and attached as a loop to the slanting central bar ; similarly the base stroke of *ha* is suppressed and its hook, attached to the vertical, is turned sharply to the left. The dental sibilant *sa* has a loop at the end of its left vertical line instead of the customary curve or hook. All these characteristics of the test letters can be seen here also. *Ṣa* in *Pushkarana, ha* in *mahârâja, sa* in *Simhavarman* will stand the test very well. If we compare the letters of this inscription with those of the Allahabad record, we shall be surprised by the similarity. The ductus of writing in the Susunia inscription is more angular. As a matter of fact we would not be very much off the mark if we say that *the Susunia record is earlier than the Allahabad inscription.* Whoever the king might have been, his seat was in the eastern parts of Northern India. Quite in keeping with the evidence that we have up till now examined we might identify him with Chandravarmmâ of the Allahabad praśasti. The Susunia inscription was incised when Chandravarammâ was yet an independent chief but when Samudra Gupta undertook his campaign, this potentate lost his independence. From the standpoint of paleography, *the Susunia inscription might well be said to contain the earliest specimen of eastern variety scripts found in Eastern India.* The distinction up till now enjoyed by the Allahabad inscription in a study of the Gupta paleography should now pass on to the Susunia rock inscription of Chandravarman.

(4)

The origin of the so-called Eastern variety.

The late Dr. Rudolf Hoernle made a classification of the inscriptions of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries A.D. as were then available, into two broad sections, namely the Eastern and the Western.[2] The basis of this division was, according to him, the cerebral sibilant *ṣa* which was looked upon as the test letter. In the Eastern alphabet, he goes on to say, the form of the letter is , while in the Western

[1] Bühler, *loc. cit.*, p. 47.

[2] Ind. Anti., Vol. xxi, p. 30.

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alphabet its form is . He admitted, however that both in the Eastern and in the Western section there are divisions into varieties. In this he was followed by Bühler who added two more letters in support of the distinction between the two sections of the North Indian alphabet, as proposed by Hoernle. The two new additions were *la* and *ha*. The characteristic features of these two letters are too well known to require repetition. Bühler held the view that the Allahabad praśasti is the oldest record written in the Eastern variety script and that is why he has illustrated from this inscription the Eastern type of letters in his chart[1]. It must be said to his credit that he took notice of the Gaya inscription of Saṁ. 64 illustrated in Cunningham's Mahâbôdhi. He, however, suggests that the era may be that of the Guptas. Sometimes later, the late Mr. R. D. Banerji brought in another test letter—the dental sibilant *sa*—to distinguish the Eastern variety alphabet. He observed that in the inscriptions of the Eastern variety, this letter always has a loop at the end of its left vertical line instead of the customary curve or hook, as is to be found in the Allahabad inscription of Samudra Gupta. He has also noted that the form is to be found in the records of the Kushâṇa period, discovered in Mathura.[2] This was also observed by Bühler but he failed to trace its early ancestry. The spade of the Archæologist has succeeded in unearthing many new objects and Indian Epigraphy has made considerable progress since the days of the early scholars. In this note we shall show that the assumption of a new alphabet growing up in Northern India during the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. is unwarranted by facts. More so is the case in regard to that particular section of the alphabet which has been characterized as the Eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet.

Elsewhere I have remarked that a study of the Gupta alphabet has necessarily to take into consideration the script that was current in Northern India during the days of the Kushâṇas. If, like a bad logician, I am to put the conclusion first, I would most emphatically say that the forms which have been spotted as the test letters to distinguish the Eastern variety of the 4th century alphabet, had its origin some two centuries back in a region which can never be said to be in Eastern India. First then let us examine what is meant by Eastern variety. As Hoernle invented the term, it was obligatory on his part to indicate its precise connotation. In a sketch map which he appended to his article in the Indian

[1] Indian Paleography (English trans.), p. 46.
[2] The origin of the Bengali script, p. 26.

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Antiquary he had shown that by North-eastern alphabet he meant the one prevalent in territories to the east of Allahabad or Kosâm.[1] This line of demarcation was thought to be well enough until only recently Prof. Bhandarkar, very rightly we think, questioned the accuracy of such a division.[2] While editing the Mathura pillar inscription of Chandra Gupta II of the year 61, he was forced to come to the conclusion that no hard and fast distinction exist between the Kushâṇa and the Gupta script. He also brought to light the evidence furnished by the Jâsdan inscription of the time Mahâkshatrapa Rudrasêna on the question of paleography. This record, though dated in 205 or 204 A.D., shows that what has been called the test letters of the Eastern variety—*ma*, and *ha*—also appear here. It is thus clear, the learned Professor says, that these Eastern forms of the letters were in existence as early as A.D. 205, that is, certainly more than a century prior to the rise of the Gupta power. They cannot thus possibly be called Gupta characters at all. And it would be the height of absurdity to dub them as the Eastern variety of the Gupta letters specially when the Jâsdan record is not only of the pre-Gupta period but is far far removed to the south-west of Pāṭaliputra. I am sorry I had to reproduce this rather long extract from Prof. Bhandarkar's article ; but I consider his views expressed here to be of great importance in the study of Gupta paleography.

During the rule of the great Kushāṇas the Brâhmi alphabet of Northern India marked a definite change which ultimately became the ruling script in Northern India during the days of the Guptas. Under the latter rulers this same script received a wide royal support, just as Buddhism got under the Maurya ruler Asoka, if we are allowed to institute such a comparison. It will be necessary here to examine as many Kushâṇa records as possible and to show that all the test letters for the so-called Eastern Gupta alphabet can be seen, developed well enough, during this period. The larger number of the Kushâṇa inscriptions hail from Mathura and its neighbourhood. Bühler himself was aware of this as he observes that the inscriptions with the names of these kings (Great Kushâṇas) which run from the year four to the year ninety-eight are very numerous in Mathura and its neighbourhood and are found also in Eastern Râjputânâ and Sânchi.[3] During the period from November 1890 to March 1891 Dr. Führer was engaged in the exploration of Mathura and he succeeded in unearthing a most splendid series of inscriptions in Kaṅkâlî ṭîlâ. Some eighty inscrip-

[1] Hoernle, *loc. cit.*, p. 44.
[2] Epi. Ind., Vol. xxi, p. 1ff.
[3] Bühler, *loc. cit.*, p. 40.

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tions were dealt with by Bühler in the first two volumes of the Epigraphia Indica. The results of his studies were supposed to be conclusive and they were greatly utilized by the late R. D. Banerji in his masterly article which he contributed to the pages of the Indian Antiquary under the caption 'Indo-Scythian period of Indian history' and in which he discussed the Kushâṇa epigraphs in great details.[1] So far as Bühler is concerned, his linguistic observations stand true even upto the present day; but there will be occasion to differ from him so far as paleography is concerned. Some more inscriptions have come to light even after R. D. Banerji added nine or ten to the list of Bühler. He, however, divided the records of the first century A.D. (as he took Kaniṣka's date to be 75 A.D.) into two groups: (*a*) the Eastern variety of the North Indian alphabet of the Kushâṇa period, earlier variety; (*b*) the Eastern variety of the North Indian alphabet, later variety.[2] We do not subscribe ourselves to such a division which helps us in no way whatsoever.

If we are earnest about making a classification of the large number of inscriptions that come from Mathura and its neighbourhood during this period, we shall see then that the majority of them are in the nature of religious donations or votive inscriptions, as we say, concerned with the two prominent sects of the day, namely the Jainas and the Buddhists; and the greater number of inscriptions belong to the former. The scope of my paper precludes me from undertaking a critical paleographic examination of these records as I am primarily concerned here with the origin of the so-called Eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet. If we make a division between the Jain and Buddhist inscriptions, it will be clear that these exhibit, not unoften, two quite different kinds of scripts in contemporary records. As was observed by Bühler, the influence of the current hand was greatly felt on the Jaina script and hence it often showed features which were in advance of its age.[3] This observation, however, is only partially true and can by no means be pushed far, as was done by R. D. Banerji. I think from a general point of view Smith was quite correct when he said that it is not always easy by mere inspection to distinguish an inscription of the Kushâṇa period from one of the Gupta period. Many alphabetical forms specially characteristic of the Gupta inscriptions are found sporadically in Kushâṇa records, while on the other hand Gupta documents often exhibit archaic forms specially

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[1] Banerji, Ind. Ant., Vol. xxxvii, p. 25ff.
[2] The origin of the Bengali script, p. 20ff.
[3] Epi. Ind., Vol. i, p. 371ff.

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characteristic of the Kushâṇa age.[1] How true this statement is can be realised if we compare, for instance, the Mathura inscription of Chandra Gupta II of the year 61. The editor of this inscription himself was greatly struck by the surprising similarity it had with the Kushâṇa epigraphs. But we have nothing to say that it is due to the Jain, who is a clever merchant, that the advanced script came into vogue in the Kushâṇa period. Firstly, the men concerned with the donation were monks. The chief point, however, is that Buddhist inscriptions also exhibit advanced forms. I shall have to refer here to the paper written by R. D. Banerji, already alluded to before. As will be evident from what follows I am unable to accept most of his views regarding the paleography of the period, which seem not only to be unwarranted by facts but against all the available evidence furnished by inscriptions. He was of the opinion that the script of the Jaina record contributed most to the development of the later Gupta alphabet. In fact, it is very difficult to distinguish between Jaina inscription, of the Kushâṇa period and those of the Gupta period, but not between Buddhist inscriptions of the Kushâṇa period. Later on he again makes the remark that if we exclude the Jaina inscriptions we find that the character of the other inscriptions of the period do not show any marked affinity to those of the inscriptions of the Gupta period. The Jaina records of the Kushâṇa period form a unique series of Indian epigraphs showing advanced forms of characters the parallel of which has not yet been found in India [2]. I am afraid, however, no one who has closely studied the Buddhist inscriptions of the period can subscribe to the view expressed by Banerji. I am, on the other hand, inclined to believe that, in the main, the Jaina script of the Mathura inscriptions was the precursor of what later on came to be known as the Western variety of the North Indian alphabet during the days of the Guptas. It is true, as noticed by Bühler, that consonants like *ka* and *sa* often exhibit the advanced form in Jaina records. To take an example as supplied by him, *ka* in *kumârnandi* (No. xiii) [3], has the Gupta form with a curved line instead of a straight cross-bar and with a *śêrif* at the top. Similarly the letter *sa* has in one or two occasions, a loop in the left hand limb thus resulting the Gupta *sa* very greatly. But these instances are few and far between and little can be deduced if out of, say, eighty or ninety Jaina inscriptions only two or three exhibit a few instances of the advanced form of letters. No one can deny that some of the Buddhist records do exhibit archaic

[1] J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 35.
[2] *loc. cit.*, p. 52.
[3] Epi. Ind., Vol. i, p. 372.

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forms such as the four fragmentary Buddhist inscriptions from Mathura of the third year of Kanishka [1]. Letters like *ka, na, bha* and subscript *ya* clearly show their archaic nature. But just as all the Jaina inscriptions do not exhibit the advanced script, likewise, *there are some Buddhist inscriptions which do not reveal the archaic forms at all and I am definitely of the opinion that as facts stand at present, the origin of the later so-called Eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet has to be traced to the Buddhist inscriptions of the Kushâṇa period.* Let me mention here that under the Buddhist camp I include the stray instances of Nâga donations. It is well known that the ancient Brâhmaṇas were allowed to worship Nâgas. As a matter of fact Bühler had suggested quite correctly that the Buddhist in whose legends the Nâgas play a great part and on whose stupas they are often represented as worshippers of the Bô-tree, inay have taken over the worship of Dadhikarṇa from the Brâhmanas.[2] To turn to our point, if we accept that *sa, ṣa, ha* and *la* are the test letters which distinguish the later so-called Eastern variety, then it stands obvious that these so-called Eastern characteristics can be seen for the first time in the inscriptions which belong to the Buddhists. A few sporadic instances of the looped *sa*—an Eastern type—are to be seen in some of the Jaina records (see Nos. 37D and 5A) [3]. As regards the other letters, I have not been able to trace their occurrence in any of the Jaina inscriptions that I have been able to examine. On the other hand, it is open to every one to see how these test letters first arrived in some of the Buddhist inscriptions during the days of the great Kushâṇas. We will now examine some epigraphs to illustrate our standpoint ; and for this let us consider the Buddhist inscription on the pedestal of an image of Bodhisattva found at Srâvastī [4]. The original inscription consists of three lines to which a fourth was added in later times as can be seen from the letters. It is unfortunate that neither any date nor the name of a king is given in the record. But we can arrive at a fairly approximate date judging from the script that has been used in the record. The general form of the letters is very archaic and in spite of one or two later Kushâṇa forms, it can, with some certainty, be referred to the pre-Kushâṇa days or at least to the earlier Kushâṇa times. Most of the letters exhibit forms of what Bühler has called the Northern Kshatrapa alphabet. Letters like *ma, ba, pa* show angularity ; *bha* is broadened as in the inscription of Soḍâsa and so also is *ra* with a curve to left at the end. The forms of *cha* and *śa* demonstrate with great force the early date of this

[1] Epi. Ind., Vol. viii, p. 176.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 380.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 319 ; *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 384.
[4] A.R.-A.S.I, 1908-9, p. 133ff.

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record. The former is broad and flat while the latter is with the slanting middle stroke which has not yet yielded its place to the cross-bar, a later feature. Similar is the case with *ya* which is throughout in the archaic tripartite form. All these would strongly point to a pre-Kaniska date for the inscription. Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, who had dealt with it very fully, had further observed that in support of the early date of this record may be pointed out that the inscription does not contain the name of Kaniska or any of his successors, whereas it is seldom wanting in important inscriptions of the time of these rulers. It is in this early Buddhist inscription that we come across the peculiar eastern type of *ha* (see *ha* in *bôhisatvâ*, 1.1, and in *bôhîsatva*, 1.3,). Unlike the usual *ha* this letter has a hook at the lower end which is turned to the left. I quite agree with the assumption of the Rai Bahadur and am of opinion that herein we meet with the earliest type of *ha* from which the later Eastern Gupta *ha* was developed. Pertaining to the Kushâṇa king Kaniska is the pedestal inscription of the year 14 of the same ruler.[1] Prof. Bhandarkar also noticed this record when he edited the Mathura inscription of Chandra Gupta II. It is surprising how the test letters of the later Eastern Gupta script—*ma*, *ha* and *sa*—appear here in pretty developed forms. This inscription is again a Buddhist one. *How wrong, therefore, R. D. Banerji was when he said that there is no similarity between the letters in a Buddhist inscription and those in Gupta inscriptions and that the former class never exhibit advanced forms.* After Kaniska comes Huviska. Let us now examine one of the records belonging to the time of this king. In 1908 Pandit Radha Krisna acquired a life size Nâga statue of unusual interest in a village called Chhârgâon, five miles almost due south of Mathura. On the back of the sculpture there is an inscription consisting of six well preserved lines. It was inscribed in the 40th year of the Mahârâja Râjâtirâja Huviska.[2] The letter *ha* in *sênahasti* (l. 3) shows a form which, without the least doubt, can be called an earlier prototype of the later co-called Eastern Gupta *ha*. Similar is the case with the few instances of *sa*. I can well anticipate the objection that this record pertains to Nâga worship and has nothing to do with Buddhism. But I have already adduced proofs of how the Nâga cult was familiar among the Buddhists. Besides I am not sure of Vogel's reading *sênahasti*. If, as I suspect, the correct reading be *sêtahasti* then there is a reference to the Buddha. In any case the sculpture comes from Mathura and is not a Jaina one. We then see that during the days of the great Kushâṇas a new type of script grew

[1] Epi. Ind., Vol. xix, p. 96ff.

[2] A.R-A.S.I, 1908-9, p. 159ff.

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up and that it was mainly used in Buddhist records. From what we have seen can by no means affirm that the typical Eastern variety has already been well developed during this period. Here I shall have to make some passing remark about the much vexed question of Kushâṇa chronology. In this matter there ought to be no room for guess work. It is always easy to collect scrappy evidence from extant literary sources and indulge in hypothesis. But the truth must be furnished by actual finds—by facts—determined by the spade of the excavator. After what has been revealed by Sir John Marshall from the unmistakable evidence of archæological stratification, I am inclined to accept the view once promulgated by Fleet [1] and endorsed by Konow [2] that Kaniska was perhaps separated from Wima Kadphises by an interval and that he invaded India some time about 120–25 A.D. It is also known that about a century was covered by the dynasty of the great Kushâṇas. It is then during the period from c. 125 A.D. to 225 A.D. that the so-called Eastern variety alphabet appeared and began to develop in the region round about Mathura. There are one or two inscriptions whose dates are still unfixed. These records exhibit quite the advanced form of the Eastern variety. As a matter of fact, these inscriptions can hardly be distinguished from the Gupta inscriptions, purely from their scripts. Let us first consider the Bôdh-Gayâ inscription of the year 64. Cunningham was the first to discover it near a small ruined temple at Bôdh-Gayâ. A facsimile of the inscription was published by Cunningham in his book called Mahâbôdhi (plate xxv). The image is now in the Indian Museum but unfortunately the inscription is in a mutilated condition, much worse than it was during the time of Cunningham. Sufficient, however, remains to enable us to discuss its paleography. Cunningham referred the date to the Śaka era. Smith also supported this view, the chief ground being that the impression of a coin of Huviska was found under the throne. Mr. R. D. Banerji [3] has questioned the plausibility of the Śaka era being referred to here on grounds of paleography. If Kaniska were really the founder of the Śaka era then I would not have any hesitation to attribute this record to the same era. But as said before, I am inclined to accept the findings of Sir John Marshall regarding the date of Kaniska. It is obvious then, that the question of the Śaka era cannot come up. Mr. Banerji has referred the inscription to the Gupta era. He says that the characters of this inscription resemble those of the early Gupta period as found in the Allahabad prasasti of Samudra

[1] J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 334.
[2] Corpus., Vol. ii, Pt. I, p. lxxvii.
[3] Ind. Ant., Vol. xxxvii, p. 39.

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Gupta. Says he 'the *ha* in the first line in *Mahârâjasya* and in the second line *Simharatha,* also in *Arthadharmasahâyê* in the third line and the *la* in the first line *Tukamalasya,* are peculiar forms of these letters which are to be found, so far as I know, only on the Allahabad praśasti of Harisena'[1]. He also reminds us how Bühler thought that the date of the record under discussion should be referred to the Gupta era. Bühler, however, only hesitatingly suggests that the date *may* be referred to the Gupta era as he was not very certain over the matter.[2] I am afraid not a single argument of Banerji will stand criticism. For have we not noticed before that from the very early days of the Kushâṇas the test letters of the Eastern variety—*sa, ha* and *la*—are found, though sporadically, in Buddhist inscriptions? It is better we give up definitely the 'bogey' of the Allahabad inscription. The typical Eastern variety script has had a long history behind it before the time of Samudra Gupta. Let us compare, for instance, the Mathura pedestal inscription of the Kushan year 14. The letters *ha, sa* and *la* in this record will at once strike us by the great similarity they have with the corresponding letters in the Allahabad praśasti. But to our great help the name of King Kaniska is clearly mentioned. I admit that the Bôdh-Gayâ inscription of the year 64 exhibit much more developed forms. The reason is that for a full hundred years, through which the inscriptions of the great Kushâṇas run, the Eastern variety script was slowly developed. If Kaniska came to India at c. 125 A.D. then his dynasty must have continued up to c. 130 A.D. It is well known how a second wave of Kushâṇa influx spread over India. These little Kushâṇas or Kushan-putras, in their turn, held sway till they appear as a spent-up force in the Allahabad inscription of Samudra Gupta. I am inclined to believe that the Kalachuri era was started by these Kushan-putras. But there is no necessity of entering into details here regarding this point. What I want to emphasise is that the Eastern form of letters, which first appeared during the early days of Kaniska were finally developed in the days of the Kushan-putras. In his list of Northern Inscriptions, I find, Prof. Bhandarkar has offered a suggestion to the effect that the Bôdh-Gayâ inscription of. year 64 may be referred to the Kalachuri era.[3] To my mind this seems to be a very happy suggestion as it fits in well with available facts. Two centuries are a good period for a new script to develop fully. There is nothing to be surprised by the fact that an inscription of c. 313 A.D.

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[1] *Ibid.*
[2] Indian paleography, p. 46, f.n. 10.
[3] List of Northern inscriptions, p. 170, f.n. 4.

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should exhibit well developed North-Eastern forms. Many fragmentary inscriptions from the Allahabad region, which are dated in the Kalachuri era, show the Eastern variety of letters. Though in the beginning the script was more or less exclusively used in Mathura and only by the Buddhists, gradually other parts of India came to adopt this style. When the Guptas came to power, this particular script was well in vogue in the eastern parts of India. We would put forth our final observation before we take the plea to do away with the terminology of 'Eastern Gupta alphabet'. It is needless to recollect here that Mathura was a great centre of activity as regards art and sculpture during the days of the Kushâṇas. Unfortunately, however, sculpture has superseded all the other activities, so that we had no occasion to investigate, if this important town in Ancient India had distinguished itself in any other art except that of sculpture. We have evidence to show that even from a much earlier period than that of the Kushâṇas, Mathura was looked upon as a centre of learning. Commenting upon Pānini V. 3.57, the grammarian Patañjali says *Sânkâsya kêbhyaḥ-ch Pāṭaliputra kêbhyaḥ-ch Mathura abhirûpa tarâ iti*. It is evident that as a centre of learning Mathura was more famous than even Pāṭaliputra.[1] There is nothing to suppose that this distinction enjoyed by Mathura suddenly eclipsed. On the other hand there is ample evidence that from the days of the Northern Kshatrapas new activity again sprung up in Mathura which was greatly accelerated by the patronage extended by the Kushâṇa rulers. If in the matter of art and sculpture this place had developed a style of its own, will it be too much to suppose that a similar distinct style of writing also sprung up among the scribes of the place. The Buddhist monks, as has been made clear, were mainly responsible for the development of this school. Just as in Europe, for a period, the Jesuit Fathers identified themselves with the spread of education, there is no wonder the Buddhist monks, in their zeal to preach among the laymen, helped a new script to grow up. The language of the inscriptions of this period, which has been so thoroughly discussed by Bühler was of the mixed dialect, a feature, due to the efforts of the half educated people to express themselves in Sanskrit. The Srāvasti inscription mentioned above has certain Eastern forms. It is significant that in this case it is definitely stated in the inscriptions that the donors were residents of Mathura and what is more important is that the sculptor also came from the same place. Will it be anything in the nature of a wild guess if we suppose that the engraver also was an inhabitant of Mathura? There is

[1] See my remarks, Ind. Cult., Vol. ii, p. 59.

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no inherent improbability in the fact of a new school of scribe being developed by the Buddhist monks. We can enlist literary evidence to our support in showing that there was such a thing as regional or provincial peculiarity in the art of writing. The LALITAVISTARA is composed in the mixed dialect of the Gâthâ, much in the same way as most of the inscriptions from Mathura which we have discussed. In this Buddhist text we are given a story as to how, when the Master grew up to boyhood, he was escorted to a *writing school* with a hundred thousand auspicious arrangements.[1] The most important thing here, is the word *lipiśâlâ*. There would be no meaning in using this term if we do not believe that in those days there were special institutions where one could learn all the methods of writing that were in vogue amongst the people of the different provinces. As a matter of fact the Buddha himself enumerated as many as 64 kinds of scripts. These can well be classified according as some refer to the script of some particular region or country, others to tribes and so on. At the face of this evidence we must assume that there were institutions where one could learn any script one liked. And it most naturally went to the credit of the scribe who could easily engrave in more than one way. There is not the least absurdity in the Buddhist monks of Mathura working up a special script for their purpose. Gradually this particular variety of alphabet became very popular and spread over a large area. With the fall of the Kushânputras the importance of Mathura must have sunk low to some extent. But the era they started and the variety of alphabet the contemporary Buddhist monks developed, continued to be used by the people for some time. In subsequent period we find that the region round about Kôsâm was held by subordinate chiefs who incised their inscriptions in this script and dated them in the Chedi era. Take for instance the Kôsâm inscription of Bhimavarman. As has been rightly shown by our friend Mr. Amalananda Ghose,[2] the inscription contains some undoubtedly Kushâṇa forms such as *śa* without the middle horizontal stroke and *na* consisting of two horizontal lines with a third line joining them in the middle. At the first sight it is impossible not to characterise this inscription as one belonging to the so-called Eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet. As regards the date—the year 130—I fully agree with Mr. Ghose that it refers

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[1] तदा माङ्गल्यशतसहस्रैः
लिपिशालामुपनीयते स्म ॥
10th adhyāya, p. 141 (R. L. Mitter's edition).

[2] Ind. Cult., Vol. iii, p. 177ff.

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to the Kalachuri era. It took some time before the people became accustomed to the era founded by the Guptas who came to power within a hundred years after the decline of the Kushân-putras. From that oft-quoted verse of the Purâṇas[1] :

anu-Gangâ Prayâgaṁ ca Sâkêtam Magadhâṁstathâ
êtân janapadân sarvân bhôkṣyantê Gupta-vaṁśa-jâḥ ||

it is clear that the Allahabad region was one of the earliest fiefs of the Guptas. The 'Mathura Buddhist script', if I may use that sort of nomenclature, had become familiar in this region from some time back. But the hour of triumph came when the Gupta kings decided to adopt the same style in their state documents. It is not at all imperative that they should have adopted the variety of script that was current in Pâṭaliputra, for they could well adopt any other. Is it very much surprising that the King's English is really the one that is used in Oxford or again that even in Nanking the Mânḍârin dialect is understood by all ? As soon as the 'missionary script', for that is how I am inclined to call the Eastern variety alphabet in its early stage, came to be used by the Gupta kings to inscribe their records, Pâṭaliputra, instead of Mathura, became the chief centre of its use. The script that was used only on some votive or like religious monuments now came to be widely used for all state purposes. Naturally its popularity became very wide and in course of a century or so the whole of Eastern India was using this variety. Whenever a stray case of it was found in the west, it was due to the scribe coming over from the East. Apparently for this reason the name of Eastern variety was given to it by Hoernle. But we have seen that it had its origin in Mathura and long before the Guptas came to power had spread as far West as Kathiâwaḍ and Nâsik. It was pointed out by Prof. Bhandarkar how the earlier form of the Eastern variety letters like *ha* and *ma* were to be found in the Jâsdan inscription of Mahâkshatrapa Rudrasena. I have been able to detect that a very early form of the Eastern variety *ha* is found in the Nâsik inscription of Indrâgnidatta.[2] The two instances are, however, of subscript *ha* ; see *ha* in *Tiraṁṇhuṁhi* (l. 2). I am unable to explain why this form was found so far West in a satisfactory manner. To come to our point, there is not much reason, after what we have seen, to continue to call this variety as the Eastern one. Since its use was chiefly fostered in Pâṭaliputra during the Gupta period, I would suggest, in the absence of a better term, THAT IT MAY BE CALLED THE MAGADHÂN VARIETY OF THE NORTH INDIAN ALPHABET.

[1] Pargiter, P. T., p. 53.

[2] Epi. Ind., Vol. viii, p. 90.

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MISCELLANEA

SOME PRIMITIVE TOTEM CONCEPTS AS GUARDIAN ANGELS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE BEAR AS A GUARDIAN-SPIRIT IN HINDU LORE

Whatever be the origin of earth according to the Laplacian theory or the modern planetesimal hypothesis of Chamberlin and Moulton and whatever be its age in radio-active element 'half-period computation' and its succession in geological epochs there is no denying that after a long long lifeless period it stepped into a life-bearing condition—a phenomenon new to her—a wonder-experience in her life career not so long dreamt of—the offspring of a successful career in the high pitch ecstacy of the rotatory circuits of a changing traverse. It is then that develops the plants and still later the marvels of animal life.

So the first dawn of human life in many senses the greatest miracle of the terrestrial career broke amidst widely distributed luxuriantly grown plant life and lovely, joyous and healthy moving sweet-singing noisy world of animal life. The awe-struck, wonder-absorbed human life awoke with its biological urge but in a state of mental bewilderment as to how best it is to be on the same footing with them. The peculiar helplessness of human life in solving the food-problem and the free, natural easy growth and development of plants and animals stood out with a strange contrast.

Thus man found himself inferior at first to plants and animals in satisfying his biological needs such as hunger and thirst or weathering the inclemencies of season in suitable protection. So he came to accept them mentally as superior and tried to get all his wants met and fulfilled through them.

It is immaterial for our purpose as to whether the clan came out of the family or *vice versa* as Morgan supposed and Muller Lyer tries to reiterate—for man being a gregarious animal even the so-called parricide horde of Freud could not have consisted of a single biological pair. So it is safer to start with the community as the anthropological unit composed of several married pairs and their dependants and in that sense it is a camp of co-operating families. Thus men from the beginning may be said to have grown in the midst of bands. Each individual of a band paid his homage to the band which might have grown into clans to safeguard descent for protection of material possessions of the group as Seligmann and enshrining some inherent

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incest-avoidance instincts. A congregation solves life-problems more easily and whether we make much of mutual aid groups among animals leading directly through stages the association-types of evolving humanity the elemental units were possibly the bands or local groups integrating into tribes. Thus there were various local bands in different places of the earth grouped into allied or divergent tribes.

It was Long who first in 1791 made the western world familiar with the word TOTAM which was the native name for the supernatural protector that was claimed by each man as his protective object or being amongst the tribes of the Great Lakes in America. Wissler in a very useful summary of the present view-points about totemism states that 'it is not universal, it is extremely variable in its contents, and that there are regional differences, for in North America the guardian spirit seems *to be the keynote of* the totemic idea, in Africa the emphasis is upon the taboo against killing, eating, etc. and in Australia the ancestor relationship is the outstanding feature. Thus while there may be four or five separate problems in totemism, the majority opinion seems to be that totemism as an association of variables with the recognition of a totem by a totemic group, is a reality'.

If we go into a review of some of the earlier view-points of totemism we might glance through the encyclopædic work of Frazer and find out how McLennan, Robertson and Jevons saw that totemism 'had influenced the religious and social history of mankind' or how 'it lay at the root of semitic religion' or 'was a rude scheme of society and superstition wherein were the germs out of which not only all religion but all material progress have been evolved'.

The real sense and the underlying belief or the fundamental notion of totemism was attempted to be explained by Durkheim. Frazer's definition of totemism tends to show the subsequent developments of animism, naturism, shamanism, and religion. According to Frazer 'A totem is a class of material objects which a savage regards with superstitious respect, believing that there exists between him and every member of the class an intimate and altogether special relation'.

The present-day attitude in religious belief and primitive belief is the same so far as the function is concerned.

The behaviour of primitive men towards their totem animal or the whole class of animal of the particular totem guardian spirit has a remarkable bearing of the acceptance of his guardianship by the people.

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'The bear is treated as an honoured guest who must not be offended.' [1]

Among Siberian tribes bear festival is performed throughout the country.

'It is the common duty of clansman to feed the bear, and to take part in bear festival, when the bear is either tame or wild is killed. This festival has both a religious and social significance.' [2]

The Eskimo is very much afraid of bears. Yet he is the first to admit that the bear is capable of acting like the finest of fine gentleman.

In spite of all that has been levelled against Tylorian dreaming primitive by the subtle logic of Durkheim and remembering the sceptic attitude of Lowie and his attempts of rehabilitating the none-too-much shaken Tylorian position in his Primitive Religion, it is worth while examining the value of dreams in an analysis of primitive life. When we find the cats pawing while asleep it seems that they are dreaming perhaps of catching mice and we may concede at the outset the state of dreams to be within the possible states of experience of primitive man if not of animals as well.

We have seen that primitive man on account of his helplessness takes to envy the free life of plants and animals and to wonder at their solution of life-problems which they think is due to superior powers and foreknowledge of natural phenomena and he comes to think them as possessed of secret powers of speech like man and gradually there is development of mediumistic powers in some who seem to be the spokesmen of these supposedly superior Type-Animal or Type-Plants and the ascribing of ancestorship becomes prominent in ideas where the alcheringa days of superior ancestors are predominant concepts or they become guardian spirits where the struggle for existence has made men more dependent on his animal-fellow. Now in an area where the Eskimo lives in company with his gentlemanly bear-associates it is but quite natural for him after such an experience of warm friendly greetings from a bear as narrated before that falling down to sleep he will dream that a great bear is his guardian genius and is saving him from all other animals outside and is guarding him from other animals that have come to attack him. Now as soon as he comes out of his enclosure he dreams that the bear hugs him fondly and lies down and began to sleep in great contentment and he could feel that he was in the lap of his guardian genius who might have been his ancestor and as well as his totem.

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[1] Vilhjalmur Stefansson,—My life with the Eskimo, pp. 57-58.

[2] M. A. Czaplicka,—Aboriginal Siberia, a study in Social Anthropology, pp. 45-46.

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We can now go back to Frazer who in his Belief in Immortality (Vol. I, pp. 139-40) points out how the savage has faith in the truth of dreams and his faith in 'the reality of dreams has been one of the principal sources of the widespread, almost universal belief in the survival of the human soul after death. It explains why ghosts are supposed to appear rather by night than by day, since it is chiefly by night that men sleep and dream dreams. Perhaps it may also account for the association of the stars with the souls of the dead. For if the dead appear to the living mainly in the hours of darkness, it seems not unnatural to imagine that the bright points of light which then bespangle the canopy of heaven are either the souls of the departed or fires kindled by them in their home aloft'. Thus the stars come to be associated with the souls of the dead. As the totem is looked upon as the father angelic spirit so it is immortal and lies in a better world in heaven. Thus in time the polar bear comes to correspond with the polar star in the sky. Thus we perpetuate perhaps the original totemic idea in the name of the stars of the GREAT BEAR. In Hindu mythology they are the stars of the great seven ancestral sages to whom offerings are made on the occasion of the annual water-tarpana or offering to the ancestors. In Sanskrit they are named as SAPTA (Seven) RISHI (Sages) and one wonders whether this has not been a variation of SAPTA (Seven) RIKSHA (Bears). Similarly one likes to get at the connecting links of the ideas which makes a bear friend of the epic hero Rama along with monkeys in his march to the south to fight against Ravana. What then is the lost history to be traced behind the bear-totem people and their possible migrations from a northern home where alone the bear should have such important functions as a helper of man.

P. MITRA & S. SIRCAR.

VEDIC COSMOGONY

1. *Birth of the theories of creation and their division.*

'Who knows, who here can declare, whence has sprung, whence this creation?'—says the awe-struck seer. (R.V. X. 129. 6.) This query is eternal everywhere with man. Human intelligence has ever been busy answering it according to its various capacities based on culture and education. The attempts at solution have given birth to countless theories of creation.

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These theories are principally divided into two groups, namely, सत्कारणवाद and असत्कारणवाद or the theory based on a Primordial cause and that based on no such cause ; to the former of these belongs the Vedic theory of creation attributing it to the one ultimate cause, the Self-existing Being. The Vedantic theory of vivortavada (or of evolution without substantial mutation) is based on the Vedic theory.

2. *Brhma, the ultimate cause of creation.*

The Vedic cosmogony begins with the hymn 129 of the Xth Mandala of the Rig Veda [1] popularly called the नासदीयसूक्त as it begins with नासदासीत् न सदासीत् etc., which says :—' There was then neither non-entity nor perceptible entity ; there was no atmosphere nor sky beyond it. What covered all ? Where was the receptacle of each thing ? Was it water, the deep abyss ?

(II) ' Death was not then, nor immortality ; there was no distinction of day or night : that only Being breathed by means of स्वधा alone without the help of air ; there was nothing else different from or beyond it.'

(III) ' Tamah there there was ; originally enveloped in Tamah this universe all round us in the form of indistinguishable water ; what was covered by nothingness was manifest, single, by the power of meditation.'

(IV) ' Desire first arose upon it which is the germ of mind. This the wise, seeking in their heart, have discovered by their intellect to be the bond between the manifested and the unmanifested.

(V) ' The ray which shot across these,—was it above gives an explanation of creation in the same strain or was it below ? There was productive energies and glories, स्वधा beneath and प्रयति above. (Vide V.S. XXXIII. 74.)'

(VI) ' Who knows, who here can declare, whence has sprung, whence this creation ? The gods are subsequent to its formation, who then knows from what it arose.'

(VII) ' From what source this creation arose and whether anyone created it or not ? He who is in the highest heaven, is its ruler, He knows or He does not know.'

Here have been clearly indicated the following stages of creation.

(I) The ultimate cause is the one eternal Being Infinite in all imaginable respects such as time, space, etc.

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[1] Śatapatha Br.

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Brahma.

All alone the Being exists, having nothing distinguishable within, and nothing similar or dissimilar without ; in the words of the Upanishads it is सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं and एकमेवाद्वितीयं ब्रह्म ।

Isha.

(II) The Being meditates manifestation through Maya and becomes what is called ईश in the Upanishads.

In this Being lies this universe in its potential state in the condition of indistinguishable water.

(III) Desire emerges in the Being and the unmanifested universe becomes manifested. This desire, therefore, forms the link between the unmanifest and the manifested universe.

Through the manifestation appear the Being's glories and productive energies called Swadha and Prayati respectively, the latter being above the former.

Hiraṇyagarbha.

Hymn X. 121 [1] of the Rigveda continues the description thus : Hiraṇyagarbha arose in the beginning. He was the lord of all beings. He established the earth and the sky and is called *Ka* or Prajāpati. Beings, gods and men breathe in him, live in him and obey his wishes in every respect. He is the lord of this two-footed and four-footed creation. When the great universe containing an embryo and generating fire, thence arose one spirit of the gods. That Being was the One God above the gods and was generator of the earth, the sacrifices, the heavens and the brilliant waters.

From this it transpires that Hiraṇyagarbha or Prajāpati being the subtle aggregate form of the universe is the next and the third stage. This is 'the Gold egg' of the Smarta and the Pauranic descriptions.

Virat.

The next or the fourth stage is Virat described in the Purusha Sukta of the Rigveda (X. 90). He is said to constitute the four Vedas, the four castes, the trees, the birds, the beasts, the luminaries, in short all the sentient and insentient beings of the universe.

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[1] The whole hymn is found repeated in V.S. 13.9 ; 25.13 ; 23.3 ; 26.12 ; 32.6–7 ; 27.25–26 ; 12.102 and 10.20 and most of the verses in A.V. IV. 2. 7, 1, 2, 5, 3–4, 6, 8, and VII. 79.4 and 80.3.—The idea is also found in S. Br. X. 1. 3. 1. and 1. 4. 1.

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Here Hiraṇyagarbha becomes विराट or पुरुष, or subtle conditions of matter are reduced into their respective forms and what is now called life comes into existence.

The same sukta describes how the gods performed sacrifices called पुरुषमेध which resulted in producing the different genera.

Hymns R.V. X. 81, 82, V.S. 17, 17–23 and 17, 25–31 describe विराट under the name of Viswakarma and say :—' The one God, who has on every side eyes, on every side face, on every side arms, on every side feet when producing the earth, etc. Grant, Viswakarman, to thy friends those thy abodes which are the highest and the lowest and the middle.'

Jiva.

At the next or the fifth or last stage Virat evolves himself into species and their respective individuals, and the worlds and the living beings assumed different individual forms in thousand ways.

Jiva's relation to Brahma.

Therefore, the Vedic cosmogony as shown above begins with Brahma and ends in Jiva. Brahma translates the Self into Isha, Hiraṇyagarbha, Virat and finally into Jiva. So Jiva is the same as Brahma as borne out very pointedly by the Aitareya, the Taitteriya, the Swetaswhatara, the Chhandogya and the Brihadaranyaka Upanishads and also by hymns IV. 40, and X. 125 known as the Hansavati and the Devi Suktas respectively and the hymn X. 72 of the Rigveda addressed to the Brahmanspati, Daksha and Aditi. Besides Riks I. 164, 20 and 21 very nicely delineate the position of Jiva and Brahma in the following allegory :

Two birds linked together in bonds of friendship roost on the same tree ; one lives upon the luscious figs but the other does not eat but merely looks on.

Where the smooth-gliding rays cognisant of their duty distil the perpetual portion of the ambrosia, there has the Lord and steadfast Protector of all beings consigned me though immature in wisdom.

Dissolution.

Now we have to find how the universe dissolves or ceases to exist. The vedic hymns (R.V. X. 129 ; 190) clearly state that Brahma's evolution into the perceptible universe is eternal with Brahma ; the former is eternal like the current of a river, while the latter is eternal without reference to time and space. Hence millions and millions of people have been eternally appearing and losing themselves in Brahma like bubbles on the surface of water. This

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disappearance or dissolution is the apparent absorption or merger of cosmic matters in their final cause but not their annihilation—the very conclusion at which all modern sciences have been fast driving.

Conclusion.

We have thus shown how the Vedas explain the creation stage by stage and also the dissolution of this cosmic universe. Why the Infinite All-pervading Being has thus evolved the Self, whether the universe has been at all created or not, whether this cosmic universe will at any time cease to exist for ever and who can vouch for the correctness of this—are questions beyond the scope of human intelligence limited in time and space. And in response to them the awe-struck Vedic Rishi says that creation is inscrutable. Even the gods who are created beings can know neither its origin nor its processes. In all humility the Rishi asserts his knowledge of the eternal Being but solemnly refrains from the pretension of knowing of the knowledge or otherwise of the Supreme Being with the deliberate object of warning man against indulging in matters beyond the scope of knowledge.

MADHAVDAS CHAKRAVARTY.

BELIEF ABOUT WATER SPIRIT

In an interesting note on the belief about water deity or water spirit in the October (1937) issue of this Journal (pp. 251-52) Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra has referred to the traditions current in Orissa, North Bihar, and in the Bombay Presidency to the effect that 'the presiding goddesses of old tanks used to loan out utensils for the mere asking'. In this connection I would like to draw the attention of scholars to the fact that the same belief prevails also in certain localities of the Sadar and Goalundo Subdivisions of the Faridpur District, Bengal. The stories which, in my young age, I heard from my old grandmother are strikingly similar to those current amongst the villagers of Western India.

It is said that water spirits, who reside in particular ponds and lakes, used to lend out pots and other utensils required for feasts or marriages or other festive occasions if only the person in need asked for them with a deep sense of regard to the spirit. It was understood that the utensils were to be returned to the spirit (i.e.,

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to be thrown into the water of the particular reservoir) immediately after the festivities were over. The stories go that on one occasion an avaricious fellow to whom utensils were loaned out kept for his own use a fine small bowl out of the lot and returned the rest to the water spirit. As a consequence, the spirit ceased to loan out utensils for good. The same story is told in connection with two or three ponds or lakes in different parts of the locality.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

THE TALGUNDA INSCRIPTION

My paper entitled *Kāvya style in Inscription of the successors of the Sātavāhanas* has appeared in the October (1937) issue of this Journal, pp. 240–47, and the Talgunda inscription of Kadamba Śāntivarman has been described in that connection. The description has, however, been a little insufficient and defective owing to inadvertence on my part.

Verse 34 of the record says that a poet named Kubja was responsible for the composition of the *Kāvya* which the author himself inscribed on the stone. Kubja's *Kāvya* is written in 34 verses which exhibit such metres as *Puṣpitāgrā, Indravajrā, Vasantatilakā, Mandākrāntā, Śārdūlavikrīdita* and *Pracita* (a variety of *Daṇḍaka*). The first 24 verses were however composed in a metre rarely found elsewhere. Kielhorn has fully described this metre in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 26 ff. ; he is inclined to call it a species of *Mātrāsmaka*. The verse *ari-narendra*, etc., quoted by me at p. 242 seems also to be composed in this peculiar metre, but we have got to read *Kiraṇa-liḍha* in place of *Kiraṇ-āvalīḍha*.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

HETEROCLISIS AND STEM-ALTERNATION IN INDO-ARYAN

Indo-European heteroclisis is not entirely preserved in any single language, although it is remarkable in Gothic, Greek, Hittite, and Avestan. But in Indo-Aryan it is more fully preserved, in

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declension as well as in derivatives. The present note aims at noting and classifying all the available evidences of heteroclisis in Indo-Aryan. The consideration of later change of consonantal to vocalic stems has, of course, not been made.

The following main types of stem-alternation occur in Old Indo-Aryan :—

(A) Nil :—*i* :—*an*,
including the sub-types
(*a*) Nil :—*i*
(*b*) —*i* : *-an*.

(B) Nil : *-an* : *-ar*,
including the sub-types
(*c*) Nil : *-an*,
(*d*) *-an* : *-ar*
(*e*) *-van* : *-var*
(*f*) *-man* : *-mar*
(*g*) *-an* : *-ṛt* (extension of sub-type d),
(*h*) *-a* : *-an* :*-ar*.

(C) *-ar* : *-as*

(D) *-man* (*-van*) : *us* (< –* *vas*), *-u*.

There was probably a fifth main type *-d* : *-r* which we find in the demonstrative pronouns and pronominal forms : *yad, tad, etad* and * *yar*, * *tar*, * *kar*, * *etar* as occurring in the adverbs *yarhi, tarhi, karhi, etarhi* ; Patañjali's mention of *yar vā nas tar vā nas*, as corruption for *yad vā nas tad vā nas* should also be noted in this connection.

These types and sub-types are exemplified as follows :—

(A) Nil : *-i* : *-an*—
akṣ- in Nom. s. *anak* : *akṣi-* : *akṣan* in Inst. s. *akṣṇā*, etc. * *asth-* (absent in OI-A., Avestan *ast-*) : *asthi* : *asthan* in Instr. s. *asthnā* etc., Nom. s. *anasthā*.
mah- in Instr. s. *mahā*, Dat. s. *mahe* etc. : *mahi* in Instr. s. *mahinā* : *mahan* Instr. sq. *mahnā*. *nakt* in Nom. s. *nag*, compounded in *nakṣatra-* < * *naktkṣatra-* (Brugmann) : *nakti* in Acc. pl. *naktīḥ* : *Naktan-* in *naktabhih*.

(*a*) Nil : *-i*——
vār- : *vāri-*, *path-* : *pathi-*, *āp-* : *āpi-* (Kuhn's Zeitschrift XLVII, p. 295 ; also in Old Persian) *math-* : *mathi-* (Wackernagel ; Altindische Grammatik III, p. 308 f).

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(*b*) *-i : an*——

dadhi- : dadhan-, sakthi- : sakthan-, pati- patan- as in *patnī-* and *sapatna, āsi-* as in *āsyàm : āsan-.*

(B) Nil : *-an : :ar*——

rāj- : rājan -: rājar- in Avestan *rāzard,* Pali *rājūhi.* (< * *rājṛbhiḥ*), Prakrit *rājula-* (< * *rājṛla-*), *rājuka-* < * *rājṛka-* .

van- in *vanas-pati,* etc. : *vanan-* in *vananvant- : vanar- vanar-ṣad-* and *vānara-* .

(*c*) Nil : *-an*——

yūṣ- : yūṣan- , doṣ- : doṣan-,

(*d*) *-an : ar*—

vasan- in *vasanta- : vasar-* in *vasar-han-* and *vāsara- udan-* in *udanvant-, udanyā-, udanyā-, udaka-,* etc. : *udar-* in *udara-* and *udra-. ahan- : ahar-, ūdhar- : ūdhan-, bhuvan-* in *bhuvana-* and *bhuvar-, adhvan- : adhvar-* in *adhvara-,* etc. *udan-* in *udanta-,* Hittite Dats. *utani* ' word ' : *udar-* in *udarka-,* Hittite Nom. s. *utar.*

(*e*) *-van : -var*—

snāvar- in Pali *nhāru, nahāru-,* Avestan *snāvars : snāvan- sakvan-* also in *śakuna, śakunta : śakuar-* in *śakvarī. * karvan-* in *karuṇa* ' pious work ' : * *karvar- karvara* deed, work. *pīvar-* in *pivarī- ;* etc.

The alternance *-man : van* appears in *śakuan- : śakvan.* The alternance *-mant- : -vant* is quite usual in OI-A.

(*f*) *-man : -mar*—

* *pāmar-* in *pāmara : pāman.*

This alternance is noticeable in Hittite (*vide* Sturtevant, A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language, p. 184).

(*g*) *-an : ṛt*—

yakan- : yakṛt, śakan- : śakṛt, yoṣan- : yoṣṛt > *yoṣit-.*

(*h*) *-a : -an : -ar*—

upa : upan- (Kuhn's Zeitschrift XXVII, p. 281) : *upar-* in *upari.*

(C) *-ar : -as*—

*uṣar- : uṣas. * asar-* in *asra* and *asṛj-,* Hittite Nom. s. *esar : asan-,* Hittite Gen. s, *esnas.*

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(D) *-man* (*-van*) : *-us* (*-u*)—

janman- : *janus-* ; *manman-* : *manus-* ; *vidman-* : *vidus-* ; * *cakṣman-*, Av. *casman-* : *cakṣus-* ; *dhanvan-* : *dhanus-* ; *parvan-* : *parus-* ; *yajvan-* : *yajus-* ; *śāśman-* : *śāśus-* ; * *arvan-* in *aruṇa-* : *arus-* ; * *tarvan* in *taruṇa-* ; *tarus-* ; *snāvan-* (see *supra* under e) : *snāvu-* > *snāyu-* ; * *dārvan-* in *dāruṇa-* : *dāru-*.

SUKUMAR SEN.

AN AMERICAN FERTILITY FIGURE AND LAKULIŚA

It is well known that the image of Lakuliśa besides having other iconographical peculiarities, is characterised by the representation of an uncovered and erect phallus (called *ūrdhvameḍhra* in Sanskrit).[1]

I found an exactly identical representation of the organ in a gold figure [2] from Columbia, now exhibited in the Staatliche Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin. It belongs to the Chibcha folks of the Cauca-Tals. It will be noticed that the figure is otherwise draped, having an impressed cloth to cover its chest, shoulders and arms.[3] It has a protruding headgear, and rings just below the knee-joint and on the ankles. Like Lakuliśa the figure has two hands, but the objects which are held by them are different. They look like conventionalized plants, perhaps indicative of fertility. Lakuliśa, however, holds a citron or a cocoanut and a plain staff, the significance of which is not known. The eyes suggest a pose of meditation.[4]

Have we then here a yogi-like figure from a different time and clime? Lakuliśa also is a yogi-form of Śiva, and the figure is at times found with a piece of cloth tied round its folded or upraised knees, called *yogapaṭṭa*. That a figure from Mohenjo-Daro [5] having similar features—the lower limbs bare and the phallus seemingly

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[1] See, *A.S.I.R.*, 1906–07, p. 186.

[2] A photograph of it here appears with the kind permission of Prof. D. W. Krickebery, the Director, American Section of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.

[3] Like Baubo, the female fertility goddess of ancient Egypt, see *Journal, Royal Anthropological Institute*, LXIV, p. 95.

[4] Very similar to the eyes concentrated on the tip of the nose. Cf. the eyes of a male statue from Mohenjo-Daro. Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, p. 54 and III, Pl. XCVIII.

[5] See Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, p. 52 ; Pl. XII, fig. 17.

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exposed [1]—resembles the yogi pose of Śiva, has already been pointed out by Marshall.

H. D. SANKALIA.

THE RĀJAVAṂŚA

A forgotten work in Buddhist Literature

1. The regretted Prof. Louis FINOT has shown that the *Cullavagga* of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* ends by two chapters XI and XII which are a history of the two councils, one of which assembled at Rājagṛha directly after the Parinibbāna of Buddha, and the other at Vesālī, a century later. These chapters XI–XII appear as a beheaded body, the head of which would be the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* of the *Sutta-piṭaka*. If removed from their respective surroundings and joined together, the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* and *Cullavagga* XI-XII give a perfectly coherent chronicle of the last journey of the Buddha, of his death, his obsequies and of the first two councils.[2]

2. Besides, all the Vinaya, either existing still in Pali or translated into Tibetan and into Chinese, contain under different forms an account of the Buddha's life beginning when the Bodhi is acquired and including the journey to Benares and the first conversions. By a comparison between the Vinaya, and if one seeks to complete these sources with the help, for instance, of the *Nidāna-Kathā* which opens the *Jātaka-atthavaṇṇanā*, it is possible to reconstruct by hypotheses a very ancient biography of the Buddha, prior to the separation of the sects and to the compilation of the Canons.

3. The first volume of the *Mahāvastu* (ed. SENART) contains, in the pages 338–348, after the formula *Rājavaṃśe ādi*, a history of the origins of the world, of the human race and of the castes which can also be found without serious alterations in the *Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin* and in the *Aggañña suttanta* of the *Dīghanikāya* in Pali. This cosmogony is followed, in the *Mahāvastu*, by a text which is missing in the *Aggañña suttanta* in Pali, but which exists in the *Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin* and which relates the origin of the Śākya and of the Koliya, as well as the history of the kings which were the Buddha's ancestors, and this accounts for the title of the work *Rājavaṃśa* where these fragments were taken.

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[1] A minute comparison between the figure here shown and the one cited from Mohenjo-Daro makes it clear that what appears to be a phallus is really a phallus and not ' in reality the end of the waist band ' as Marshall suggests.

[2] L. FINOT, *Mahāparinibbāna sutta and Cullavaga*, IHQ, VIII, 2, pp. 241–6; *Textes historiques dass le Canon pali*, JA, Juill-sept. 1932, p. 158.

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In Buddhist literature, then, we discover some texts, more or less altered, which, under their original form, were prior to the compilation of the Canons and which may be classified in the following order :—

1—a part of a *Rājavaṃśa* relating the history of the world, from its origin to the birth of the Buddha,

2—tales of the youth and of the predication of the Buddha,

3—several accounts of the master's death and of the first two councils.

L. FINOT already admitted that a biography of the Buddha, now lost, could have preceded the Chronicle of which the *Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta* and *Cullavagga* XI–XII are the fragments.[1] But the problem put with such acuteness by the late master is more complex : the question is to find out whether the three series of texts just considered did not belong to the same work, which bore the title of *Rājavaṃśa* and could just as well have borne that of *Buddhavaṃśa*. If the ' Chronicle ' of the early centuries of the Church came after a biographical account such as the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, we have no reason to suppose that the ' Life of the Buddha ' related in this text was not complete, and one understands easily that such a biography should have opened by a genealogy (*vaṃśa*) of the Buddha going back as far as the origins of sovereignty and of the world. By their title as well as by their simplified substance, the Singhalese chronicles, *Dīpavaṃśa* and *Mahāvaṃśa* sound as an echo of the very ancient *Rājavaṃśa*.

Here L. FINOT observed that the ancient ' Chronicle ' could not be styled as the Word of Buddha (*Buddhavacanam*) since it extended over a long period after the death of the Tathāgata. It was therefore necessarily extra-canonical. This circumstance may help to explain the fact that the work was not incorporated as a whole in the Canon, even though the accounts of the councils exist in the Vinaya. But the *Rājavaṃśa* could have been kept as an extra-canonical work. Other circumstances must have worked towards the neglect of it. This very ancient text where the spirit of primitive Buddhism still survived, must have shocked in several ways the subsequent generations. To the *Rājavaṃśa* where the Sākya kings, his ancestors according to flesh, form the genealogy of the Buddha, another text tended then to be substituted, after the type of the present *Buddha-vaṃśa* where the ancestors of Śākyamuni are the Buddhas of the past.

J. PRZYLUSKI.

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[1] JA. 1932 II, p. 158.

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MANDASOR INSCRIPTION OF VATSABHAṬṬI

Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti of the Annamalai University has contributed a paper on '*Vatsabhaṭṭi's Praśasti—A Fresh study*' to Dr. S. K. Iyangar Commemoration Volume [1], and published an article on the same subject elsewhere.[2] After a good deal of discussion he arrives at the conclusion that 'such a noble and stately structure could not have fallen into disrepair within the comparatively short space of 36 years' and therefore 'the renovation was done not in 529 *Mālava Sāṁvatsara*, but 529 years after its original construction.' Thus, he 'assigns the renovation of the temple to (493 M.S. +529 years=) 1022 M.S. or 966 A.C.', *i.e.* the latter half of the 10th century after Christ. At the end of his paper (under 'Bibliography') we find a list of 11 works he has consulted. In his second article [3] he has criticized Mr. Daśaratha Śarmā, who published a note [4], suggesting that the temple in question was partly destroyed by foreign kings and had not automatically fallen into disrepair as has been understood by Fleet, Diskalkar and other scholars. Mr. Śarmā has, without yet seeing what Prof. Pisharoti has written on the subject, also published a supplementary note.[5]

Both of these scholars have discussed the form of the verb (*vyaśīryata*) and agree as to what it is not; but they differ widely as to what it is, Mr. Śarmā holding it to be one in the passive voice and Prof. Pisharoti treating it as a *Karmakartariprayoga*.[6] So far, both may be taken to be correct and their arguments plausible. But they differ materially in their conclusions and line of reasoning which in case of Mr. Śarmā is historical but in that of the Professor purely literary.

Professor Pisharoti's hypothesis about the date of the repairs is vitiated mainly by two considerations, which seriously stand in his way. Firstly, it did not occur to his mind that the script in which this great munificence, consisting of both the erection and the repairs of the Sun temple, on the part of the guild of the Silk-weavers of Daśapura has been recorded, does not belong to such a late period as the latter half of the 10th century, when Devanāgarī had already

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[1] pp. 69–73.
[2] *Indian Culture*, IV, 1 (July, 1937), pp. 110-111.
[3] *Ibid.*, III, 2 (October 1936), pp. 379–381.
[4] *Ibid.*, IV, 2 (October, 1937), p. 262.
[5] A familiar instance of such a use may be found in the popular stanza of Bhartṛhari—*Kusuma-stabaka-syeva dve vṛtte tu manasvinaḥ sarvasya mūrdhni vā tiṣṭhed visīryeta vane'tha vā* —II. 104; and I may say that it lends full support to Prof. Pisharoti's point.
[6] *Indian Culture*, IV, 1, p. 111, l. 5.

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evolved out and taken the place of this particular form of the so-called Gupta script and when the latter was nowhere in vogue. Secondly, he did not realize that a gap of 529 years would be too big to fill up, especially if the identity of the guild (of the silk-weavers) that built the temple with one that repaired it remained unestablished. The continued existence of such a guild over a long period of more than five centuries and a quarter is highly doubtful. Such a presumption, unless it is substantiated by facts, cannot commend itself to our acceptance. On the other hand, 36 years go, as a matter of ordinary course, in favour of this point.

The Professor is evidently mistaken in remarking that within the comparatively short space of 36 years such a noble and stately structure could not have fallen into disrepair. For, if it were due to the human agency, as Mr. Śarmā believes it was, the whole thing, however strongly built, could have easily been dashed to the ground. But, in fact, it was only a part of it (possibly one constantly exposed to the natural agencies of destruction or decay), not the whole thing; and 36 years are quite sufficient for a particular part of a building to fall into disrepair. The expression 'thirty-nine years' in Prof. Pisharoti's article[1] is, to all appearance, a mistake not of commission but due to oversight. As regards the much-emphasized strength of this particular temple, we have no proof beyond the words of the present record which, as a piece of poetry, may naturally have contained a little bit exaggerated description of this fact.

The view of Prof. Pisharoti as to the word *vyaśīryata*, where he sees a mention of the 'decay' (and no 'destruction') due more to time, 'the great destroyer', than to the kings who simply neglected 'to check its process', may be accepted as more reasonable, only if he agrees to the fact that the repairs were made within 36 years of the construction of the temple, than that of Mr. Śarmā, who finds in it a possibility of a Hūṇa invasion to have caused it. Mr. Śarmā's interpretation suffers also from the defect of inaccuracy about the number of the word '*pārthivaiḥ*'. If more than two kings (as the plural in '*pārthivaiḥ*' should indicate) of the Hūṇa extraction attempted at the destruction of the temple, why could they not demolish the whole of it and why was only a part (*ekadeśaḥ*) of it—presumably the same part in case of each one of these kings—destroyed by them? Even if, taking a hint from Prof. Pisharoti's paper, Mr. Śarmā should say that it was the *Śikhara* portion of the temple having something of great value like a gold *Kalaśa* which attracted the greedy Hūṇa kings and which alone, therefore, suffered destruction at their hands, the difficulty of the plural number remains

[1] Fleet: *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 36.

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unsurmounted. For, we do not know of more than two Hūṇa kings of Mālava, *viz.*, Toramāṇa and his son Mihirakula. Moreover, Mr. Śarmā's conjecture is to be dismissed also for the very strong reason that these Hūṇa kings were not opposed to image worship or temple-erection, much less one pertaining to the Sungod. In the reign of Toramāṇa, a *Varāha* (Boar) temple was built by Dhanyaviṣṇu [1]; and in that of his son, Mihirakula, a Sun temple was constructed by Matṛceṭa.[2] Mihirakula himself was a great devotee of Sthāṇu [3] or Paśupati.[4] He installed an image of Śiva, called Mihireśvara (perhaps after his name) [in a temple constructed, in all probability, by himself] at Śrīnagarī in Kaśmīra.[5] He held the Gāndhāra Brāhmaṇs, who could be no other than the Maga or Sun-worshipping Brāhmaṇs, in his high favour.[6] The very name of Mihirakula suggests an affinity with the cult of Sun-worship. As was perhaps typical of his race, he was, no doubt, a most cruel king.[7]; but his cruelty was counteracted by his pious works [8] including the establishment of the deity and the Brāhmaṇs of indigenous as well as foreign stock. On the other hand, there is no record to show that these Hūṇas were given to the desecration of temples or such other sacrilegious proclivities like Mohammedans.

Thus, the hypothesis of Mr. Daśaratha Śarmā as to the partial destruction of the Sun-temple at Mandasor has no ground to stand upon.

PANDIT RAGHUVARA MITTHULAL SHASTRI.

THE AUDVIJJA SENĀNĪ OF THE HARIVAṀŚA

The *Harivaṁśa* [9] informs us that the performance of the *Aśvamedha* fell into desuetude among the Kshatriyas after the great Janamejaya of epic fame, owing to the curse of a Brāhmaṇa (*Brahmaśāpāgni tejasā*), but continued to exist in the *devas* and the *Brāhmaṇas*. A twice-born or Brāhmaṇa (*dvija*) general (*senānī*) who belonged to the race of Kaśyapa and is further described as *Audvijja*, will revive the famous sacrifice in the Kali Age :

Audvijjo bhavitā kaśchit Senānīḥ Kāśyapo dvijaḥ
Aśvamedhaṁ Kaliyuge punaḥ pratyāharishyati.

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[1] *Ibid.*, No. 37.
[2] *Ibid.*, Nos. 33 and 34.
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 37.
[4] Kalhaṇa : *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, 306.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, 307-8 and 314.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, 289–293 up to 302–304 and 310.
[7] *Ibid.*, I, 305–316.
[8] *Ibid.*, I, 312-313.
[9] III, 2. 35 ff.

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This verse is noticed by several scholars including the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal. But it has, we think, not been sufficiently elucidated. The suggestion has been made that the *senānī* in question is identical with the *Senānī* Pushyamitra whose name appears in the list of the Śuṅga kings in the Purāṇas, and who is known from literary and epigraphic evidence to have performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice, after it had been in abeyance for a long time at least in the homeland of the imperial Mauryas. But it has not been explained why this famous ruler and commander should be styled *Audbhijja*. Scholars have taken the expression to mean one who ' will suddenly rise into power '.[1]

In order to understand the real significance of this designation it is necessary to say a few words about family nomenclature in ancient India. Some of the great families derive their names from real or fancied human ancestors. Other appellations originate in official designations like Pratihāra or Rāshtrakūṭa or certain words which form an element in the personal names of the founders of the lines in question and their successors. The designations of another group are derived from animals such as birds, serpents, horses, etc. Attention may be invited in this connection to the Mattamayūras,[2] Gārulakas,[3] the Nāgas and the Aśvakas. Still another group prefer some objects of the inanimate world such as a river or a mountain. Thus we hear of the Jānhaveya *kula*, the Saindhavas, the Kāveras, and the Śaila, Śailodbhava and Śailendra families. Lastly there is a remarkable group of royal lines that trace their name to some plant. The practice was by no means confined to India proper. Among the illustrious families that ruled in Champā in the Trans-Gangetic Peninsula we find reference to a *Nārikela-Kramuk-ānvaya*,[4] that is the Cocoanut Betel-nut clan. In Southern India we have the well-known families of the Pallavas of Kāñchī and the Kadambas of Banavāsi. In the north-west numismatic evidence discloses the existence of two ruling clans or tribes namely the Audumbaras and the Vaṭāśvakas whose names are derived wholly or in part from some botanic object. In view of what has been stated above the conjecture may be hazarded that the *Audvijja* family to which the senānī, who revived the *Aśvamedha* according to the *Harivaṁśa*, belonged was so called because like the *Nārikela-Kramuk-ānvaya* of Champā, the *Kadamba kula* of Banavāsi and the *Pallavas* of Kāñchī it derived its name from some fruit or plant.

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[1] IHQ, 1929, 405.
[2] Kielhorn, *Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 405, 429, 430 : E.I., I, 354.
[3] E.I., XI, 17–19.
[4] R. C. Majumdar, *Champā*, Inscription No. 62.

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Can this family be identified with any known dynasty of Ancient India ? Śuṅga, the designation of the family of Pushyamitra in the Purāṇas, is no doubt connected with plant life being the name of the fig-tree and the hog-plum. But the Śuṅgas belong to the Bharadvāja *gotra* and not, according to available evidence, to a family of Kaśyapa *dvijas*. The Pallavas, too, though they had a plant name, claimed Brāhmaṇa extraction and performed the *Aśvamedha*, were *Bhāradvājas*. The Kadamba family is described as *Senānībṛihadanvaya* in contemporary inscriptions. It had a plant name like the Pallava line and it had to its credit the performance of the *Aśvamedha*. But the rulers of the dynasty, unlike the *Audbhijja* of the *Harivaṁśa*, claimed to belong to the *Mānavya*, and not the *Kāśyapa, gotra*. There is, however, one dynastic designation which may be considered in this connection. In a note contributed to the *Indian Culture* [1] I pointed out that tradition is not unanimous in representing Pushyamitra as a Śuṅga. In the *Mālavikāgnimitram* the hero-king addressing the *bimba*-lipped heroine styles himself a *Baimbika*. The *Baudhāyana Śrauta Śūtra* [2] actually includes the *Baimbakayaḥ* among the Kaśyapas. The text, as I have noted, has no doubt variant readings. But I think that the readings *Baimbika* and *Baimbaki* alone afford a clue to a proper understanding of the epithet *Audbhijja* applied by the *Harivaṁśa* to the Kāśyapa *senānī* who revived the horse-sacrifice in the Kali Age and who has been identified with Pushyamitra. *Baimbika* is apparently derived from *bimbikā* which is the name of a fruit according to the lexicographers :

Tuṇḍikerī raktaphalā bimbikā pīluparṇyapi.[3]

Bimbaka too, from which '*Baimbakayaḥ*' may have been derived, has the same sense.

Apte, no doubt, understands by *Baimbika* in the passage

Dākshiṇyaṁ nāma biṁboshṭhi Baiṁbikānāṁ kulavratam,

a man who is assiduous in his attention to ladies. But he has cited no authority in support of his view. His interpretation is of a piece with that of the commentator on the *Kādambarī* who explains the word GUPTA in the passage

aneka Gupt-ārchita-pādapaṅkajaḥ Kuveranāmā

to mean Vaiśyas and Śūdras [4] !!!

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[1] *Indian Culture*, 1937, pp. 739 ff.
[2] Vol. III, 449.
[3] Amara, *Vanaushadhi Varga*, v, 293.
[4] E.I., VIII, 29, fn. 3.

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In using the epithet *Audbhijja* 'plant-born' the *Harivaṁśa* undoubtedly hints at the derivation of the name of the great Aśvamedha-reviver's family from a tree or fruit. As the personage in question is distinctly called a Kāśyapa and not a Bhāradvāja, we have, in the present state of our knowledge, to prefer the family designation Baimbika or Baimbaki given by Kālidāsa and Baudhāyana, to the appellation Śuṅga found in the *Purāṇas*.

H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI.

THE CASTE SYSTEM AND RELIGION AMONG HINDUS

In a chapter of Rigveda, known as 'Purusha Sūkta' the Brāhmaṇas are said to have been born from the mouth, the Kshatriyas from the arms, the Vaishyas from the thighs and the Shūdras from the feet of the 'Virāt Purusha' (Omnipotent).

Though owing to the mention of the names of three 'Vedas' this chapter may be supposed to be a later addition,[1] yet the real motive which the old sages had adopted in it, to avoid the struggle of life by separating all the main occupations in four branches, has totally been ignored.

It is quite clear that by allotting the different parts of the body of the Omnipotent as the sources of Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shūdras they have pointed out the duties of these 'Varṇas' as learning, protection, trade and service respectively.

But in spite of all this people were at liberty to change their Varṇa by proving their fitness to other occupations.

The following hymn of the 5th Maṇḍala of Rigvēda states :—

अग्ने सहन्तमाभर द्युम्नस्य प्रासहा रयिं ।

विश्वा यश्चर्षणीरभ्या ३ सा वाजेषु सासहत् ॥

(Sūkta 23, hymn 1)

i.e., O sacrificial fire ! grant me thy sage a son, who may be a destroyer of enemies and who being well versed in hymns may defeat all the enemies, who dare face him in the field.

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[1] It is supposed that previously there was only one 'Vēda' but Vēda Vyāsa assorted the hymns and named their collections as Rig, Sāma and Yujurvēda.

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The hymn next to it also asks :—

तमग्ने पृतनाषहं रयिं सहस्व आभर ।

त्वं हि सत्यो अद्भुतो दाता वाजस्य गोमतः ॥

(Sūkta 23, hymn 2)

i.e., O sacred fire ! thou art an emblem of the truth and giver of cows and corn. Give me a son, who can defeat the armies of opponents.

These hymns show that at that time even Brāhmaṇas did not hesitate to have their sons profess the characteristic of Kshatriyas.

The following hymn of the 6th ' Maṇḍala ' of Rigvēda mentions :—

गावो भगो गाव इन्द्रो मे अच्छान् गावः सोमस्य प्रथमस्य भक्षः ।

इमा या गावः स जनास इन्द्र इच्छामीद्धृदा मनसाचिदिन्द्रम् ॥

(Sūkta 28, hymn 5)

i.e., Cows are my wealth. May Lord Indra give me cows. Cows are helpers of Soma, O people : such cows are equal to Lord Indra and I wish to worship this Lord Indra devotedly.

The following hymn of 9th ' Mandala ' of Rigvēda tells :

आ नः पवस्व वसुमद्धिरण्यवदश्वावद्गोमद्यवमत्सुवीर्यम् ।

यूयं हि सोम पितरो मम स्थन दिवो मूर्धानः प्रस्थिता वयस्कृतः ॥

(Sūkta 69, hymn 8)

i.e., O Soma ! give us prosperity which may comprise money, gold, horses, cows, corn, and power.

O Soma ! you being the crown of heaven and grower of corn be my ancestor.

These two hymns point out that Brāhmaṇas at time were willing to adopt the life of Vaishyas.

Another hymn of the same ' Maṇḍala ' of Rigvēda narrates —

कारुरहं ततो भिषगुपलप्रक्षिणी नना ।

नानाधियो वसूयवोऽनुगा इव तस्थिमेन्द्रायेन्दो परिस्रव ॥

(Sūkta 112, hymn 3)

i.e., I am a compiler of hymns, my father is a physician and my mother a corn grinder. Like cows in pasture we live in this world pursuing different occupations for the sake of wealth. Therefore O Soma ! flow thy juice for Lord Indra.

This hymn shows that at that time even the members of one and the same family were at liberty to adopt different occupations.

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Further there are so many instances of changing the Varṇa by elevating or lowering one's character.

It is stated in ' Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa ' :—

तस्य ह विश्वामित्रस्यैकशतं पुत्रा आसुः, पञ्चाशदेव ज्यायांसो मधुच्छन्दसः पञ्चाशत् कनीयांसः। ज्यायांसो न ते कुशलं मेनिरे। तानन्वाजहाराऽन् तान्वः प्रजाभक्षीष्टेति। त एतेऽन्ध्राः पुण्ड्राः शबराः पुलिन्दा मूतिबा इत्युदन्त्या बहवो भवन्ति वैश्वामित्रादृस्यूनां भूयिष्ठाः। (सप्तपञ्चमिका, अध्याय ३, खण्ड ६, मं १८)

i.e., out of one hundred sons of Vishvāmitra (who by his own efforts raised himself from a Rājarshi to Brahmarshi) first fifty degraded themselves and were thrown into the category of the ' Dasyūs ' like Āndhras, Puṇḍras, Shabaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas.

Gītā also supports the division of ' varṇa ' according to the quality and occupation :—

चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्मविभागशः। (अध्याय ४, श्लोक १३)

The famous and learned king Bhōja, who flourished in the 1st half of the 11th century A.D. also supports this theory. He writes in his book named ' Samarāṅgana Sūtradhāra ' [1] :—

एकोग्रजन्मा वर्णोऽस्मिन् वेदोऽभूदेक एव च।

ऋतुर्वसन्त एवैकः कुसुमायुधबान्धवः ॥ १२ ॥

i.e., there was only one ' varṇa ' called Brāhmaṇa, one ' Veda ' and one season known as spring to keep the people happy.

But in course of time when vices began to victimise the people God Brahmā, to protect his creation, made Prithu as the first king on the Earth.

After that—

तत स चतुरो वर्णानाश्रमांश्च व्यभाजयत्।

i.e., he (Prithu) divided them (the people) in four ' Varṇas ' and the period of their life in four ' Ashramas.'

तेषु ये देव निरताः स्वाचाराः संयतेन्द्रियाः ॥ ९ ॥

सूरयश्चावदाताश्च ब्राह्मणास्तेऽभवंस्तदा।

यजनाध्ययने दानं याजनाध्यापनार्थिताः ॥ १० ॥

धर्मस्तेषां विमुच्यान्यां स्त्रीं तुल्याः क्षत्रवैश्ययोः।

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[1] सूत्रदेवाधिकार (अध्याय ९) और वर्णाश्रमविभाग (अध्याय ७)।

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i.e., among those who are devotees, of excellent character, pious, scholars, and virtuous were named Brāhmanas and were entrusted with the task of performing sacrifices for themselves as well as for others, acquiring knowledge and imparting it to others and giving and accepting charities. They were permitted to marry the daughters of first three varṇas.

ये तु शूरा महोत्साहाः शरण्या रक्षणक्षमाः ॥ ११ ॥

दृढव्यायतदेहाश्च क्षत्रियास्त इहाभवन् ।

विक्रमो लोकसंरक्षा विभागो व्यवसायिता ॥ १२ ॥

एतेषामयमप्युक्तो धर्मः शुभफलोदयः ।

i.e., those who were brave, energetic, capable to protect and give shelter to refugees, strong and able-bodied were made Kshatriyas.

In addition to some of the tasks mentioned above they were put in charge of brave acts, protection, justice and enterprise.

निसर्गान्नैपुणं येषां रतिर्वित्तर्जिनं प्रति ॥ १३ ॥

श्रद्धादाक्ष्यदयावत्ता वैश्यांस्तानकरोदसौ ।

चिकित्सा कृषिवाणिज्ये स्थापत्यं पशुपोषणम् ॥ १४ ॥

वैश्यस्य कथितो धर्मस्तद्वत्कर्म च तैजसम् ।

i.e., those who were shrewd, desirous of wealth, honest, skilled and tender-hearted were classed as Vaishyas.

They were put in charge of the work of treatment of diseases, agriculture, commerce, craftsmanship, breeding of cattle and manufacture of metal-articles.

नातिमानभृतो नातिशुचयः पिशुनाश्च ये ॥ १५ ॥

ते शूद्रजातयो जाता नातिधर्मरताश्च ये ।

कलारम्भोपजीवित्वं शिल्पिता पशुपोषणम् ॥ १६ ॥

वर्णाय त्रितयशुश्रूषा धर्मस्तेषामुदाहृतः ।

i.e., those who were devoid of self-respect, impious, cruel and irreligious were branded as Shudras.

They were allowed to earn their living by performing different physical feats or uttering various sounds, and by craftsmanship, breeding of cattle and the service of the first three Varṇas.

These quotations show that the people previously belonging to one and the same ' Varṇa ' in course of time were divided in four ' Varṇas ' according to their qualities and occupations.

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Further the changing of one's 'Varṇa' was in vogue even in the latter half of the 11th century A.D. as is evident from the poem known as 'Ballālacharitra':—

यदि दाम्भिकान् सुवर्णान् वणिजः शूद्रत्वे न पातयिष्यामि .....

गो-ब्राह्मणघातेन यानि पातकानि तानि मे भविष्यन्तीति ॥ ११ ॥

कार्या लोकहितार्थाय कैवर्त्ता दास्यकर्मसु ॥ १६ ॥

मालाकाराः कुम्भकाराः कर्म्मारास्च ततोऽन्यदा ।

युक्तहस्ता गलेवस्त्राः पुरस्तस्थुर्महीक्षितः ॥ २० ॥

सन्तुष्टः सेवया तेषां व्याजहार वचो नृपः ।

यूयं सत्शूद्रवद्ब्राह्या भवेत वचनान्मम ॥ २१ ॥ (अध्याय २३)

i.e., Ballāla being displeased with goldsmiths degraded them to the standard of 'Sachchhūdra' while to increase the number of domestic servants elevated the position of fishermen, gardeners, potters and black-smiths to the same level.

These events have been quoted by Ananda Bhatta (the author of the poem) on the authority of previous scholars :—

यद्याहृतं भट्टपादैरुक्तं यच्चान्यसूरिभिः ।

तत्तद्राजचरित्रेऽस्मिन् वाल्लाले प्रकटीकृतम् ॥ ६ ॥

(at the end)

i.e., what is said by Bhatt Pada and other scholars have been included in this 'Ballāla-charitra'.

Thus considering all the above facts it becomes clear that the division of 'Varṇa' among Hindus was based on the quality and occupation like the modern division known as Bābu, Thākur, Sēth and Mazdūr (labourer).

Before concluding this paper we may also state—that our Hindu religion was not so conservative as it is today. There are several proofs which go to show that even foreigners like Greeks, Turks (Yoe-chis), Shakas and Huns were freely admitted to its fold. Leaving apart the Buddhist records the Besnagar pillar inscription of 140 B.C. states that this 'Garudadhvaja' (column) was erected by Heliodorus the Greek, who was a staunch Vaishnavite.

Kalhaṇa in his 'Rājataraṅginī' writes :—

ते तुरुष्कान्वयोद्भूता अपि पुण्याश्रया नृपाः ।

शुष्कलेत्रादि देशेषु मठचैत्यादि चक्रिरे ॥ १७० ॥ (प्रथम तरङ्ग)

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i.e., those pious kings (Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka) though born of Turkish race built monasteries and 'Chaityas' at places like Hukhletrōn, etc.

We conclude from the inscriptions of Ushavdāta, the son-in-law of king Nahapāna, who flourished in the 1st half of the second century A.D., that he was a devotee both of Brāhmanism and Buddhism.

We also learn from 'Rājataranginī' that :—

श्रीनगर्यां हि दुर्बुद्धिर्विदधे मिहिरेश्वरम् (३०६) (प्रथम तरङ्ग)

i.e., at Srinagar the cruel king (Mihirakula) got built a temple of Shiva called after his own name.

Moreover in commenting on the Paṇini's 'Sūtra' 'शूद्राणामनिर्वसितानां' (२।४।१०) the commentator Patañjali has counted Shakas and Yavanas as Shūdras and Kaiyata in his turn has concluded that—

'शूद्राणां पञ्चयज्ञानुष्ठानेऽधिकारोऽस्तीति भावः।'

i.e., Shūdras are also entitled to perform five sacrifices.

Therefore if setting aside the conservatism prevailing at present and allowing due margin for the changed conditions we follow the path chalked out by our ancestors we will be more happy and can pass a more peaceful life in this world.

BISHESHWAR NATH REU.

JAINISM

As a religion Jainism has been quite catholic and rationalistic. Surely the religion of Jinas was a guarantee of safety and emancipation to every kind of living being.[1] It is a place of refuge for the down-trodden and suffering world. The doors of Jaina Samgha have remained open for one and all.[2] Prof. Buhler remarked that,[3] the characteristic feature of this religion is its claim to universality, which it holds in common with Buddhism and in opposition to

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1 "पयल्लियमाण कसाओ पयल्लियमिच्छत्त मोह समचित्तो।
पावइ तिअवण सारं बोही जिणसासणे जीवो ॥ ७८ ॥

2 See my Hindi work entitled : 'Patitodhārka Jaina Dharma'—(Surat).

3 The Indian Sect of the Jainas, p. 3.

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Brahmanism. It also declares its object to be to lead all men to salvation and to open its arms—not only to the noble Aryans, but also to the low-born Śūdra and even to the alien, deeply despised in India, the Mleccha.

A Jain layman aspires to attain to the state of spiritual progress and it makes him love and help every living being. Jain Ahiṃsā not only enjoins to live and let live, but it exhorts its votaries to help others to live a happy life. It makes them remember all the while that man is not merely flesh and blood : it is the immaterial substance called soul. Individual consciousness is its function and it is found in every creature of the world—no matter in whatsoever less or high developed grade of life it may be. He remembers also that since time immemorial the soul is bound with flesh as a result of his own actions and through his own actions only it shall enjoy true happiness. He believes that lust and pleasure of senses though pleasing, have not the power to make us happy. Beings all over the world have equal spiritual powers—the difference is only of manifestation. Let the weak or less developed than you have a chance and you will see that how soon they become fit to make this world a heavenly abode.

Besides the principle of Ahiṃsā, the peculiarity of Jainism lies in its Syādvāda logic, which is a masterkey to reconcile the opposites in the field of philosophy. Truth is one and same everywhere and at all times. Likewise every substance possesses more than one attribute which human speech is unable to expound at one and the same moment. Syādvāda logic of Jainism comes forward to help us here. It avoids exclusiveness ; as it consists of certain *nayas* or points of view with reference to which right judgements are arrived at. In the Jain books no less than 363 schools of thought are enumerated each of them claiming to be absolute truth. But this cannot be true that two different and diverse theories be correct exclusively. One cannot hold at the same time that world is eternal absolutely and *vice versa*. But the Syādavāda logic helps us at this point ; because according to it ' the world is eternal as far as that part is concerned which is the substratum of the idea (sāmānya) " world " and it is not eternal as far as its ever changing state is meant.' The *Syād* mode is the real way of escape from one-sided false views.

Jainism being a universal religion is a common ground for meeting and reconciling the different faiths holding diverse views and it is so practicable that man in every walk of life can observe it. It is free from blank rituals. It teaches that in this world of misery, disease, old age and death, there is no other protection, refuge or help than the practice of Truth. The continual cycle of

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births and deaths is not ended and therefore we should make some efforts to free ourselves from it. Right Belief, Right Knowledge and Right Conduct : these three are the sources of happiness and constitute the way to Mokṣa or Nirvāna. The ultimate object of Jainism is Nirvāṇa, which consists in peace and freedom from pain. It makes a mortal man perfect and immortal. This is the lofty teaching of Jainism.

KAMTA PRASAD JAIN.

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REVIEWS

THE UṆĀDISĀSTRAS WITH THE PRAKRIYĀSARVASVA OF NĀRĀYAṆA. Edited by T. R. Chintamani, M.A., University of Madras; 1933; Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 7, Pt. II; pp. XII+149+61.

Unlike other recent publications of the Madras University Sanskrit Series, the text of the present work has been carefully edited and deserves serious study, though however it is difficult to see how this 'commentary on the sūtras of Pāṇini froms a basis, not only for understanding the meaning of the sūtras but also for reconstructing the history of the various systems of Sanskrit grammar' (Kunhan Raja, in the foreword). It is also implied in this quotation that Pāṇini himself was the author of the Uṇādi-sūtras. Such an assumption, in spite of Goldstücker, is surely unwarranted. We are confronted with two contradictory but undeniable facts in this regard. Pāṇini knew at least some of the Uṇādi-sūtras, cf. Pāṇini VI. 4. 97 इसन्तन्क्विषु च, in which the first three suffixes are unādis. A number of Unādi suffixes are again mentioned in VI. 3. 53 नितुचतथसिसुसरकसेषु च, etc. On the other hand the grammatical technique adopted in the Uṇādi-sūtras is hundred per cent. Pāṇinian. Yet it would be a grave error of judgment to attribute these sūtras to Pāṇini himself, for that great grammarian could never have indulged in the puerile and fantastic etymologies which abound in the Uṇādi-sūtras. Indeed, there is a family likeness between the Uṇādi etymologies and those of the Nairuktakas. Can it be that an older work of some reputed Nairuktaka—perhaps Sakaṭa's offspring himself, to whom the Uṇādi-sūtras are indirectly attributed,[1]—was later revised in the light of Pāṇini's sūtras by some other grammarian? It is a mere hypothesis no doubt, but it has the merit of covering all the relevant facts, contradictory though they are.

So far as the Uṇādi commentaries are concerned, Ujjvaladatta's is deservedly the best-known, though however all his resourcefulness and ingenuity breaks down as soon as he is confronted with Vedic forms. On this point Ujjvaladatta has been excelled by Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita. Both had to accept the principle कार्य्यादिद्यादनूबन्धमेतच्छास्त्रमुणादिषु. But Nārāyaṇa's dissatisfaction with the Uṇādi was much greater in this respect, as is clear from his remarkable statement at the beginning of his work (p. 2):—

अस्माद्धातोरियं संज्ञा साध्येति मुनिशासने।
किं कुर्मोऽर्थान्वयः कश्चित् लभ्यते क्षतिनो वयम्॥

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

THE CRESCENT IN INDIA: A STUDY OF MEDIEVAL HISTORY, by S. R. Sharma, M.A., Professor of History, Willingdon College, Sangli; published by Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay 2, two parts, pp. 706+Index.

This manual of Mediæval Indian History, in two parts, 'designed to meet the requirements of undergraduates in Indian Colleges', deals with the history of Islam

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[1] Cf. the Kārikā on Pāṇ III 3. 1: नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च तोकम्।

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in India from its first appearance in this land in the eighth century A.D. to the fall of the Mughal empire in the eighteenth century. The task of reviewing this book has been considerably rendered easy for me by the fact that the greater part of it is but an abridgement of the author's *Mughal Empire in India*, of which a review had already appeared in the pages of this journal. So far as the rest is concerned, the history of the various Mahommedan dynasties, passing by the vague appellation of the Pathān dynasties in India, is characterised by more or less the same method of presentation and style of writing. The author draws his materials not merely from the modern compilations and text-books on Mediæval Indian History, generally in use, but also at places from original sources, although in translation. As to the brief notice of the various Hindu States of Northern and Southern India that rose between the seventh and twelfth century A.D., which forms the subject-matter of the first chapter, the author should have depended upon more reliable and up-to-date treatises, for several mistakes are detectable not only regarding dates but facts as well. The notion, which is too very manifest in these pages, that India ceased to be a Hindu India, or that no paramount suzerain power was established in Southern and Northern India, after the demise of Harṣavardhana, is wholly beside the mark.

The book, well got-up, contains a classified Index of notables, places, rulers and topics, as also some illustrations and maps. Diacritical marks have also been used in the book, but not with adequate caution ; such peculiar forms of names as ' Sanjogata ' for ' Saṁyuktâ ', ' Vishâkadutta ', ' Viśâkhadatta ', etc., also occur in the text.

N. N. Das Gupta.

A SHORT HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE, by Mādhavadāsa Chakravartī, M.A., Sānkhyatīrtha. Second Edition (revised and enlarged) ; pp. xv+464+xx ; published by the author, 111, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, 1936.

It is rarely that a history of Sanskrit Literature experiences a second edition. That Prof. Chakravartī's book has had this rare experience is proof enough that it has been found to be useful, and there is no reason why his book will not be useful also in future. The cause of its popularity is not far to seek : there is, so far as I know, no other handy work of this kind in which so many aspects of the Sanskrit literature and Sanskritic culture have been discussed. Apart from the vedic and the classical literature, the author has been able to pay attention also to Buddhist and Jaina literature, as well as to the vast philosophical systems of ancient India. The treatment of every subject could not but be sketchy under the circumstances, but to the credit of the author, himself an experienced teacher, it has to be admitted that this book truly gives a fair idea of the great cultural heritage of India. The book however is not flawless. Almost every page is disfigured by typographical mistakes. On many points the author has upheld views which cannot be defended any more. But it is impossible to discuss them all in a short review. On the whole, however, the book will be surely useful to College students for whom it is meant.

Batakrishna Ghosh.

A TREATISE ON BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY OR ABHIDHAMMA, by Dr. C. L. A. De Silva, Volume 1, Revised by Thera Narada, 1937. Printed at Colombo, Ceylon.

This book contains an introduction in which discussions about the Abhidhamma philosophy, *Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha* and *Vibhāvinī Ṭīkā* are noteworthy. Besides

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there are twelve chapters dealing with consciousness (its types, classes, etc.), consciousness without hetus, types of moral consciousness, consciousness as experienced in *rūpaloka, arūpaloka,* Transcendental Consciousness, mental properties (Catasikā), mental properties common to all classes of consciousness, particular mental properties, immoral concomitants (*rāga, dosa, moha,* etc.), moral concomitants, thought, process of thought, eye consciousness, emancipation, attainment of the path and sense organs, feeling, objects, visual objects, etc. The treatment is, on the whole, not bad, but, in some places it is somewhat misleading, e.g. discussions about heart-base (p. 188), summary of doors (p. 173), etc. The author's note on *Jhāna* throws some light on the subject. He has expressed his desire to complete his work in some more volumes.

B. C. Law.

TO BECOME OR NOT TO BECOME (THAT IS THE QUESTION), by Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, D .Litt., M.A., Luzac & Co., London, 1937.

This well written book by Mrs. Rhys Davids should be read by everybody interested in Buddhism. She has devoted 11 Chapters to the subject of *Bhava* (from *bhū, bhavati, hoti, atthi*) from all aspects. She has done full justice to the subject, and has ably shown in Chapter, III, the idea of it, according to the *Upanishads*. The work is marked by clear statements of facts, and forceful arguments. It amply bears testimony to the sound judgment and wide reading of the authoress. The book is just published and I am sure it will be very much appreciated.

B. C. Law.

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA. Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Memorial. Vol. I, pp. xxx+608 ; Vol. II, pp. ix+617 ; Vol. III, pp. x+692, D'Cr. 8vo. Published by Swami Avinashananda, Secretary, Publication Sub-Committee. Sri Ramakrishna Centenary, Belur Math, Calcutta, 1937.

' The Cultural Heritage of India ' has been rightly acclaimed as the greatest publication on India of this century, for there is no other single work which gives such a comprehensive view of the great Indian civilization and culture. One hundred representative scholars of India have contributed as many articles—some of them truly learned dissertations—to fill out the details of a well-conceived plan, and hardly any aspect of Indian civilization is left untouched.

The introductory article by Sir S. Radhakrishnan is characteristically brilliant and rich in apercus, but lacks unity and consistency.

The four articles immediately following, by Swami Sharvananda, C. Kunhan Raja, Swami Madhavananda and Professor Mahendranath Sircar respectively, are devoted to ' the Vedas and the Upanishads '. They constitute perhaps the least satisfactory group in the whole series. This is unfortunate, for it is precisely the Vedas and the Upanishads which have contributed most to the cultural heritage of India. Swami Sharvananda has tried to vindicate ' the view point of the Hindu himself about his most sacred scriptures '. The intention is admirable no doubt, but not so the method of the author, which consists of giving a list of the chief works of the Vedic literature and then of quoting (in translation) passages supposed by him to give the essence of the ' religious teachings ' of the Vedas. An equally unfortunate effort has been made to read into the Rig Veda the ' maya-theory of the Vedantins ' (p. 17). Kunhan Raja's article on ' Vedic Culture ' is notable only for a

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number of mistakes. The author asserts that the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul is mentioned for the first time in the Upanishads (p. 30). He will have to change his opinion, I fear, if he looks into S.B. 1. 5. 3. 4. Aja Ekapad becomes Ajaikapad in his hands (p. 27). Nor is it quite correct to regard the caste-system as a specifically Indian institution, for in Egypt 'an official who took the census in the XVIIIth dynasty divided the people into "soldiers, priests, royal serfs and all the craftsmen", and this classification is corroborated by all that we know although we must understand that all callings of the free middle class are here included among the "soldiers"' (Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. II, p. 49). In India too, for all that we know, the caste-system, or rather the class-system, was hardly anything else in the Vedic period.

Next follows the group of six articles on the Epics and the Gītā, easily the best among which is Dr. Ray Chaudhuri's 'The Mahābhārata and some aspects of its culture',—brilliant and inspiring essay, throwing into high relief the immortal ideals of the heroic age of India. Then comes the only article, and even that not a happy one, dealing with the cultural aspects of the Smrtis (by T. R. Venkatrama Sastri). Diwan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri's paper entitled 'The Purāṇas and their contribution to Indian thought' is not worth noting.

Jainism is represented by two exquisite articles by Appaswami Chakravarti and Hiralal Jain respectively. All the six articles on Buddhism are by recognized authorities on the subject. Dr. Barua writes with high authority on Pāli Buddhism. In a short but brilliant essay Dr. B. C. Law discusses the 'eschatological aspect of Nirvāṇa', and Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt contributes a very instructive article on Mahāyāna Buddhism.

The section on the systems of Hindu Philosophy is a unique collection of brilliant essays by the highest authorities in our country, e.g., Prof. M. Hirayanna (The Sāmkhya system), Prof. Haridas Bhattacharyya (Yoga psychology), Prof. S. N. Das Gupta (An interpretation of the Yoga theory of the relation of mind and body) and Prof. Satkari Mookerjee (The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system of Philosophy). Prof. Hiriyanna has contented himself with broad generalities, but not so the other contributors. Prof. Das Gupta has brought to bear his encyclopædic learning on a specific problem of the Yoga philosophy, and Prof. Mookerjee's long dissertation on Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika is a powerful and masterly presentation of a little-understood and therefore much-maligned branch of ancient Indian philosophical thought. Nine articles are devoted to the various branches of Vedanta including the systems of Rāmānuja, Nimbārka, Mādhvācārya and Vallabhācārya, the opening article being, fittingly enough, Prof. Krishnachandra Bhattacharyya's 'Advaitavāda and its spiritual significance', in which he has boldly asserted, what we are prone to ignore that 'Vedanta is primarily a religion, and it is a philosophy only as the formulation of this religion'.

The first part of the second volume is devoted to 'Phases of Hindu religion' and contains some brilliant articles on Saivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Tantrism. Saivism is ably represented by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (historical sketch) and S. S. Sūryanārāyaṇa Śāstrī (philosophy). In a long and learned article Prof. V. Rangacharya surveys the historical development of Vaiṣṇavism in South India, and the same is done for Bengal by Professors Girindra Narayan Mallik and Radha Govinda Nath. Of the articles on the Tantras the pride of place must go to Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya's 'Tantrika Culture among the Buddhists' based on the *Guhyasamaja Tantra* which the author dates in the third century A.D. The origin and development of various Tantric sects, such as Vajrayana, Mantrayana, Sahajayana, etc., has been also briefly discussed here. Then follows the section on 'the saints of India', containing the beautiful article on 'the Mystics of Northern India during the middle ages' by Prof. Kshitimohan Sen.

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The third volume opens with the masterly article of Prof. R. C. Mazumdar on the ' Religio-philosophic Culture of India ', in which he traces the progress of Indian Culture in its baffling diversity and unparalleled beauty from Mahenjo-daro to the present day. Prof. S. V. Venkateswara deals with the proto-Indian culture of Mahenjo-daro in the following article, but the whole is vitiated by the author's attempt to prove ' that the finds at Mahenjo-daro belong to the later vedic period ' (p. 57). Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's essay on South Indian culture strikes as rambling and superficial. Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji has contributed a popular article on the ' Hindu Culture and Greater India ', and Prof. Bijan Raj Chatterji another on the ' Hindu Kingdoms of Indo-China and Java '. Pandit Jaychandra Narang's ' Regional and linguistic structure of India ' is remarkable for thoroughness and lucidity. The section on Institutions opens with a learned article by the veteran scholar Prof. Haran Chandra Chakladar on his favourite subject—the social life in ancient India. Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar's two articles on ' Hindu Politics ' and ' Egnatism of India in World-economy ' respectively are both inspiring and instructive. In the section on ' the Pursuit of Science ' an attempt has been made by competent authorities to assess India's contribution to science, not only in ancient, but also in modern times. The following section is devoted to the arts, and contains contributions from Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Prasanna Kumar Acharya, O. C. Ganguly. Dancing and music too have been duly taken into consideration, particularly interesting being ' Indian Culture and music ' by Prof. Dhurjati Prasad Mukerji. The concluding section on ' Literature ' is inadequate in so far as it deals only with Sanskrit and Tamil, and even that by no means very exhaustively. Yet Dr. S. K. De's essay on the Sanskrit drama is a real master-piece, and Dr. P. C. Lahiri's ' Sanskrit Kavya Literature ' may be profitably read by all students.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

MAHĀVARGA, VINAYA PIṬAKA, (Dayādhana-Umāvatī Series I, Tripiṭaka, Part I), translated into Bengali by Pragñānanda Sthavira, edited by Dr. B. M, Barua, and published by Mr. Adharlal Barua, Secretary to the Board of Jogendra-Rupasībālā Tripiṭaka Trust, 1937.

The Vinaya Piṭaka is no doubt an important Buddhist publication. It gives me great delight to find that the Mahāvarga is now being translated into the Bengali language. The first part which is under review begins with *Mahāskandha* and ends in the *Kauśāmbī Skandha.* The *Mahāskandha* gives a vivid description of Buddha's attainment of Bodhi and turning of the Wheel of Law. The account of Bimbisāra's conversion to Buddhism is interesting, and so also is the account of the attainment of *Upasaṁpadā* by Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. In the next Skandha called the *Uposatha Skandha,* the translator has done a good service by attempting to translate in a clear language all the technicalities occurring in the different sections of this chapter, e.g. the manner of reciting the *Pātimokkha,* the duty of cleaning the room where the *sabbath* is observed, etc. The third chapter contains the rules for observing the rainy season, for selecting the place where the rainy season is to be spent, rules of taking ordination during the rainy season, etc. The fourth chapter deals with the *Pavāraṇā* ceremony. The fifth chapter describes the state of an arhat, the colour of the leather slippers, etc. It also contains the rules for using the leather slippers before the superiors, etc. The next chapter deals with the medicaments and the method of preparing them. This chapter gives us some materials as to the treatment of serpent-biting, jaundice, etc. The seventh chapter contains the rules for using

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Kaṭhina Cīvara. The next chapter deals with the garments which are allowed to be used by the bhikkhus and bhikkhuṇīs. The next two chapters deal with the duties which are to be performed and which are not to be performed and the dissension in Buddhist church. The translation is, on the whole, satisfactory. The author has used and maintained throughout a very good and simple style. He ought to have supplied much more notes and parallel passages from other Buddhist texts. The book contains two serviceable indices at the end. It is indeed a laudable attempt and deserves much credit.

B. C. LAW.

DICTIONARY OF PALI PROPER NAMES (Indian Texts Series) by Dr. G. P. Malalasekera, M.A., Ph.D., Vol. I (A–Dh), John Murray, Albemarle St., London, published for the Government of India, 1937.

The work of this nature is always welcome. It is no doubt a very laudable work which evinces a great labour bestowed on it by the author. In a work of this nature, we generally expect thoroughness and exhaustiveness of the subject with which it deals. But in many places in the Dictionary under review we regret to point out that it is wanting in both. In page 57 of the Dictionary under

(1) *Atthasālinī*, the author ought to have mentioned that Buddhaghosa, while revising this commentary, derived his materials from the Mahāpaccarī or the Great Raft Commentary (Saddhamma-Sangaha; B. C. Law's The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa, p. 70).

(2) *Anurādhapura* (p. 83, Dictionary)—Dr. Malalasekera ought to have mentioned the extent of the city from the Pali text or commentary. According to the Mahāvamsa Commentary, p. 449, Anurādhapura was nine yojanas in extent (Anurādhapuranagaram nava yojanamhi patiṭṭhitam). The Mahāvamsa Commentary (p. 261) further tells us that on the bank of the river Gambhīra, the priest Upatissa built Upatissagāma to the north of Anurādhapura.

(3) *Apadāna* (p. 115, Dictionary)—I like to draw the attention of the author to my paper entitled '*Studies in the Apadāna*' published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Vol. 13, 1937, pp. 23–35) which contains good many new materials unnoticed in this Dictionary.

(4) *Kosambī* (p. 692, Dictionary)—According to the Mahāvamsa Commentary (p. 128), Kosambī was ruled by the descendants of Baladatta. From the Sutta Nipāta Commentary (II, pp. 583-584) we learn that this city was visited by the followers of Bāvari, a leader of the Jaṭilas and some bhikkhus. Dr. Malalasekera ought to have noted that at Ghositārāma at Kosambī, Piṇḍola-Bharadvāja met the Buddha and told him that he had obtained Saintship (Saṁyutta Nikāya, V, 224). Again in the same Nikāya (pp. 229-30) we read that the Buddha, while living there, delivered a sermon on Sekha and Asekha (learner and non-learner). The author ought to have said something about Maṇḍavya while this city was ruled by a King named Kosambika (vide B. C. Law, Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes, p. 134).

(5) *Kosala* (p. 695, Dictionary)—The Pali tradition of Buddhism immortalizes the names of some of the eminent disciples belonging to Kosala, such as Ambaṭṭha (Dīgha Nikāya, I, 88-89), Vāseṭṭha of Pokkharasāti (*ibid.*, 235), Bhāradvāja of Tārukkha (*ibid.*, p. 235) and Subha of Todeyya (Majjhima Nikāya, II, 196), the Assalāyana being also counted among the Vedic Scholars of the rising generation (*ibid.*, II, 147). All such points are not noticed in the work under review. The author has not shown that the Pali Canonical texts speak of a number of pre-eminent Kosalans who were old, aged, elderly and advanced in years (Sutta N.-Brāhmaṇa-dhammika Sutta). They are called Mahāsālas, a term which is explained by the

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scholiasts as rich and influential, Mahāsāla being treated as equivalent of Mahāsāra, a man of substance (Paramatthajotikā on the Sutta Nipāta, p. 313). The Pali stock-list of eminent Kosala brahmins includes such names as Caṅkī, Tārukkha, Pokkharasāti, Jāṇussoṇi, Todeyya, and Lohicca (D.N., I, 235; Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, II, 399) each of whom was established in a distinct locality with such control over it as regards the revenue, judicial, and civil administration of its affairs as was determined by the terms of Royal grants and religious endowments (Raññā dinnam Brahmadeyyaṁ, Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, I, 246). I would like to draw the attention of the author to my Ancient Indian Tribes, p. 52, regarding Pokkharasāti or Pokkharasādi and Poṭṭhapāda, where many such references as unnoticed in this Dictionary are available. In p. 62 of my Ancient Indian Tribes (*Buddhists in Kosala*) many new materials drawn from Pali books are collected. Unfortunately they have escaped the attention of Dr. Malalasekera.

(6) *Giridīpā* (p. 769 of the Dictionary)—According to the Mahāvamsa Commentary (p. 80) it was 1,000 yojanas in area. The same work further corroborates the fact that it was a beautiful island and not a highland as Geiger thinks (yojanasahassamattaṭṭhāne patiṭṭhitaṁ ramanīyaṁ Giridīpaṁ nāma dīpam). These ought to have been noticed by Dr. Malalasekera.

(7) *Cīna* (p. 875).—In a Dictionary like this it is regrettable to find that the author remains contented with two references only, one from the Apadāna and the other from the Milindapañha. But another reference to it is found in the Canonical book entitled the 'Buddhavamsa' (p. 60) *cīnapaṭṭañ*. We expect all the available references put together in a good dictionary.

(8) *Dakkhiṇāgiri* (Dakkhiṇagiri, page 1049 of the Dictionary)—The author ought to have mentioned the following facts. It was visited by Mahāmahinda Thera (Mahāvamsa Commentary, p. 323). *Vedisagiri* was also visited by Mahāmahinda who stayed at Vedisagiri mahāvihāra (*ibid.*, 321).

(9) *Dasaṇṇa* (p. 1064)—The author has only mentioned that according to the Mahāvamsa it is one of the sixteen mahājanapadas, but he has failed to point out that according to the same text, the Buddha distributed knowledge among the Dasaṇṇas or Dasārṇas who built a Vihāra for him (Mahāvastu, I, p. 34). The author ought to have consulted the Petavatthu Commentary, pp. 99–105 as regards *Erakaccha*, a city in Dasaṇṇa.

The following omissions are regrettable: Aṅkurapeta (Petavatthu, p. 23), Abhijjamānapeta (*ibid.*, p. 33), Ambapeta (p. 66), Ānandacetiya in Bhojanagara (Dīgha Nikāya, II, p. 123), Kaṇṇamuṇḍapeta (Petavatthu, p. 31), Kalavāḷagāmaka (Dhammapada Commentary, I, 96), Dīghavāpicetiya (Mahābodhivaṁsa, p. 132). Besides, there are many other omissions which should be attended to in a future edition.

In some places the name of the text and all the available editions and translations of the text have been noticed as in p. 1047, but in other places only the name of the book occurs as in p. 1042. In some places the information supplied by the author as to the text, its editions and translations is not complete as in p. 859. The author ought to know that a Devanāgarī edition of the *Cariyāpiṭaka* has been published by Messrs. Motilal Banarsidas, Lahore. In p. 1042 the Pali Text Society edition of the Thūpavaṁsa has been left unnoticed. The author ought to have followed the same method throughout in giving a complete information as to the texts and translations already published. We find an error in name in page 295 of the Dictionary. It should be *unao* in place of *urao*. We hope that in the 2nd edition of this book, the author will try his utmost to make it more thorough and exhaustive.

B. C. Law.

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Calcutta Review, Vol. 66, *No. I, January*, 1938.

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Jaina Antiquary, Vol. 3, *No.* 3, *December*, 1937.

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Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. X, Pts. I–IV, 1936-37.

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Journal of the Annamalai University, Vol. VII, No. 1, October, 1937.

Some facts about the Tamil Calendar which deserve to be studied by S. S. Bharati.

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Obituary

E. J. RAPSON

We regret very much to record here the news of the death of Prof. E. J. Rapson. He was a well-known scholar of Ancient Indian History and Numismatics. He was the author of many standard books on the History of Ancient India and Ancient Indian Numismatics. He was attached to the University of Cambridge. Indology will suffer greatly in the death of this sound scholar.

B. C. LAW.

K. J. SAUNDERS

Kenneth J. Saunders whose death has already been announced was an American scholar interested in Buddhism and Buddhist thought. He had a long association with India and Burma. He was the author of several books on Buddhism and his writings include many translations from the Buddhist canon.

B. C. LAW.

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THIEME AND PĀṆINI [1]

By BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

Nothing could give me greater satisfaction than to see that Thieme has at last broken his enigmatic silence and come out to defend Pāṇini against my irreverent attack (I.H.Q., Vol. X, 1934, pp. 665–670). In his *Pāṇini and the Veda* (1935) Thieme dismissed my contentions with a contemptuous remark in a footnote—which I naturally ignored. And now, although nothing was said in the meanwhile on my part, Thieme has thought it necessary to write a long article (I.H.Q., 1937, pp. 329–343) solely with the purpose of refuting my thesis that 'Pāṇini has not only copied the Ṛkprātiśākhya, but he has copied it mechanically, perhaps without even understanding what he was quoting' (I.H.Q., X, p. 670). To what shall I attribute this remarkable change of attitude from his previous Olympian hauteur? Thieme can hardly accuse me of ill-will if I assume that only after three years' meditation he has been able to grasp the problems which were discussed in my first article, and it is hardly too much to expect that after another three years' meditation he will come round to the obvious solution given by me, which, by the way, has been accepted *in toto* by Prof. A. B. Keith (I.C., 1936, pp. 742–744),—not to mention other renowned scholars who have intimated to me their approval of my thesis by personal communication. I can confidently look forward to my interpretation of Pāṇini's *pragṛhya*-sūtras along with its inevitable resultant being gradually accepted by the scholarly world, and I would have hardly allowed myself this diversion in the midst of works of quite a different nature had it not been that Thieme has succeeded in partially converting to his views a scholar of the standing and learning of Prof. K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya (I.H.Q., 1937, pp. 343–49), whose every pronouncement commands careful and respectful consideration, if not absolute allegiance. I am really grieved to see that he too accuses me of joining 'in the usual condemnation of the Vedic portion of Pāṇini's grammar' (I.H.Q., 1937, p. 343). Everyone but a Thieme, who using language of the most unprecedented sort, roundly accuses me of 'critical conceit', will readily concede, I believe, from the whole tenor of my first article, that nothing was farther from my mind than to 'condemn' Pāṇini. But

[1] Read before the Philological Society of the University of Calcutta on 22nd September, 1937.

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I thank Thieme heartily for pointing out a minor slip of mine regarding the technical term *apṛkta*,—all the more as it does not affect my position in the least.

I consider it necessary to state at the outset that it is not my intention here to go over the whole ground afresh, for the facts on which our divergent conclusions are based are largely before the interested public already, and the scholarly world will have to give its final verdict on these *facts* alone, irrespective of my or Thieme's power of persuasion and coercion. I shall therefore confine myself firstly to elucidate only those facts the import of which may have been clouded by Thieme's vituperative eloquence. Secondly I shall give some new facts which I did not consider worth while to adduce in my first article, but of the utility of which I have been convinced since by the appearance of Thieme's article. And thirdly I shall point out some of those cases where Thieme has tried to hold me up to ridicule by intentionally misrepresenting me. A point under the third head is the way in which he has dealt with my interpretation of Pāṇini's last sūtra but one.

My contention was that the first part of Pāṇ. 8. 4. 67—*n'odāttasvaritodayam*—(1) shows the unmistakable rhythm of a verse-foot; (2) that the verse-foot *udāttasvaritodayam*, second in the hemistich, occurs more than once in the Ṛkprātiśākhya; (3) that Pāṇini nowhere else uses the term *udaya* in the sense of *para*; (4) that in the Ṛkprātiśākhya the term *udaya* is regularly used in the sense of *para*; (5) that it occurs also in Ṛkprātiśākhya III. 17 (ed. M. D. Shastri) which is practically identical in meaning with Pāṇini VIII. 4. 66-67,—a fact, which has not been contested even by Thieme; (6) that Pāṇini's *pragṛhya*-sūtras prove beyond every doubt that he had actually borrowed things from the Ṛkprātiśākhya. Hence I concluded that Pāṇini has borrowed the first part of the sūtra 8. 4. 67 from the Ṛkprātiśākhya. The whole argument hinges here on the *metrical* nature of the first part of Pāṇ. VIII. 4. 67, which I particularly stressed in my first article. But Thieme has nothing to say about that. Unable to believe that Thieme does not recognise the significance of this unusual form of a Pāṇinian aphorism, I am forced to conclude that he tried to mislead the public by intentionally suppressing an inconvenient fact. Ancient Indian grammarians, who failed to detect the metrical nature of the first part of this sūtra, were at a loss to know what to do with this singular technical term *udaya* in Pāṇini. The most they could say was that it was used *maṅgalārtham*. Now says Thieme (*ibid.*, p. 342): 'The explanation of the Kāśikā for Pāṇini's *udāttasvaritodayam* strikes me as altogether sober'. To this I would have said nothing at all, if Thieme had only underscored the word *me*.

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It is not true that my attempt to trace Pāṇini VIII. 4. 67 to the Ṛkprātiśākhya is 'based on the mere agreement of the term *udaya* in the two rules' as Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya says (*ibid.*, p. 347). Pāṇini himself uses elsewhere the word *udāttasvaritapara*, which is perfectly in consonance with his whole system. But precisely only in this sūtra, which, the qualifying clauses on each side apart, has its exact counterpart both in form and meaning in the Ṛkprātiśākhya, Pāṇini uses the word *udāttasvaritodayam*. Is it unwarranted to conclude hence that Pāṇini was the borrower and the Prātiśākhya the lender? Moreover, the very grammatical structure of the word *udāttasvaritodayam* is rather anomalous. Its meaning is clearly *udāttaparaḥ svaritaparaś ca 'nudāttaḥ* as Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita paraphrases it. But should it not have been then formally *udāttasvaritodayaḥ* or *udāttasvaritodayau*? Driven to extremities one may indeed interpret it as a *dvandva* of the type *pāṇipādam*. But such an interpretation is nevertheless *kliṣṭa* to say the least. In the Prātiśākhya however this word in this form is absolutely without reproach, for there it qualifies *akṣaram*. I confess there is real difficulty in reconciling the qualifying clauses on each side. They might have been identical in meaning, but it is impossible to prove it. Yet, as stated above, it is the metrical *form* of the sūtra of Pāṇini which is the deciding factor here, and this remains unaffected in spite of the non-identity of the qualifying clauses. Thieme asks, why do I insist on Pāṇini's having borrowed this sūtra from the Ṛkprātisakhya alone, and not from any other Prātiśākhya which likewise uses the word *udāttasvaritodayam*. To this I have only to say that I do not believe that Pāṇini can be proved to be later than any other Prātiśākhya. Even regarding the Ṛkprātiśākhya I am prepared to admit that in the days of Pāṇini it might have been much different from what it is to-day, though I do not see how by this admission I have given away my whole case, as Prof. K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya says (p. 343). The very fact of Pāṇini's borrowing from the Ṛkprātiśākhya, proved on independent grounds, is surely proof enough that the corresponding portions of the Ṛkprātiśākhya were already in existence when Pāṇini drew upon it! Nobody will presume to say, I hope, that the Ṛkprātiśākhya has been handed down to us in its original form without any modification or amplification in course of the twenty-five centuries of its existence. The last redactor of the Prātiśākhya was Śaunaka, who usually passes as the author of the work. But Max Müller has given us good reasons to believe that the work in its earliest form was composed by Śākalya, the author of the Padapāṭha of the Ṛksaṃhitā. I cannot decide whether it was kind or unkind of Prof. K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya to solemnly remind me of this fact which is known to everybody.

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Before discussing the more important problem of the Pragṛhya-sūtras of Pāṇini, let me make it quite clear that it was not at all my intention to use them as an instrument with which to prove Pāṇini's posteriority to the Ṛkpratiśākhya. My sole purpose was to seek a rational interpretation of, and smooth out the anomalies inherent in, these sūtras of Pāṇini. When fourteen years ago, at the beginning of my Pāṇinian studies, I expressed to my teachers my doubts as to the traditional interpretation of these sūtras, and was reprimanded for my irreverence, I had not yet read the Ṛkprātiśākhya. It was only after many years of thought and study that I arrived at the unhappy conclusions which I expressed for the first time at my final *soutenance* in Paris in 1933 (about which reference may be made to Professors Renou, Foucher and Bloch), and which were later published in an abridged form in I.H.Q., 1934.

Now what is the central problem of the Pragṛhya-sūtra *saṃbuddhau Śākalyasye 'tāv anārṣe* (Pāṇ. I. 1. 16) ? On the one hand we know that the *-o* of vocative singular is never pragṛhya in the Ṛksaṃhitā, although in the Padapāṭha, of which Śākalya is the reputed author, it is always treated as such,—that is, furnished with an *iti*.[1] On the other hand Pāṇini, dealing with the same *-o* in vocative singular, mentions Śākalya and *iti*, which he qualifies by the word *anārṣa*. I have not the slightest doubt that looking at these facts without any previous prejudice, nobody will be able to attribute their striking similarity to mere fortuitous coincidence. The only discrepancy here is that Pāṇini uses the word *anārṣe* to which nothing can be found to correspond on the other side. But this apparent discrepancy too will disappear if we try to understand the true significance of the word *anārṣa* as already explained in my first article. This word in fact signifies the Padapāṭha, as contrasted with the Saṃhitā-paṭha designated by '*ārṣī*' in the Ṛkprātiśākhya. Accordingly I translated Pāṇ. I. 1. 16 by : 'The *-o* of vocative is *pragṛhya* when Śākalya's non-Vedic *iti* follows', 'this non-Vedic *iti* being nothing but the *iti* of the Padapāṭha of the Ṛgveda employed to indicate the fact that the preceding word is *pragṛhya*' (I.H.Q., 1934, p. 666). This is certainly a serious departure from the traditional interpretation of this sūtra which Thieme and Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya have tried to defend. But let

[1] Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya (p. 347, foot-note 21) takes me to task even for this innocuous remark. But where have I said that the sole function of *iti* is to indicate a *pragṛhya* vowel ? He has even taken the trouble to remind me that the *riphita visarjanīya* also gets this *iti* in the *Padapāṭha*. But, turning his own logic against him, may I not remind him that even thus he has not exhausted all the uses of *iti* in the Padapāṭha of the Ṛksaṃhitā ?

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us see what this traditional interpretation is, and what anomalies are inherent in it,—which Thieme and Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya, wisely enough, have *not* tried to explain. The Kāśikā paraphrases the sūtra by : *sambuddhinimitto ya okāraḥ sa śākalyācāryasya matena pragṛhyasaṃjño bhavati, itiśabde'vaidike parataḥ,* and this interpretation has been accepted by all subsequent grammarians,—including Thieme and Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya. But there are difficulties in the way of accepting this interpretation. Whenever a *pūrvācārya* is mentioned in a Pāṇinian aphorism [1] to indicate that the rule concerned is *vaikalpika,* the name of the revered one is mentioned only at the end of that aphorism. In the whole of the grammar of Pāṇini there is not a single exception to this rule.[2] According to my interpretation the sūtra I. 1. 16 too falls into line with Pāṇini's usual procedure, but according to the traditional interpretation endorsed by Thieme and Prof. Chaṭṭopadhyāya it remains an obtrusive and unexplained anomaly. According to my interpretation the word *anārṣa* (= padapāṭha), used by Pāṇini only in this sūtra, receives a distinct and specific meaning, but the traditional interpretation, again endorsed by Thieme and Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya, has nothing to say by way of explaining this singular departure on the part of Pāṇini. There is indeed something more than wonderful in the attitude of Thieme and Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya. They are ready to admit that Pāṇini here has in mind the indicatory *iti* of the *Padapāṭha,* but they are determined not to take the word '*anārṣa*' to mean the Padapāṭha, which would have strengthened their own position ![3] Thieme triumphantly declares (p. 331) : 'Above all it would be quite superfluous to characterize *itau,* first by *Śākalyasya* and then by *anārṣe,* for an *iti* of Śākalya is '*anarṣa*' as a matter of course'. But this exultation is extremely ill-advised. Thieme with his characteristic unresilient formalism has fallen into this error apparently through his inability to grasp the full significance of my interpretation. Is it at all necessary that the word '*anarṣe*' in the sūtra should be an adjective qualifying '*itau*' ? Can it not be a simple noun signifying 'in the Padapāṭha' ? But quite apart from that question, is it not absolutely necessary here to use the word *Śākalyasya* to qualify *iti* ? For how else could Pāṇini distinguish the symbolical *iti* of the *Padapāṭha* from an *iti* derived from the Saṃhitā ? It is quite immaterial in this connection whether an *iti* actually

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[1] I am in essential agreement with Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya, p. 337, f.-n. 10, regarding the original significance of mentioning Pūrvācāryas.

[2] About the only apparent exception, see below.

[3] I take their endorsement of the traditional interpretation as tantamount to rejecting my interpretation of the word '*anārṣa*'.

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occurs in the Saṃhitā or not, for unlike the author of the Ṛkprātiśākhya, Pāṇini had to do not only with actual observed facts, but also with remote possibilities. But here we are confronted not with a mere possibility, but an actual eloquent fact. Let us consider RV. I. 109. 3 for instance. Here in the Saṃhitā-text we have in the same verse both a pragṛhya word (*ádrī*) and an *iti*, with the result that in the Padapāṭha the word *iti* occurs twice. Now was it not the duty of a grammarian like Pāṇini to point out the difference between one *iti* and the other here? The indicatory *iti* is here '*Śākalyasya*' in the language of Pāṇini. Personally however I do not believe that Pāṇini had in view any such specific case: he was thinking rather of a remote possibility. That Patañjali too understood by *anārṣa* the Padapāṭha and nothing else is quite clear from his comments on Pāṇ. VI. 1. 129 (*aplutavad upasthite*). In face of the technical term *upasthita* nobody will seek to deny, I hope, that the phenomenon intended to be covered by this sūtra is that of the *plutas* (of the Ṛksaṃhitā) which become simple *dīrghas* before the symbolical *iti* of the Padapāṭha (*iparo dīrghavat plutaḥ* Ṛkpr. I. 4). Now what says Patañjali on this sūtra? *upasthiet ity ucyate; kim idam upasthite nāma? anārṣa itikaraṇa.* Does it not prove conclusively that the word *anārṣa* has to be interpreted in the way I suggested in my first article? An indirect proof of this is again furnished by the *pratyudāharaṇa* of the Kāśikā on I. 1. 16 which is *brahmabandhav iti.* This could have been taken, so far as I can see, only from Ait. Br. VII. 27 where the *iti* occurs in the Saṃhita-text. But this *pratyudāharaṇa* is not quite relevant, for neither the Saṃhitā nor the Padapāṭha of the Ait. Br. can be associated with the name of Śākalya.

In this connection Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya again reminds me (p. 346) that 'there is thus a real formal difference between Pāṇini's treatment and that in the Ṛk-Prātiśākhya, showing that Pāṇini is here independent of that treatise'. But have I not myself emphasized this formal difference in my first article? Moreover, how can a difference, which in his own opinion is merely formal, prove Pāṇini's non-dependence on the Prātiśākhya? This makes me despair of ever being able to convince Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya of my point of view. My feeling of frustration is further aggravated to see that a few lines below on the same page he is seriously envisaging the possibility of Pāṇini's having 'in mind some other Padapāṭha which did not follow the usage of Śākalya'. But can we not safely spare our imagination when Pāṇini himself mentions Śākalya? Or has he in view some hypothetical work of Śākalya in which this author departed from the practice followed in his Padapāṭha of the Ṛksaṃhitā? But now we have passed the limit not only of pro-

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bability, but also of possibility. And yet, with commendable courage Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya concludes : ' *śākalyasya* must mean here as elsewhere *śākalyasya matena* '.

It is necessary at this point to return from these *minutiæ* to some broad general considerations, for there is always the danger of missing the forest for the trees. Is it not something quite extraordinary that Pāṇini in dealing with the non-contractability of vocative *-o* should mention only its relation to *iti* but say nothing as to its behaviour when confronted with initial vowels of other words ? From Pāṇini's point of view the importance of the specific case of *iti* following upon a vocative form in *-o* is infinitesimal. Of much greater importance to him is the general problem of the behaviour of vocative *-o* before initial vowels, which is highly interesting from the point of view of both the Vedic and the classical languages (see Weber, Ind. Stud., XIII, pp. 1of ; Whitney on Tait. Prat. IV. 6 ; Wackernagel, I. §273*b*, p. 326). Why is it then that Pāṇini has absolutely nothing to say on this larger issue ? This astonishing anomaly can be satisfactorily explained if only it is assumed, as I have shown in my first article, that Pāṇini had been here directly copying the Ṛkprātiśākhya, for there, naturally, the vocative *-o* being technically considered as *pragṛhya*, the larger problem of the confrontation of vocative *-o* with any initial vowel resolves itself into the specific problem of the sandhi of vocative *-o* with *iti*. A more eloquent proof of Pāṇini's direct dependence on the Prātiśākhya can be hardly imagined. It is absolutely impossible to resist the conclusion that Pāṇini had been here borrowing from the Prātiśākhya, and borrowing unintelligently, as Prof. A. B. Keith (I.C. 1936, p. 743) justly says. To refuse to believe it is to accuse Pāṇini of an astonishing error of omission, and by conceding it we are forced to the none the happier conclusion that Pāṇini was guilty here of a grave error of commission. I say ' of commission ', for Pāṇini had absolutely no business to mention a phenomenon peculiar to an artificial text like the Padapāṭha. It is not at all my intention to deny that the Padapāṭha too, however bizarre it may seem to us, used to be actually recited. What I wish to emphasize is that the Padapāṭha is no language at all. Pāṇini himself was keenly alive to this fact. That is the reason why he used the special technical term *anārṣa* to designate the Padapāṭha, for, as Prof. K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya says, not without exaggeration I fear, Pāṇini ' was writing a complete grammar of *bhāṣā* and *bhāṣā* only ' (I.H.Q., XIII. p. 337, f.-n. 10).

I have dwelt at some length on Pāṇ. I. 1. 16, for most of the thunder of Thieme and Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya was directed against my interpretation of this sūtra. Regarding my interpretation of

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Pāṇ. I. 1. 17-18 I would have hardly said anything if Thieme had not again tried to suppress the central point of my argument, for he himself gives away his whole case by admitting that *v iti* is a 'hypothetical word combination' 'which is rightly suspect' (p. 338). Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya, however, waxes quite wrathful over this issue and reminds me (p. 347) that a sentence like *sa u ity āha* is quite possible. I readily concede this possibility, but I take the liberty to remind him what Wackernagel (I. §270*a*) pointed out long ago, that in the classical language *u* always remains unchanged and therefore the question of its undergoing sandhi with *iti* or any other word does not arise at all, and that in the Ṛksaṃhitā which alone of all the Vedic texts deserves consideration here in view of Pāṇini's specific mention of Śākalya, there is no instance of the juxtaposition of *u* and *iti*—such a juxtaposition is actually found only in the Padapāṭha, where however the particle invariably assumes the form *ūṃ*. This shows what dangerous pitfalls are in store for those who disdaining observed facts seek refuge in the realm of fancy. But is not Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya doing me grave injustice by trying to make a special case out of *u iti* and leaving out of account *ūṃ iti* and *v iti*—all of which will have to be covered by the same hypothesis of a 'quite possible . . . sentence' if he wishes to adhere to the traditional interpretation? All this anomaly will be resolved at a stroke if we only remember the particle *u* of the Ṛksaṃhitā which 'is indicated as *pragṛhya* in the Padapāṭha of Rv. [and Av.] by its nasalized form *ūṃ*' (Macdonell, Ved. Gr. p. 65, f.-n. 13), although in the Saṃhitā it is actually unchangeable only after a vowel or a *y* out of *i* (Wackernagel, I. § 270*a*, p. 320). Thus in the Ṛksaṃhitā *bhā́ u aṃśáve* (I. 46. 10) but *ávéd v índra* (I. 28. 1–4), although in each case the *u* is represented by *ūṃ iti*, in the Padapāṭha. This singular behaviour of the particle *u* cannot be explained even with the help of Pāṇ. VIII. 3. 33 (*maya uño vo vā*), for the pratyāhāra *may* does not include the vowel or *y* after which *u* never undergoes sandhi in the Ṛksaṃhitā. Taking for granted that from Pāṇini's point of view the sandhi of *u* with a following vowel is a matter of course, we have to explain in the light of his sūtras those cases in which *u* does not undergo sandhi with a following vowel, if it is maintained that Pāṇini had directly studied the Ṛksaṃhitā. Now *u* remains unchanged before a vowel when it is preceded by (1) *ā*, or (2) *y* out of *i* in the Saṃhitā. The only sūtra of Pāṇini which restricts the sandhi of *u* with a following vowel is, however, VIII. 3. 33, which covers neither of these two cases. Hence it is clear that Pāṇini could not have formulated his sūtras about the sandhi of *u* after a direct observation of the Ṛksaṃhitā. Now add to this further that the *anuvṛtitti* of

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Śākalyasya into Pāṇ. I. 1. 17-18 is admitted even by Patañjali.[1] But add also that the purpose of keeping '*śākalyasya*' in force in this sūtra could not have been to lend it a facultative character, for it is solely due to construing 'Śākalyasya' in this way that Patañjali was constrained to split up the sūtra into two, as I particularly stressed in my first article (p. 667),[2] with the inevitable result of an hypothetical *v iti*, which is not only suspect as Thieme admits, but is actually impossible as Wackernagel (I. § 270*a*) has shown. This definitely proves, I hope, that Pāṇini in formulating these sūtras could have in mind only the *ūṃ iti* of the Padapāṭha of the Ṛksaṃhitā. And I repeat that Pāṇini could not have collected his data from a direct observation of the Saṃhitā or the Pada-text, for in that case the discrepancy between cases like *ávéd v indra* and *praty u adarśi* (RV., VII. 81. 1) could not have escaped his eyes. And, above all, in that case he could not have contented himself with the behaviour of *u* only before *iti* and after consonants of the *may*-pratyāhāra. It is again only in the light of the Prātiśākhya, in which the problem of the sandhi of *u* with the initial vowel of all words resolves itself into that of the sandhi of *u* with *iti*, that we can explain this strange rule of Pāṇini. Pāṇini's direct dependence on the Ṛkprātiśākhya is absolutely without question here. It is absurd to suggest that Pāṇini might have been led to formulate this inaccurate rule—inaccurate in so far as the actual Sandhi or otherwise of the particle *u* in the Saṃhitā-text is concerned—from direct observation of the Pada-text, for it is quite unimaginable that a grammarian like Pāṇini should have carefully read the Padapāṭha of the RV. but had never cared to look into the Saṃhitā. The conclusion is irresistible therefore that Pāṇini was directly dependent on the Ṛkprātiśākhya for his *uñaḥ ūṃ*, although it is quite possible that the Prātiśākhya was then much different from what it is to-day.

I have said above that Pāṇ. I. 1. 16 excepted, of which the true meaning is quite different from that given by the commentators, there is no sūtra in the Aṣṭādhyāyī in which a Pūrvācārya has been mentioned in the middle of the sūtra. But there is another sūtra of Pāṇini in which he again mentions Śākalya, and that apparently in the middle of the *sūtra*: I mean Pāṇ. VI. 1. 127 *iko 'savarṇe Śākalyasya hrasvaś ca*. But this is not the only anomaly inherent

[1] Thieme continually reminds me of the different rôles played by Kātyāyana and Patañjali. I can well assure him that I am fully aware of the existence of Kātyāyana. But I refuse to make any such formal distinction in any particular instance so long as we have to depend on Patañjali for every statement of Kātyāyana.

[2] This point has nowhere been mentioned by Thieme and Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya. To what shall I attribute this eloquent silence on their part?

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in this sūtra. Already Patañjali in his highly interesting comments on this sūtra pointed out that the word *ca* in this sūtra is quite superfluous, for by specifically enjoining the substitution of a short vowel Pāṇini has here implicitly suggested that this substituted short should remain unchanged. Considered from the side of the Ṛkprātiśākhya however it would appear that not the last *one*, but the last *two* words (*hrasvaś ca*) of this Pāṇinian aphorism are superfluous, for the corresponding rules of the Ṛkprātiśākhya exactly correspond to this sūtra *minus* the additional clause *hrasvaś ca* (see Max Müller, Introd. to Ṛkprātiśākhya, p. 12). But I am inclined to believe that the last two words *hrasvaś ca* of Pāṇ. VI. 1. 127 originally formed a separate sūtra. The meaning of this sūtra delivered of *hrasvaś ca* would thus be: *padāntā iko 'savarṇe 'ci pare prakṛtyā vā syuḥ*. In this way we shall get (1) *cakrī atra*, and (2) *cakry atra*, to stick to the traditional example. And as the result of the separation of *hrasvaś ca* we shall further get (3) *cakri atra*. According to the traditional interpretation of Pāṇini VI. 1. 127 we indeed get (2) and (3). The form *cakrī atra* (without sandhi) is however quite new, and is not recognized even by Patañjali. But Patañjali's not recognizing a particular case of Pragṛhya cannot prove that it was unknown in the language. In fact it was not unknown. According to Taitt. Prāt. X. 18 the analogous forms *śyetī*, *mithunī* are actually *pragṛhya*, although, as Whitney (ad loc.) says, 'the *pada*-text-writes both of them as if no peculiar character belonged to them'. By dividing the sūtra Pāṇ. VI. 1. 127 into two as I have proposed we can thus easily get rid of an anomaly—the redundancy of *ca*—which was noticed already by Patañjali; secondly the sūtra is thus enabled to cover cases of non-contraction like *śyetī akuruta* and *mithunī abhavan* which would otherwise have remained unprovided for by Pāṇini; thirdly this sūtra too thus falls into line with the usual procedure of Pāṇini who mentions the name of Pūrvācāryas only at the end of his sūtras; and fourthly, though incidentally, the similarity observed by Max Müller between this sūtra and the corresponding rules of the Ṛkprātiśākhya turns out to be complete identity. I have not the slightest doubt therefore that the proposed division of this sūtra of Pāṇini is not only permissible, but also peremptory. Thieme and Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya will of course shudder at such a drastic procedure. But I would only remind them that the tradition sponsored by Patañjali, which they are up to defend, had not hesitated to split up Pāṇini's *uñaḥ ūṃ* to the result of an impossible *v iti*. Should they not now accept this division of Pāṇini's *iko 'savarṇe Śākalyasya hrasvaś ca* which proves the great grammarian to have been much wiser than Patañjali or they themselves had thought? Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya admits

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(pp. 344-5) that the grammatical peculiarities ascribed to Śākalya by Pāṇini are found in his Padapāṭha, but, like Max Müller, he too finds difficulty with regard to Pāṇ. VI. 1. 127. But, as I have shown above, this difficulty is the creation of Patañjali *cum suis*. Relying on the traditional interpretation of Pāṇ. VI. 1. 127 Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya however says : ' this positively proves that Pāṇini had access, to a source other than Śaunaka's Prātiśākhya for the views of Śākalya ' (p. 345). Will he now admit that there is absolutely no discrepancy between the views of Śākalya quoted here by Pāṇini and the corresponding rules of the Ṛkprātiśākhya ? And will he admit further that this furnishes another proof, though an indirect one, of Pāṇini's direct dependence on the Ṛkprātiśākhya ? I call it an indirect proof, for its denial would not necessarily lead to a rank absurdity as in the case of Pāṇini I. 1. 16–18.

Lastly I have to discuss Pāṇ. I. 1. 19. My interpretation of this sūtra has been totally rejected by Thieme and Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya. But let us look into the facts of the case. The Kāśikā commenting upon it begins by saying ' *Śākalyasye 'tāv anārṣa iti nivṛttam* ', but, strangely enough, of the three examples given in it in support of this interpretation, two are again with *iti*, e.g. *māmakī iti, tanū iti*. The third example is the well-known passage *sómo gaurī́ ádhi śritáḥ* (RV. IX. 12. 3). In RV. there actually occur moreover the analogous forms *nadī* and *sarasī* which are however followed by consonants in the Saṃhitā, so that it is impossible to say whether they are actually Pragṛhya or not. They are of course followed by *iti* in the Padapāṭha, but we have by now seen enough of this *iti* to know that it alone can prove nothing about the contractability or otherwise of a final vowel. Moreover we have actually a case of the loc. sg. in *-ī* (or *-i*?) undergoing sandhi in the Saṃhitā but treated as Pragṛhya in the Padapāṭha : thus RV. II. 3. 4 *védy* (*asyā́m*) is represented as *védī íti* in the Padapāṭha. It is obviously out of these considerations that Prof. Wackernagel declared (III. § 97*b*) that locative singulars in *-ū*, although always furnished with the *iti* in the Padapāṭha, cannot be proved to have been actually *Pragṛhya* in the Saṃhitā. Thieme (p. 333, f.-n. 6) takes me to task for relying on this statement of Wackernagel's, which he apparently considers to be incorrect. It is some consolation at least to see that Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya, relying on whom Thieme accuses Wackernagel of inaccuracy, promptly dissociating himself from this impudence on the part of Thieme in the same foot-note. But the manner in which Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya tries to round off the matter cannot go unchallenged. He says ! ' the fact remains that in the Saṃhita-text *gaurī* and *tanū* are followed by vowels with which they do not join in *sandhi*.

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Hence Pāṇini could easily take these (and similar) words as *pragṛhya in the Saṃhitā text'* (p. 333, f.-n. 6). Does he mean to say hereby that simply the non-contraction of two contractable vowels in the Saṃhitā will prove a case of Pragṛhya, and that Pāṇini would be justified in regarding as Pragṛhya all cases of such non-contraction? Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya has here seriously compromised Pāṇini. The mere fact of non-contraction in a case of possible contraction cannot prove the *pragṛhyatva* of a vowel, and Pāṇini knew that quite well. For in that case the number of Pragṛhyas in the Saṃhitā would be increased hundred-fold. Sandhi in the Ṛksaṃhitā is facultative, not compulsory, and whatever the graphic form of a verse might be, its real character is revealed by the metre. Non-contraction of confronting vowels is determined in the Ṛksaṃhitā almost wholly by the exigencies of metre. This is the case also with the two verses quoted by Thieme (p. 333) : *sómo gaurī́ ádhi śritáḥ* (Rv. IX. 12. 3) and *svā́yāṃ tanū́ ṛ́tvye nā́dhamānām* (RV. X. 183. 2). The evidence of *gaurī́* and *tanū́* is therefore absolutely valueless to prove the *pragṛhyatva* of *-ī* and *-ū* in loc. sg. They could be regarded as *pragṛhya* only by those who depended on the Padapāṭha or the Prātiśākhya. But, as in the case of the particle *u*, it is absurd to think that Pāṇini should have carefully studied the Padapāṭha but have never cared to look into the Saṃhitā, which by no means warrants the assumption of the *pragṛhyatva* of these locative forms. Here too we are thus driven to the conclusion that Pāṇini's direct source for this rule could have been only the Ṛkprātiśākhya (I. 28) in which *-ī* and *-ū* in loc. sg. have been declared Pragṛhya *sāptamikau ca pūrvau.*

From the manner in which Thieme and Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya have discussed the *pragṛhyatva* of the endings *-ī* and *-ū* in loc. sg., I am led to suspect that they are ignorant of the well-known fact that so far as the Ṛksaṃhitā is concerned there is no vowel which can be actually called *pragṛhya* in the sense in which the term is used by classical grammarians (see Oldenberg, Prolegomena, p. 456; ZDMG., 44, pp. 336f.). Oldenberg has no good word to say about the 'irrige Theorie der Nichtkontrahierbarkeit der Pragṛhyavokale' (RV.-Noten, Vol. I, p. 121) which is responsible for many curious anomalies of the Paḍapāṭha and also for numerous cases of contamination in the Saṃhitā-text as handed down to us by tradition. Thieme and Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya will admit now, I hope, that the purpose of Pāṇini's *īdūtau ca saptamyarthe* could never have been to prescribe the *pragṛhyatva* as such of locatives in *-ī, -ū.* If this sūtra has any meaning at all it is that these locatives are furnished with the symbolical *iti* in the Padapāṭha. The *anuvṛtti* of *'itau'* is therefore absolutely necessary here. And as the specific mention

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of Śākalya in the sūtras immediately preceding suggests the Ṛkprātiśākhya alone as the source of Pāṇini to the exclusion of other Prātiśākhyas (e.g. AV.-Prāt. I. 74; Tait.-Prāt. IV. 1–54) dealing with the same problem, it is not at all unwarranted to conclude that not only *itau*, but *Śākalyasya* as well, should be regarded as continuing in force into this sūtra.

I have nothing more to add. If this detailed discussion of the Pragṛhya-sūtras of Pāṇini cannot convince them that Pāṇini must have been directly copying from the Ṛkprātiśākhya, I should like to know at least on what grounds they still refuse to accept my interpretation of these *pragṛhya*-sūtras, for I repeat that my chief purpose is to give a rational and intelligible meaning to the *pragṛhya*-sūtras of Pāṇini and not to prove Pāṇini's dependence on the Prātiśākhya. I have no doubt that Thieme will again return to the fray and try to defend his position; but I hope he will refrain from attributing motives and cease to equate criticism with conceit. And I hope also that he will intensively study the problem before making another pronouncement, for he can hardly expect that I or anybody will always be able to find time merely to point out some patent errors. I remind him moreover that criticism need by no means be irreverent. Nothing is more repugnant to a great master than a shoal of uncritical and invertebrate admirers. And criticism has to be based on careful observation. It is true that Shakespeare condemned 'the craven scruple of thinking too precisely on the event'. But from the context it is clear that this admonition was not meant for linguists and philologists.[1]

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[1] In this article I have tried to show what a *pragṛhya* is not. It will require a separate article to establish what it actually is, always bearing in mind that no Prātiśākhya 'assumes that the pronouncing a vowel to be *pragraha* exempts it, *eo ipso*, from phonetic combination' (Whitney on Tait. Pr. X. 24).

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ADITI AND THE GREAT GODDESS

By VĀSUDEVA S. AGRAWALA

Professor Przyluski has put forward a theory which finds for Aditi a prototype in the Great Goddess. He also offers an explanation for the name Aditi in the variant names of the Great Goddess found in Iran as Anaitis, Anāhita or Anāhīd, in Palestine as Anat, in Syria and Asia Minor as Nanai or Nanā or Tanais, and in Carthage as Tanit, the vowels being certain. Dr. Keith has admirably summarised the arguments of Prof. Przyluski and attempted to examine them on the basis of the Vedic evidence adduced.[1] We think he is right in contending that the arguments advanced for proving the non-Aryan origin of the words Nāsatya and Aditi are far from convincing, and an Aryan etymology for them seems much more plausible. But we must weigh carefully the statement of Dr. Keith when he goes further and denies to Aditi the character of the Great Goddess, and suggests the view that the sense 'freedom from fetters' in its physical and moral applications would explain all that we are told of Aditi, including her pantheistic aspect in Ṛgveda, i. 89. 10 :—

अदितिर्द्यौरदितिरन्तरिक्षमदितिर्माता स पिता स पुत्रः ।
विश्वे देवा अदितिः पञ्चजना अदितिर्जातमदितिर्जनित्वम् ॥

i.e. 'Aditi is the heaven, the Atmosphere ; Aditi is mother, father, son ; Aditi is all the gods and the five tribes ; Aditi is all that has been born and all that shall be born'. In the opinion of Dr. Keith such Vedic expressions as *Aditeḥ putrāḥ* originally meant simply 'sons of freedom' and from them subsequently may have sprung up a goddess Aditi, on the analogy of Śachī from the term Śachīpatiḥ. We are afraid that the reasoning leaves us unconvinced.

Happily the evidence of the Ṛgveda, Yajurveda and the later Brāhmaṇas contains passages which leave no doubt as to the real character of Aditi. It is the object of this note to put together those references so as to enable the reader to see for himself what *Vedic conception of Aditi* is warranted by the available evidence.

1. अदितिर्द्यौरदितिरन्तरिक्षम् etc. Ṛg. i. 89. 10.

2. मह्ना महद्भिः पृथिवी वितस्थे
माता पुत्रैरदितिर्धायसे वेः ।

[1] *Indian Culture*, III, pp. 721–730, 'The Asvins and the Great Goddess.'

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'To be the Bird's support, the spacious mother, Aditi, and her great sons stood in power.' Ṛg. i. 72. 9.

3. ता माता विश्ववेदसासुर्याय प्रमहसा।
महो जजानादितिर्ऋतावरी॥

'These Twain, Mitra and Varuṇa, possessors of all wealth, most glorious, for supremest sway, Aditi, mighty mother, true to Law, brought forth.' Ṛg. viii. 25. 3.

4. युवोर्हि मातादितिः; 'Aditi, mother of Mitra and Varuṇa.'
Ṛg. x. 132. 6.

5. विश्वस्मान्नो अदितिः पात्वंहसो
माता मित्रस्य वरुणस्य रेवतः। Ṛg. x. 36. 3.

'Mother of Mitra and of opulent Varuṇa, may Aditi preserve us safe from distress.'

6. अदितिः ... माता मित्रस्य रेवतोऽर्यम्णो वरुणस्य

'May Aditi defend us, may Aditi guard and shelter us,
Mother of wealthy Mitra and of Aryaman and Varuṇa.'
Ṛg. viii. 47. 9.

7. वाजस्य नु प्रसवे मातरं महीमदितिं नाम वचसा करामहे।
यस्यामिदं विश्वं भुवनमाविवेश तस्यां नो देवः सविता धर्म सावीषत्॥
Yajur. xviii. 30; ix. 5.

'In gain of wealth we celebrate with praises her, Aditi by name, the Great Mother,
On whom this universe of life hath settled. Thereon God Savitar promote our dwelling!'

8. महीमू षु मातरꣳ सुव्रतानामृतस्य पत्नीमवसे हुवेम।
तुविक्षत्रामजरन्तीमुरूचीꣳ सुशर्माणमदितिꣳ सुप्रणीतिम्॥

'We call to our succour the Mighty Mother of those whose sway is just, the Queen of Order,
Strong-ruler, far-extending, ne'er decaying, Aditi, gracious guide and good protectress.' Yaju. xxi. 5.

9. सुक्षत्रामाणं पृथिवीं द्यामनेहसꣳ सुशर्माणमदितिꣳ सुप्रणीतिम्।
दैवीं नावꣳ स्वरित्रामनागसमस्रवन्तीमा रुहेमा स्वस्तये॥

'Sinless may we ascend, for weal, this vessel rowed with good oars, divine that never leaketh.

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Earth our strong guard, incomparable Heaven. Aditi, gracious guide and good protectress.' Yaju. xxi. 6.
Verses given under 1, 8, 9 and 7 form together one sūkta in the Atharvaveda [vii. 6] having Aditi as the deity.

10. देवैर्नो देव्यदितिर्निपातु...

'May Aditi the Goddess guard us with the Gods . . . . .
This prayer of ours may Varuṇa grant, and Mitra, and Aditi and Sindhu, Earth and Heaven.' Ṛg. i. 106. 7.

11. पीपाय धेनुरदितिर्ऋताय जनाय मित्रावरुणा हविर्दे।

'O Mitra-Varuṇa, Aditi the milch-cow may stream forth for Ṛta and for the man who brings oblation.' Ṛg. i. 153. 3.

12. यद्भर्मदितिर्भरध्यै—. . . Ṛg. vi. 67. 4.

'Whom [i.e. Mitra-Varuṇa] Aditi bore in her womb, . . . the mighty Goddess. . . . .

13. आदित्यैर्नो अदितिः शर्म यंसत्... Ṛg. i. 107. 2 ; v. 44. 6 ;

'May Aditi with Ādityas grant us shelter.'

14. उर्वस्मा अदितिः शर्म यंसत्... Ṛg. iv. 25. 5.

'To him (i.e. Indra) shall Aditi give spacious shelter.'

15. देवेभिर्देव्यदितेऽरिष्टभर्मन्नागहि,

'With gods come thou, O Goddess Aditi, of uninjured protection.' Ṛg. viii. 18. 4.

16. ते हि पुत्रासो अदितेः,

They, the Ādityas, sons of Aditi. Ṛg. viii. 18. 5.

17. मित्रो अर्यमा वरुणो ... शर्मासः पुत्रा अदितेरदब्धाः

'Mitra, Aryaman, Varuṇa, these are Aditi's sons, infallible and mighty.' Ṛg. vii. 60. 5.

18. प्रातर्जितं भगमुग्रं हुवेम वयं पुत्रमदितेर्यो विधर्ता।

'At dawn we invoke strong conquering Bhaga, the son of Aditi.' Ṛg. vii. 41. 2.

19. ऋतेन पुत्रो अदितेर्ऋतावा,

'By Law the Son of Aditi, Law Observer,'
Here the Son of Aditi is Varuṇa. Ṛg. iv. 42. 4.

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20. बर्हिर्न आस्तामदितिः सुपुत्रा,

'On this our grass sit Aditi, [mother] of excellent sons (the Ādityas). Ṛg. iii. 4. 11 and vii. 2. 11.

21. द्यौर्वः पिता पृथिवी माता सोमो भ्रातादितिः स्वसा ।

'Heaven is your sire, your mother Earth, Soma your brother, Aditi your sister.' Ṛg. i. 191. 6.

22. दधाति गर्भमदितेरुपस्थे आ येन तोकं च तनयं च धामहे ।

Upon the lap of Aditi he lays the germ by means whereof we gain children and progeny. Ṛg. ix. 74. 5.
Here Soma Pavamāna is said to fertilise or fecundate Aditi with his germ. Sāyaṇa takes Aditi as Earth, the mother.

23. असच्च सच्च परमे व्योमन् दक्षस्य जन्मन्नदितेरुपस्थे ।

'The non-existent and the existent are in the highest heaven, in Daksha's birth-place and in Aditi's bosom.' Ṛg. x. 5. 7.

24. यस्मै पुत्रासो अदितेः प्र जीवसे मर्त्याय ।

ज्योतिर्यच्छन्त्यजस्रम् ॥ ऋ० १० । १८५ । ३ ।

'On whom the Sons of Aditi bestow Eternal Light that he may live'. The deity of the hymn is Aditi, and her sons may be Ādityas or Gods.

25. Sūkta x. 72 is very significant for showing the relationship of Aditi with the Gods.

अदितेर्दक्षो अजायत दक्षाद्वदितिः परि ॥ ४ ॥

अदितिर्ह्यजनिष्ट दक्ष या दुहिता तव ।

तां देवा अन्वजायन्त भद्रा अमृतबन्धवः ॥ ५ ॥

अष्टौ पुत्रासो अदितेर्ये जातास्तन्वस्परि ।

देवाँ उप प्रैत्सप्तभिः परा मार्ताण्डमास्यत् ॥ ८ ॥

सप्तभिः पुत्रैरदिति रुप प्रैत्पूर्व्यं युगम् ।

प्रजायै मृत्यवे त्वत्पुनर्मार्ताण्डमाभरत् ॥ ९ ॥

'Daksha was born of Aditi, and Aditi was Daksha's child.
For Aditi, O Daksha, she who is thy daughter, was brought forth.
After her were the blessed Gods born who are sharers of immortal life.

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Eight are the sons of Aditi who from her body sprang to life.
With seven she went to meet the Gods : Mārtaṇḍa she cast aside.
So with her seven sons Aditi encompassed the primeval epochs.
She brought Mārtaṇḍa thitherward to spring to life and die again, i.e. alternately enjoy life (creation) and death (dissolution).'

In the above extracts Aditi is definitely spoken of as

(i) the Great Mother (**मही माता**, 3, 7, 8] ;
(ii) mother of excellent sons [**सुपुत्रा**, 20] ;
(iii) mother of Varuṇa [19] ;
(iv) mother of Mitra and Varuṇa [3, 4, 5] ;
(v) mother of Mitra, Varuṇa and Aryaman [6, 17] ;
(vi) mother of Ādityas [16, 24, 13] ;
(vii) mother of Bhaga [**अदितेः पुत्रं**, 18] ;
(viii) mother of Daksha [1] [25] ;
(ix) mother of Eight Sons, the Gods who were born after her and are sharers of immortality [**तां देवा अन्वजायन्त ; अष्टौ पुत्रासो अदितेः** 25] ;
(x) Goddess protecting with Gods [**देवी अदितिः, देवि अदिते**, 10, 15].

The function of motherhood is most emphatically associated with Aditi, and being severally spoken of as the Great Mother, Mother and Goddess, we are left in no doubt as to her identity with the Great Mother Goddess [Magna Mater Deorum] whose endless celebration we find in the later Brāhmaṇical and Paurāṇic literature. The pantheistic aspect of Aditi eulogised in Ṛgveda i. 89. 10, is no mere fantastic glorification, but reflects the true character of the Great Goddess, who as the representative of Infinite nature comprehends all that has been and all that shall be born (**यस्यामिदं विश्वं भुवनमाविवेश**, Yaj. ix. 5). The poets emphasize her connection with the cosmic Law, or Ṛta, the thread of which permeates all Time and Space. She bears the epithet Ṛtasya Patnī (Yaj. 21. 5), *ṛtāvarī*, true to Law (Rg. viii. 25. 3) and it is said that he who

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[1] Aditi is also called **दाक्षायणी**, as daughter of **दक्ष**, cf. Śiva Purāṇa, Dharma Saṁhitā, Ch. 59, śloka 1 :—

विवस्वान् कश्यपाज्जज्ञे दाक्षायण्यां महाद्युतिः ।
तस्य भार्याभवत् संज्ञा त्वाष्ट्री देवी सुरेणुका ॥

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follows Aditi's *Ṛtā* enjoys wide space (Ṛg. ix. 74. 3), as also he on whom her sons bestow eternal light, lives long, uninjured by evil (Rg. x. 185. 3). Varuṇa as the son of Aditi is the mighty Director of Law. (Ṛg. iv. 42. 4).

Aditi and Cow

In Ṛg. i. 153. 3, Aditi is spoken of as *dhenu*. Aditi's representation as the Cow is also elaborated in the Yajurveda,

गां मा हिंसीरदितिं विराजम् [Yaj. xiii. 43] ; or,

इड एह्यदित एहि सरस्वत्येहि [Yaj. xxxviii. 2] ; इडा and सरस्वती are synonyms of cow. But a fuller list is given in Yaj. viii. 43,

इडे रन्ते हव्ये काम्ये चन्द्रे ज्योतेऽदिते सरस्वति महि विश्रुति ।

एता ते अग्ने नामानि देवेभ्यो मा सुकृतं ब्रूतात् ॥

Ṛgveda viii. 90. 15 glorifies in an exalted manner the earthly cow, as the type of Aditi or universal nature (Griffith),

माता रुद्राणां दुहितावसूनां स्वसादित्यानाममृतस्य नाभिः ।

प्र नु वोचं चिकितुषे जनाय मा गामनागामदितिं वधिष्ट ॥

'Mother of the Rudras, daughter of the Vasus, sister of the Ādityas, centre of Immortality,
To those who discern do I proclaim—injure not Aditi, the immaculate Cow.'

But in the next verse we are warned against looking upon Aditi as a mere theriomorphic entity ; she is the Goddess of divine origin. Men are too feeble in their intellect to comprehend her in her true form and her real nature :—

वचोविदं वाचमुदीरयन्तीं विश्वाभिर्धीभिरुपतिष्ठमानाम् ।

देवीं देवेभ्यः पर्येयुषीं गामा मावृक्त मर्त्यो दभ्रचेताः ॥

'Weak-minded persons have looked upon me as a mere cow, who am I a Goddess, come hither from the Gods, skilled in *Vāk*, proclaiming *vāk* and everywhere approaching with universal intelligence.'

This description of Aditi enables us to grasp her true cosmic character and leads to the inference that Aditi is identical with Supreme Nature herself. She was adored as the Goddess whose seat was in the highest heaven (Ṛg. x. 5. 7) and who was the source of immortal life. (Ṛg. viii. 90. 15).

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Aditi and the Earth

Aditi as the Great Mother is often enough identified with the Earth, who is also spoken of as the mother in Vedic literature. Dyāvā-Pṛithivī are the eternal parental pair,

तन्माता पृथिवी तत्पिता द्यौः [तै० ब्रा० २ । ७ । १६ । ३]।

The interdependence of द्यावापृथिवी as the parental couple is best indicated in Ṛgveda x. 64. 14,

'The mothers, Heaven and Earth, those mighty Goddesses, worthy of sacrifice, come with the race of Gods.

These two with their support uphold both Gods and men, and with the Fathers pour the copious genial stream.'

Other passages speaking of the Earth as *Mātā* are :—

नमो मात्रे पृथिव्यै, नमो मात्रे पृथिव्यै । यजु ९ । २२ ।

माता भूमिः पुत्रो अहं पृथिव्याः । अथर्व १२ । १ । १२ ।

इयं पृथिवी वै माता । तै० ३ । ८ । ९ । १ ।

पृथिवीं मातरं महीम् । तै० २ । ४ । ६ । ८ ।

i.e. To Earth, the Great Mother.

In the following instances Aditi and Pṛthivī are identified :—

इयं पृथिवी वै देवी अदितिर्विश्वरूपी । तै० १ । ७ । ६ । ७ ।

इयं वै पृथिवी अदितिः । श० २ । २ । १ । १९ ; ३ । ३ । १ । ४ ।

इयं (पृथिवी) वाऽअदितिरियꣳ हीदꣳ सर्वं ददते । श० ७ । ४ । २ । ७ ।

इयं (पृथिवी) ह्यदितिः । ऐ० १ । ८ ।

इयं वै पृथिव्यदितिः सेयं देवानां पत्नी[1] । श० ५ । ३ । १ । ४

इयं (पृथिवी) वै धेनुः । श० १२ । ९ । २ । ११ ।

धेनुरिव वा इयं (पृथिवी) मनुष्येभ्यः सर्वान्कामान् ।

दुहे माता धेनुः । मातेव वा इयं मनुष्यान् बिभर्ति । श० २ । २ । १ । २१ ।

अदितिर्हि गौः । श० १४ । २ । १ । ७ ॥ २ । ३ । ४ । ३४ ॥

Goddess Aditi of universal form is verily this Earth. Earth is the Milch-cow sustaining all life in a hundred and thousand-fold ways. It is Earth as Aditi that conceives when Soma as Parjanya fecundates her with the germ [Ṛg. ix. 74. 5].

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1 See Vedic Kosha, p. 21, by Pt. Hansraja and Bhagavad Datta.

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Aditi as Vāk

The word गौ is a well-known synonym of पृथिवी and वाक्. Aditi as the Cow also came to be identified with वाक् and it is primarily this aspect of her that is emphasized in Ṛgveda verse viii. 90. 16, given above. The Nighaṇṭu supplies some significant synonyms of वाक् as—

इडा, गौः, गौरी, भारती, मेना, सूर्या, सरस्वती, धेना, ननां, कपृा, मही, अदितिः, शची, नौः, धेनुः, सुपर्णी etc.

This shows that philosophically Vāk was identified with Aditi in her supreme form. It also enables us to understand the later evolution of the different names and forms of goddesses from one original conception, for we can recognize in such names as

गौरी, मेना, सरस्वती, शची, सुपर्णी, सूर्या etc.

distinct goddesses of the later pantheon. Menā is said to be the mind-born daughter of the Pitṛis :—

पितॄणां मानसी कन्या मेनका साम्बिकाप्रसूः

[ब्रह्मवैवर्त० प्रकृतिखंड १ । १३०]।

Also the famous verse of Kālidāsa,

स मानसीं मेरुसखः पितॄणां
कन्यां कुलस्य स्थितये स्थितिज्ञः ।
मेनां मुनीनामपि माननीया-
मात्मानुरूपां विधिनोपयेमे ॥ Kumāra, I. 18.

सुपर्णी became identified with विनता, mother of Suparṇa Garutmā. She along with others was the wife of Kaśyapa Prajāpati :—

अदितिर्देवमाता च सुरभी च गवां प्रसूः ।
दितिश्च दैत्यजननी कद्रुश्च विनता दनुः ॥

[ब्रह्मवैवर्त, प्रकृति० १ । १२६]।

Aditi is the mother of the Devas, and Diti the mother of Daityas in the mythology of the Purāṇas. In the Ṛgveda we come across the pair, Aditi and Diti [Ṛg. iv. 2. 11 ; v. 62. 8 ; Yaj. x. 16] where obviously they are contrasted in nature. It is the conception of duality that is important and that persists later.

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One significant name in the list of the Nighaṇṭu is Nanā. In Ṛg. ix. 112. 3, Nanā means mother [उपलप्रक्षिणी नना]. In Syria and Asia minor, as pointed out by Prof. Przyluski, the great mother-goddess had the variant names of Nanai or Nanā. We find at Erech 'the worship of a great Sumerian mother-goddess having no association with a male counterpart flourishing in the oldest period of Babylonian history. She appears under various names, among which are Nanā, Innanna, Ninā and Anunit.' [*Ency. Br.*, 14th edition, Vol. 12, p. 707].

Her name is also found on the coins of the Indo-Scythian kings of the 1st century A.D. The name therefore persisted for more than two thousand years. It should, however, be recognized that the word Nanā is a hapax in the Vedic literature of which only one use is recorded given above. As a synonym of *Vāk* in the Saṃhitās it is unknown. Possibly the lists of the Nighaṇṭu were compiled on the authority of much older and wide-spread tradition which is now lost to us, and consequently those lists cannot be verified in entirety from the available Vedic literature. At any rate there is an unmistakable philological connection between Vedic Nanā and the oldest Babylonian names of the Mother Goddess. No satisfactory etymology of Nanā is preserved. The other names of mother like Akka, Amba, Alla, are also of the same nature. Pāṇini, however, knew of a class of such words grouped under the general name *ambārtha*, and probably Nanā, too, came under the same category. Aditi is derived by some from the root *ad*, from which *anna* is also derived, and it is probable that at one time *annā* may have been considered an *ambārtha* word.

From the foregoing quotations the character of Aditi as the Mother Goddess seems undoubted. There may be a difference of opinion with respect to the details of her description. For example, Dr. Keith is probably right in asserting that Aditi and Aśvins are seldom grouped in Vedic literature. But to say that the character of the Vedic Aditi can be explained satisfactorily without invoking a comparison with the qualities implicit in the conception of the Great Mother Goddess, appears to be more of an assumption in the face of definite epithets applied to her in the Ṛgveda.

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PRE-GUPTA CHRONOLOGY

By HABIBUR RAHMAN KHUNDKAR

The chronology of Indian history preceding the inauguration of the Gupta era is still in an unsettled state. The discussion was started in the first instance some years ago by Prof. F. W. Thomas in regard to the date of Kanishka.[1] Various views were then expressed by veteran scholars like Rapson, Fleet, V. A. Smith and others. A summary of the discussion that took place on the subject will be found printed in the pages 911 ff. of the J.R.A.S., 1913. It seems that the excavations carried out by Sir John Marshall at Taxila throw more light on the topic than this discussion. And Prof. Thomas in summing up the results has taken his stand upon the stratification of these archæological excavations and placed Kanishka after Kadphises.[2] Sir John, however, placed him in the second century A.D., somewhere about 125 A.D. This is perhaps something like a sheet anchor in the troubled waters of chronology immediately prior to the Gupta era. This date assigned by Sir John Marshall to Kanishka comes very close to the commencement of the Śaka era. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar may, therefore, be right in taking Kujula Kadphises to be the founder of that era.[3] This much may be assumed as highly probable in connection with the subject under discussion.

It will be seen that the Kushāṇa family originated by Kujula Kadphises was different from that of Kanishka. This may be seen from the fact that the type of coins struck by the former is very different from that issued by the latter. We have further to remember in this connection that numismatists distinguish between the earlier Great Kushāṇa and later Great Kushāṇa families as their coinage is practically of the same type. Very little, however, was known for a long time about the later Great Kushāṇas except from their coins. Some years ago an Āra Inscription of Kanishka dated in the year 41 was found in the Punjab. R. D. Banerji took Kanishka of this inscription to be quite identical with Kanishka of the years 3 and 11, and took it as a proof of his prolonged reign.[4] But Prof. Lüders takes, and he may well be right in taking, Kanishka

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[1] J.R.A.S., 1913, pp. 627 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1042, note.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, XLV, 1916, p. 121.
[4] *Ind. Ant.*, 1918, p. 59.

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of this inscription to be a different royal personage from that of Kanishka of the years 3 and 11. His view is that this Kanishka is a grandson of Kanishka of the years 3 and 11. This view of his is also accepted by Sten Konow, who takes Vājheshka (the name of the father of Kanishka as mentioned in the Āra inscription) to be an alternative form of Vāsishka.[1] We cannot, therefore, hold that the two Kanishkas are one and the same person but must take them as two distinct princes.

Vāsishka has generally been placed between Kanishka and Huvishka. But up till now no coins belonging to Vāsishka have been found. Hence there is very little justification in placing him in between Kanishka and Huvishka. He probably belonged to a different Kushāṇa family, whose son and successor was Kanishka II.

In an inscription at Māt we meet with the word Kushāṇaputra.[2] The generic name of the tribe or clan to which the dynasty belongs is Kushāṇa. The word is spelt Kusana in the Kharoshṭhi script, which does not mark long vowels but it gradually came to be spelt in an Indian and more correct way using the long vowel and the cerebral ṇ, thus Kushāṇa. It may be said incidentally that there is no philological connection between the two words Yüe-chi and Kushāṇa, which stand quite independent of each other. Prof. Thomas takes Kushāṇa to be a family or dynastic title and not the name of a tribe.[3] K. P. Jayaswal suggests that Kushāṇa was actually the personal name of Kujula Kadphises, more conveniently known as Kadphises I.[4] On the other hand, *Kuci-shuang* (= Kushāṇa) is mentioned by the Chinese authorities as a clan of the Yüe-chi tribe. The practice of naming a later family after the name of an earlier clan is not uncommon in the history of India. Instances are too numerous to cite. Thus Guhilot is a Prakrit form of Guhilaputra which is generally found in inscriptions. *Ot* here is equivalent to the Sanskrit *putra*. Other instances have been mentioned by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. 'The *Khaṃps* or septs of all the well-known Rajput families are so formed. To cite a few instances, of the Rāṭhoḍs some clans are Jetmālots, Bhārmalot, Riḍmolat and so forth; of the Rāṇāvats (Sisodiyas), are Bhûcharots, Sārangdevots, Gajsiṃhots and so on; of the Chohāns are Bālots, etc. The ending *ot* of all the *e* names is the corruption of the Sanskrit putra'.[5] Prof. Bhandarkar has also pointed out that such a thing is not unknown

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[1] *Ibid.*, 1913, p. 135.
[2] A.S.I., An. Rep., 1911-12, p. 124.
[3] *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, p. 203.
[4] *J.B.O.R.S.*, vi, pp. 12–22.
[5] *J.R.A.S.B.*, 1909, p. 168, note.

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even in Europe as is evidenced by such names as Robertson, Stevenson and so forth, where the ending *son* exactly corresponds to *putra* as in Kushāṇaputra.[1] It may be said in all probability that the later Great Kushāṇa Kings, Vāsishka and Kanishka II, are Kushāṇaputra, quite distinct from those of the Kadphises group but form a branch of the earlier Great Kushāṇa Kings, Kanishka I, Huvishka and Vāsudeva. In the later period of history we have instances of such ruling families as Kādamba, Chālukya, etc. named after the earlier ruling clans called simply Kadamba, Chalukya and so forth. It will not be out of place to mention here that the numismatists distinguish between the earlier Great Kushāṇa and the later Great Kushāṇa families. The word Kushāṇaputra beyond all doubt is intended to denote the later Great Kushāṇa family, to which belong Vāsishka (= Vajhishka), Kanishka II and others.

There is a 'Mathura Pedestal Inscription of the Kushāṇa year 14'.[2] The record belongs to Kanishka. The question now arises as to who is this Kanishka. Is he identical with Kanishka of the years 3 and 11 or with Kanishka of the Āra Inscription of the year 41 or is he a person hitherto unknown to the history of the Kushāṇa period os a third Kanishka? Evidence tends towards the last assumption, namely, that he is the third Kanishka in the history of the Kushāṇas. Palæographic evidence figures as most important in this connection. 'The *m* everywhere', says Rai Daya Ram Sahni Bahadur, 'shows the advanced form of the Gupta period with a small knob attached to the left of the letter instead of the triangular base. Similarly the *akshara* "*h*" assumes the form peculiar to the eastern variety of the Gupta script in which the horizontal base-stroke is completely suppressed, the hook of the *akshara* being turned sharply to the left. The *anusvāra* is throughout represented by a short horizontal stroke instead of the usual dot'.[3] The above evidence unmistakably leads us to the conclusion that the record in question belongs to Kanishka, whose reign was sufficiently close to that of the Guptas. This fact again raises the question as to what era has been used in this inscription. There is an Indian era, with A.D. 248 or 249 as the initial year, which is customarily known as the Kalachuri era. It is admitted by scholars like Fleet and others that 'it was certainly not founded by any Kalachuri King'.[4] Hence the era used in the particular inscription is in all probability, the Kalachuri era. Unless we take it to be the Kalachuri era, we cannot satisfactorily account

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[1] *Ibid.*, 1909, p. 168.
[2] *Ep. Indica*, Vol. XIX, p. 96.
[3] *Ep. Indica*, Vol. XIX, p. 96.
[4] *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 566.

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for the palæographic evidence supplied thereby. This Kanishka may, therefore, be regarded as the third king of that name in the history of the Kushāṇas in India. He, beyond all doubt, belonged to the later Great Kushāṇa family also known, as pointed out above, as Kushāṇaputra forming a family quite distinct from the Kadphises group though a branch of the earlier Great Kushāṇas and may for the sake of convenience be styled as Kanishka II, if it is permitted, on the assumption that we regard Kanishka of the Āra Inscription of the year 41 as Kanishka I of this branch, which was, in all likelihood, started by Vāsishka.

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THE LIṄGA PURĀṆA

By RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA

The present *Liṅga*,[1] which consists of two parts—Pūrvārdha and Uttarārdha, seems to be a manual of the Liṅga-worshippers, inculcating the worship of the Phallic emblem of Śiva together with five other forms of the god, viz. Īśāna, Aghora, Vāmadeva, Tatpuruṣa, and Jāta. The worship of the Phallic symbol is extolled even over that of the image of Śiva himself. The violently sectarian character of this Purāṇa is shown by its declaration that a person, who, after hearing the dispraise of Śiva, at once gives up his own life after murdering the censurer, proceeds to the region of Śiva, and that one, who tears out the tongue of a habituated censurer of the god, delivers the twenty-one generations and attains the same region.[2] In this Purāṇa a Śiva-worshipper is said to be superior to thousands of the worshippers of Viṣṇu and other gods. It further presents Viṣṇu as composing a hymn in honour of Śiva, and Nandin, the active principle of Śiva, as defeating the former god in his Man-lion incarnation.

This Purāṇa contains a good number of chapters on Smṛti-topics, mainly religious, viz. :—

I, 25–28	..	on Liṅga-worship ;
I, 77-78	..	on the consecration of a Liṅga ;
I, 81	..	on the Pāśupata-vrata or Śiva-liṅga-vrata ;
I, 83-84	..	on the Śaiva vratas to be observed in the different months ;
I, 85, 1–82	..	on the method of muttering the five-syllabled Mantra ;
I, 85, 83–126	..	on dīkṣā and puraścaraṇa ;
I, 85, 127–end	..	on sadācāra.
I, 89	..	
I, 90	..	on yati-prāyaścitta ;
II, 23–26	..	on the worship of Śiva ;
II, 28–44	..	on the great gifts (mahādāna) ;
II, 45	..	on the funeral ceremony of a living being (jīvacchrāddha) ;
II, 46–49	..	on the consecration of a Liṅga ;
and II, 51 to the end	..	on the mystic rites and paractices, viz. the Vajrāvāhanikā-vidyā, Mṛtyuñjaya-vidhi, etc.

[1] Edited by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1885. [2] *Liṅga* I, 107, 41-42.

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According to the information given by the *Matsya*, the *Skanda* and the *Agni Purāṇa*, the *Liṅga Purāṇa* was declared by Maheśvara in relation to the Āgneya Kalpa, and it consisted of 11,000 ślokas.[1] But in the present *Liṅga*, whose length is given as 11,000 ślokas and which opens, unlike the earlier Purāṇas, with a list of the names of the holy places visited by Nārada, it is expressly said that the Purāṇa was declared by Brahmā in connection with the Iśāna Kalpa.[2] The interlocution between Śiva and his wife is first referred to by Lomaharṣana as late as in *Liṅga* I, 25 in connection with the method of Liṅga-worship.

The above disagreement shows that the present *Liṅga Purāṇa* is not the earlier one which was noticed by the *Matsya*, *Skanda*, and *Agni*. Its apocryphal character is further evidenced by the quotations made from the '*Liṅga Purāṇa*' or '*Laiṅga*' by many of the commentators and Nibandha-writers. Of these authors, Jīmūtavāhana quotes 18 lines, excepting the repeated ones, in his *Kālaviveka*; Vijñāneśvara quotes 2 lines in his Mitākṣarā; Aparārka quotes 12 lines in his commentary; Madanapāla quotes 10 lines in his *Madanapārijāta*; Śūlapāṇi quotes 8 lines in his *Durgotsava-viveka*; Vācaspatimiśra quotes about 185 lines in his *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi*; Raghunandana quotes about 74 lines, excepting the repeated ones, in his *Smṛti-tattva*; Govindānanda quotes 2 lines in his *Śuddhikriyākaumudī* and 50 lines, excepting the repeated ones, in his *Varṣakriyākaumudī*; and Gadādhara quotes 51 lines in his *Kālasāra*. But not a single of these numerous quoted lines is found in the present *Liṅga Purāṇa*. This remarkable fact undoubtedly goes against the authenticity of the present *Liṅga*, which is most probably the result of a destructive recast to which the earlier Purāṇa was subjected. How the contents of the earlier Purāṇa were replaced by others in the present one, is shown best by a comparison between Chap. 92 on the glorification of Benares in *Liṅga* I and the numerous verses on the same topic quoted in Vācaspatimiśra's *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi*. The original *Liṅga*, however, did not die out immediately after the recast but continued to be drawn upon as an authoritative work by a section of the Nibandha-writers including those of even the 16th century A.D., if not later.

The present *Liṅga*, though an apocryphal one, is certainly not a very late work. Rūpa Gosvāmin, one of the disciples of Caitanya of Navadvīpa, quotes a verse from Chap. 3 of *Liṅga* II in his *Haribhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*; Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes a good number of verses from Chaps. 2, 4, and 7 of *Liṅga* II in his *Haribhaktivilāsa*;

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[1] *Matsya* 53, 36-37 and *Skanda* VII, i, 2, 54–56. *Agni* 272, 14*b*-15*a*.
[2] *Liṅga* I, 2, 1.

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Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin from Chap. 92 of *Liṅga* I in his *Nityācārapradīpa*; Vidyākara Vājapeyin from Chaps. 85 and 94 of *Liṅga* I in his *Nityācāra-paddhati*; Mādhavācārya from Chaps. 4, 26, 39, 40, and 89 of *Liṅga* I in his Bhāṣya on the *Parāśara-smṛti*; Ballālasena from Chap. 77 of *Liṅga* I and Chap. 28 of *Liṅga* II in his *Dānasāgara*, and from Chaps. 91 and 100 in his *Adbhutasāgara*; Devaṇabhaṭṭa from Chaps. 26 and 77 of *Liṅga* I in his *Smṛti-candrikā*; and Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda from Chap. 4 of *Liṅga* I in his Ṭīkāsarvasva on Amarasiṃha's *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* (see Appendix). Moreover, Ballālasena seems to have referred to the chapters on 'great gifts' occurring in *Liṅga* II.[1] These evidences adduced by the Nibandha-writers hailing from different parts of India prove that the present *Liṅga*, with its two parts, was written not later than 1000 A.D. Verses or even entire chapters might have been interpolated later than this time, but the interrelation between the chapters drawn upon by the Nibandha-writers and most of the remaining ones, shows that the great majority of the chapters are to be dated before 1000 A.D. The mention of the names of the planets beginning with the sun,[2] of the signs of the zodiac,[3] of the Nakṣatras beginning with Aśvinī,[4] of the 'Agama' literature of the Śaivas,[5] and of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu including Kṛṣṇa, the Buddha and Kalki,[6] testifies to the fact that the Purāṇa was not written before 600 A.D. The genealogical portion also betrays a comparatively late origin of the Purāṇa. About this portion F. E. Pargiter says, 'The *Liṅga* account is based on the "*Vāyu* version", but adapts to frame its own text. Often it has the same verses, but often also it modifies, curtails, and freely omits, especially incidental and descriptive matter; and it adds occasionally. It also interpolates religious teaching, as where it introduces a long eulogy of Rudra. It however shows traces of the influence of the *Matsya* version; thus it has the same verses sometimes and ends the Aikṣvāku genealogy with six kings instead of the *Vāyu*'s twenty-one just as the *Matsya* does'.[7]

The boundary of India as given in *Liṅga* I, 52, 29 (pūrve kirātās tasyānte paścime yavanāḥ smṛtāḥ, etc.) should not be taken to give the Purāṇa a very early date, because this verse, which is found to occur in the geographical portions of many of the other Purāṇas also, viz. *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Kūrma*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, etc., is certainly a traditional one.

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[1] Cf. *Dānasāgara*, fol. 3*b*—'bṛhad api liṅgapurāṇaṃ matsyapurāṇoditair mahādānaiḥ'.

[2] *Liṅga* I, 82, 73-74.

[3] *Liṅga* I, 82, 75-76.

[4] *Liṅga* I, 82, 77f.

[5] *Liṅga* I, 85, 35 and II, 55, 25.

[6] *Liṅga* II, 48, 31-32.

[7] F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 81.

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All of the chapters of the *Liṅga Purāṇa*, which are to be dated earlier than 1000 A.D., do not, however, seem to have been composed at the same time. An examination of the chapters on the method of Liṅga-worship shows that they are to be divided into two groups—one, including *Liṅga* I, 25–28, in which Vedic elements prevail and the Vedic Mantras are used frequently, and the other showing the influence of the Tantras. The chapters of the former group may have been retained from the earlier form of the Purāṇa, and those of the latter seem to have dated from the time of the recast, which, on account of the Tantric traces, does not seem to have been made earlier than 800 A.D.

The result of our analysis, so far as it concerns the Smṛti-chapters, is given below in a tabular form :—

Liṅga I, 25–28	on Liṅga-worship	*c.* Between 600 and 1000 A.D. Most probably 600–800 A.D.
Liṅga I, 77-78	on the consecration of a Liṅga	*c.* Between 600 and 1000 A.D. Most probably 800–1000 A.D.
Liṅga I, 81	on Pāśupata-vrata or Śiva-liṅga-vrata	
Liṅga I, 83-84	on Śaiva vratas to be observed in different months	
Liṅga I, 85, 1–82	on the method of muttering the five-syllabled Mantra	
Liṅga I, 85, 83–126	on dīkṣā and puraścaraṇa	
Liṅga I, 85, 127 to the end *Liṅga* I, 89	on customs in general	
Liṅga I, 90	on penance for Yatis	
Liṅga II, 23–26	on Śiva-worship	
Liṅga II, 28–44	on great gifts	
Liṅga II, 45	on funeral sacrifices for living persons	
Liṅga II, 46–49	on consecrating the Liṅga	
Liṅga II, 51 to the end	on mystic rites and practices	

The present *Liṅga Purāṇa* has a few chapters borrowed from other Purāṇas. For example, *Liṅga* I, 89 (on sadācāra) gives the verses of *Vāyu* 16 with further additions, so much so that the former has 122 verses as against the latter's 24 ; *Liṅga* I, 90 (on yati-prāyaścitta) is almost totally the same as *Vāyu* 18 ; *Liṅga* I, 91 (on ariṣṭa and oṃkāra-lakṣaṇa) is the same as *Vāyu* 19 and 20 ; *Liṅga* I, 40 consists of verses mainly taken from *Kūrma* I, 29 and *Matsya* 144, 48f. ; and so on. The *Liṅga Purāṇa* has improved upon the borrowed

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sections with additions and alterations in such a way that these additions and alterations at once betray its indebtedness.

Besides the present *Liṅga*, Ballālasena seems to have known another spurious *Liṅga Purāṇa* consisting of 6,000 ślokas and dealing with dikṣā, pratiṣṭhā, etc., but he did not draw upon it. (See *Dānasāgara*, fol. 4*a*—'tarkṣyaṃ purāṇam aparaṃ . . . . . | ṣaṭsahasra-mitaṃ liṅgaṃ purāṇam aparaṃ tathā | dīkṣā-pratiṣṭhā-pāṣaṇḍamukti-ratnaparīkṣaṇaiḥ | . . . . . etc.' Cf. also ABORS, XIX, p. 72, footnote 5)

In this connection we should like to enumerate the Smṛti-topics dealt with in the lost *Liṅga Purāṇa*. The basis of this enumeration is the untraceable quotations made by the Nibandha-writers. These quotations relate to general customs (ācāra), funeral sacrifices, bath during eclipses, vows (viz., Bhrātṛdvitīyā, Aśokāṣṭamī, Ekādaśī, Śiva-rātri, Damanaka-caturdaśī, and Narasiṃha-caturdaśī) and worship of Śiva, Agni, Durgā (in the autumn), Lakṣmī, Śālagrāma and the spiritual preceptor (guru). The quoted verses on general customs and funeral sacrifices are so small in number that it seems that in the lost *Liṅga Purāṇa* the chapters on these topics were negligible in comparison with those on the different religious rites.

APPENDIX.

VERSES QUOTED FROM THE '*Liṅga Purāṇa*' OR '*Laiṅga*' IN—

	Liṅga P.
1. *Ṭīkā-sarvasva* of Vandya-ghaṭīya Sarvānanda—	
p. 90	= I, 4, 24*b*-25*a* and 26*b*–30.
p. 91	= I, 4, 36*b*-37*a* and 41–43*a*.
pp. 91-92	= I, 4, 32*b*–35. The line 'manavaś ca, etc.' is not found.
2. *Dānasāgara* of Ballālasena—	
fol. 15*a-b*	= I, 77, 33*b*–35 and 52*b*–54*a*.
,, 28*a*	= II, 28, 34*b*.
3. *Adbhutasāgara* of Ballālasena—	
p. 507 (twice)	= I, 91, 19 and 27.
p. 508 (thrice)	= I, 91, 15; I, 91, 29; and I, 91, 16.
p. 509 (four times)—	
For the first verse 'nagnaṃ, etc.'—	Cf. I, 91, 17*b*.
The remaining three verses	= I, 91, 35; I, 91, 31; and I, 91, 34.
p. 513	— In the *Liṅga P.* there are chapters on 'Tripuravadha' to which the *Adbhutasāgara* refers (cf. 'liṅga-purāṇe tripuravadha-nimitta-kathane maya-vākyam—mayādya dṛṣṭaḥ, etc.') but the quoted verse is not found.

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Liṅga P.

p. 524 = I, 91, 24.
p. 525 — Cf. I, 91, 5.
p. 527 = I, 91, 33.
p. 531 = I, 91, 23*b*.
p. 533 = I, 91, 13*b*.
p. 537 (twice) = I, 91, 25*b* ; I, 91, 25.
p. 538 = I, 91, 26*b*.
p. 539 = I, 91, 26.
p. 541 (twice) = I, 91, 13*a*. The line 'pivatas' ca, etc.' and the verse 'sadyaḥ, etc.' are not found.
p. 542 = I, 91, 32.
p. 544 = I, 91, 7.
p 545 = I, 91, 14.
p. 546 — Cf. I, 91, 6.
p. 548 — Cf. I, 91, 12.
p. 554 — Cf. I, 91, 11.
p. 556 = I, 91, 21.
p. 712 = I, 100, 9-10.

4. *Smṛti-candrikā* of Devaṇabhaṭṭa—

II, 508 = I, 26, 16*a*.
561 = I, 77, 65-66*a*.

5. Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti*—

Vol. I, part i—
pp. 82-83 = I, 39, 69*b*–70 ; I, 40, 1.
p. 94 = I, 4, 49.
p. 343 = I, 26, 16*a*.

Liṅga P.

Vol. I, part ii—
pp. 110-111 = I, 89, 109-110, 112*a* and 114–118*a*.
Vol. II, part ii—
p. 14 = I, 26, 37*b*-38.

6. *Nityācārapaddhati* of Vidyākara Vājapeyin—

pp. 146-147 = I, 94, 21–26*a* (except 24*a*).
p. 571 = I, 85, 39*b*-40*a*.

7. *Nityācārapradīpa* of Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin—

pp. 692-693 = I, 92, 169*b*–172*a*, 173*b*–175 and 176*b*–178.

8. *Haribhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* of Rūpa Gosvāmin—

p. 58 = II, 3, 110.

9. *Haribhaktivilāsa* of Gopālabhaṭṭa—

p. 27 = II, 7, 12*b*–14*a*.
p. 409 = II, 2, 6*b*–8*a*.
p. 498 = II, 4, 5*a*.
p. 500 = II, 4, 6*b*-7*a*.
p. 505 = II, 4, 8–10*a* and 13*b*-14*a*.
p. 511 = II, 4, 11*b*-13*a*,
p. 570 = II, 4, 14*b*–16*a*.

The editions of Purāṇas and other Sanskrit works used in this article are the following :—

Liṅga Purāṇa—Ed. Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1885.
Matsya Purāṇa—Vaṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta.
Skanda Purāṇa—Vaṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta.
Agni Purāṇa—Vaṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta.
Vāyu Purāṇa—Ed. Ānandāśrama Press, Poona.
Kūrma Purāṇa—Vaṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta.
Kālaviveka of Jīmūtavāhana—Bibliotheca Indica.
Yājñavalkya-smṛti with Aparārka's commentary—Ed. Ānandāśrama Press, Poona.

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Yājñavalkya-smṛti with Vijñāneśvara's Mitākṣarā—Ed. Vāsudeva Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrī Paṇaśīkara, 3rd ed., Bombay, 1926.
Madana-pārijāta of Madanapāla—Bibl. Ind.
Durgotsava-viveka of Śūlapāṇi—Ed. Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta.
Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi of Vācaspatimiśra—Bibl. Ind.
Smṛti-tattva of Raghunandana—Ed. Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta.
Śuddhikriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda—Bibl. Ind.
Varṣakriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda—Bibl. Ind.
Kālasāra of Gadādhara—Bibl. Ind.
Haribhaktirasāmṛtasindhu of Rūpa Gosvāmin—Ed. Acyuta-granthamālā (No. 6), Benares.
Haribhaktivilāsa of Gopālabhaṭṭa—Ed. Śyāmā-caraṇa Kaviratna, Calcutta, 1318 B.S.
Nityācārapradīpa of Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin—Bibl. Ind.
Nityācārapaddhati of Vidyākara Vājapeyin—Bibl. Ind.
Parāśara-smṛti with Mādhavācārya's commentary—Ed. V. S. Islampurkar, Bombay.
Dānasāgara of Ballālasena—MSS. No. 719-720, India Office, London. Eggeling, India Office Catalogue, No. 1704-5.
Adbhutasāgara of Ballālasena—Ed. Muralīdhara Jhā, Benares, 1905.
Smṛti-candrikā of Devaṇabhaṭṭa—Pub. by the Government of Mysore.
Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana of Amarasiṃha with the commentary Ṭīkāsarvasva of Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda—Ed. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, Travancore.

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Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

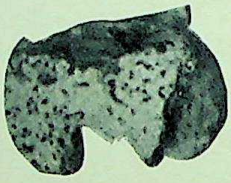

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

Horse in Pre-Maurya Art

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HORSE IN PRE-MAURYA ART

By CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

It is a general belief among Indologists that the earliest representation of the horse in early Indian art belongs to the Maurya age where we find it engraved in high relief on the abacus of the well-known Sarnath lion-capital.[1] The object of this short note is to show that the representation of this animal in Indian art may be traced back to the earlier ages.

Mackay has discovered the terracotta-representation of an animal at Mohenjo-daro in Larkana District in Sind.[2] (Fig. 1). He has described it in the following manner. 'A terracotta model, 4·6 ins. long, of an animal strongly resembling a horse. What is left of the tail suggests an Arab breed. Unfortunately, the ears are missing, but they were clearly small in size. Bones of the horse have already been found in the higher levels of Mohenjo-daro, and as this animal has also been identified in the script on the very early tablets of Jemdet Nasr in Mesopotamia, evidence of its existence at Mohenjo-daro need not unduly surprise us. This figure is hand-modelled and was once covered with a red slip. It belongs to the Late II period'.[3] It should be mentioned for the sake of completeness that it has been found in DK. area, has the legs lost for ever and has no mane indicated. Let us consider whether this specimen should be identified as the representation of the horse. If anybody carefully examines the above-mentioned statement of Mackay, he will find that though Mackay is inclined to identify it as the representation of the horse, yet he is not definitely sure regarding his own identification because he has remarked that it represents 'an animal strongly resembling a horse'. Secondly, Marshall refers to this specimen when he opines that 'a rough terracotta figurine recently unearthed by Mr. Mackay might perhaps be intended for a horse, but might equally well represent the wild ass (*gurkhar*-Equus hemionus), which still roams the deserts of Thar and Parkar and Jaisalmir'.[4] This statement of Marshall shows that he is not

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[1] Early Indian Sculpture. By L. Bachhofer, pl. 5, 1929.

[2] Archæological Survey of India—Annual Report for 1928-29, p. 74, pl. XXVIIIc, 1933.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 74, 1933.

[4] Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization. Edited by J. Marshall, vol. I, p. 28, foot-note 1, 1931.

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sure whether this specimen represents the horse or the wild ass. The present author wishes to identify it as the representation of the horse for the following reasons. Firstly, the presence of the terra-cotta-representation of the horse at Mohenjo-daro in the Late II period of the Indus Valley age is warranted by the fact that a large fragment of the right half of the mandible, containing the premolar and molar teeth and a second fragment containing the same teeth of the left side have been unearthed at Mohenjo-daro in DM. area from the depth of 1 ft. 10 in.[1] Secondly, if anybody carefully studies this specimen, he will come to the conclusion that it has a great resemblance with the horse.[2] Thirdly, we might identify it as the representation of the horse because, besides this specimen, several other specimens which belong to this age should also be identified as the representation of the horse. Therefore on the consideration of these three factors we might identify this specimen as the representation of the horse.

Stein has discovered the terracotta-representation of an animal (Fig. 2) at Periano-ghundai in Zhob District in Baluchistan.[3] Regarding its identification he has remarked, 'Among the objects found here . . . there may be specially mentioned . . . P.W. 6 . . .

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 653-54, pl. CLXIII, 9, 1931. There is obviously a misprint where it is stated that this specimen is illustrated in Pl. CLXII, Fig. 9 (*Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 653, 1931); it ought to be Pl. CLXIII, Fig. 9. Regarding the age of these specimens Marshall has observed, 'The absence of any representation of a horse among the many animals portrayed here and at Harappa, points to the bones of the *Equus caballus*, which were found near the surface, being of a later date'. (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 28, 1931). But he has himself refuted this statement of his in the strongest manner by opining that 'this negative argument, however, is not altogether conclusive; for the camel, too, is unrepresented, though the discovery of a bone of this beast at a depth of 15 feet in the SD. area leaves little doubt that it was known as far back as the Intermediate Period'. (*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 28, 1931). Further it seems that Marshall has produced no sufficient reason to prove that these teeth are to be ascribed to an age later than the Indus Valley age. Marshall has shown that the antiquities found at the level of 1 to 2 ft. at Mohenjo-daro are to be ascribed to the Late I Period of the Indus Valley age (*ibid.*, vol. I, p. 124, 1931) and as these teeth have been found at Mohenjo-daro in DM. area at the depth of 1 ft. 10 in., they are to be ascribed to the Late I Period of the Indus Valley age.

[2] It is true that the mane is not indicated in this specimen as in the case of the horse on the abacus of the well-known Sarnath lion-capital (Early Indian Sculpture. By L. Bachhofer, pl. 5, 1929); but this fact may be accounted for in the following manner. Firstly, it is not possible to indicate the mane of the horse in clay in the manner in which it may be shown in a lithic specimen. Secondly, it might be logically argued that it represents the horse whose mane has been cut off as is done in the case of many horses in the modern age.

[3] An archæological tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan. By A. Stein, p. 38, pl. VII, P.W. 6, 1929.

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(Pl. VII) representing a horse '.[1] It is desirable that it should be more fully described. It is greatly worn out and its rear body and legs are lost for ever. He has not said anything definitely regarding its age but has produced sufficient evidence to prove that it belongs to the chalcolithic age. He has remarked, ' The ceramic wares which by their decoration supply the most characteristic criterion of this culture, are throughout associated with stone implements of a neolithic type and also, to a certain extent, with the use of copper both for weapons and ornaments .... The resemblance of the motifs used in the painted pottery to that from culture strata ascribed to pre-Sumerian times at Mesopotamian sites and hence approximately datable is very striking indeed '.[2] This statement clearly shows that the antiquities discovered at this site are chalcolithic in age. Therefore the specimen under discussion also belongs to the chalcolithic age. If anybody carefully studies this specimen, he will find that there is a great resemblance between the front body of the horse and this representation. Therefore it is quite logical to conclude that it is the representation of a horse.

Stein has discovered the terracotta-representation of an animal (Fig. 3) at Zayak in Baluchistan.[3] Regarding its identification he has remarked, ' Of two fragments of coarsely made terracotta figurines Z.W.5. (Pl. I) seems to represent the head of a horse, the other perhaps a human trunk.(?) '[4] It is desirable that this specimen should be more thoroughly described. It is greatly worn out and its body is lost for ever ; but it is clearly discernible from the extant face and neck that it is the representation of a horse. He has not said anything definitely regarding its age ; but its age may be determined from his remarks regarding the age of the painted pottery which have been found in association with this specimen. There are two mounds, at this site, which have been excavated. Regarding the age of Northern mound he has concluded ' from the majority of the painted fragments that the occupation of the site goes back to chalcolithic times '.[5] Regarding the nature of the painted pottery in South-West mound he has observed, ' The painted pottery found here in plenty agrees closely, as the specimens reproduced in Plate I show, with that of the mound to the north in fabric and type of decoration '.[6] From the above statement it is clear that the antiquities discovered in South-West mound are to be ascribed to the chalcolithic age. The specimen under discussion has been found

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 38, 1929.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 41, 1929.
[3] An archæological tour in Gedrosia. By A. Stein, p. 34, pl. I, Z.W. 5, 1931.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 34, 1931.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 33, 1931.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 34, 1931.

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in South-West mound. Therefore it is logical to ascribe it to the chalcolithic age.

Let us now come to South India where some terracotta-figurines have been found. Breeks has discovered two terracotta animal-figurines out of cairns at Nilgiri Hills and Foote has discussed them. (Figs. 4 and 5) Let us discuss these two specimens one by one. In the first specimen (Fig. 4) [1] we find a man on the back of an animal. According to Foote it represents a man on horseback. If anybody carefully studies this specimen, he will find that it is extremely difficult to identify the represented animal as the horse because the face which is the most important criterion for identification is greatly mutilated. Therefore it is not possible to make a definite identification regarding this specimen. In the second specimen (Fig. 5) we find the representation of a man on the back of a horse.[2] According to Foote it represents a man on the horseback. If anybody carefully studies it, he will come to the conclusion that the represented animal is the horse because the whole body, particularly the face, is exactly like that of a horse. Let us now consider the age of these two specimens. These two specimens are to be ascribed to the same age on the following stylistic considerations. Firstly, the modelling of both these specimens is exactly similar. Secondly, whereas in Fig. 4 we find the circlets stamped on the body of the horse, in Fig. 5 we find the same sort of circlets stamped on the body of the man. According to Foote these two specimens belong to the iron age.[3] It is well-known that in South India the palæolithic, neolithic and iron ages successively occurred so far as the prehistoric ages are concerned. The iron age of South India is consequently pre-Maurya. Therefore these two specimens are pre-Maurya.

The above discussion shows that there is sufficient evidence to identify all these specimens except one (Fig. 4) as the representation of the horse. Three of these specimens have been found in North India and the remaining one in South India. In North India the palæolithic, neolithic and copper ages and in South India the palæolithic, neolithic and iron ages occurred successively so far as the prehistoric ages are concerned. The specimens of North India belong to the chalcolithic age [4] and the specimen of South India to the iron age. Therefore the specimens of North India are to be placed earlier than the specimen of South India in the chronological

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[1] Catalogue of the prehistoric antiquities in Government Museum, Madras. By R. B. Foote, pp. 48, 49, pl. III, 537, 1901.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 49, pl. III, 538, 1901.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. iii–xix, 1901.

[4] It is well-known that the prehistoric antiquities found at Mohenjo-daro are to be ascribed to the chalcolithic age.

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scheme. The above discussion further shows that the representation of the horse in early Indian art may be traced back to the chalcolithic age and that there is no cogent reason to hold the view that the horse which is chiselled on the abacus of the well-known Sarnath lion-capital is the earliest representation of this animal in Indian art.

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MĀDHVA INFLUENCE ON BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM

By B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA

According to the Vaiṣṇava traditions of Bengal, the religion of Caitanya was an offshoot of Mādhvaism. Though Caitanya himself had obtained his ordination as a monk from Keśava Bhāratī [1] who undoubtedly belonged to an Order of Advaitic [2] monks, yet he is said to have inherited his Vaiṣṇava-dīkṣā from Īśvara Purī who is reported to have come of the Order of Bhaktas founded by Vyāsatīrtha, through Lakṣmīpati and Mādhavendra Purī.[3] The teachers Mādhavendra Purī, Īśvara Purī as well as Nityānanda and Advaita [4] were probably *not* also Mādhvas in outlook. It is no doubt true that Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa, one of the leading exponents of the Caitanya-cult in the 18th century, expressly declares in his *Prameyaratnāvalī* and other works that Caitanya belongs to the Mādhva-sampradāya, by virtue of his descent from Vyāsarāya through Lakṣmīpati and other monks, and quotes the genealogy of teachers already mentioned by Kavikarṇapūra, in his *Gauragaṇoddeśadīpikā* :—

Madhvācārya

1. 2. 3. 4. Akṣobhya Tīrtha
5. Jayatīrtha
[Jñānasindhu]
[Dayānidhi]
Vidyānidhi [dhirāja ?]
Rājendra Tīrtha
Jaya(dhvaja)dharma
Puruṣottama
Brahmaṇya (d. 1478)
Vyāsatīrtha (d. 1539)
Lakṣmīpati
Mādhavendra Purī

Īśvara Purī — Advaita — Nityānanda

Caitanya (1485–1533).

1 Vide *Caitanyacandrodaya* of Kavikarṇapūra, 1854, p. 140.
2 ' Prabhu kahe āmi hoyi hīn sampradāyī ' (*Caitanyacaritāmṛta*, i, 7, 64, p. 152).
3 See *Gauragaṇoddeśadīpikā*.
4 ' Purī ' is indisputably a title of an Advaitic Order of monks.

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In recent years, however, the alleged Mādhva descent of Caitanya (-sampradāya) has been seriously questioned and sought to be repudiated by certain Bengali writers like Dr. S. K. De [2] and Sjt. Amarnath Ray [1] and the genealogy mentioned by Baladeva dismissed as a forgery and a concoction. This has met with stout opposition from certain traditional quarters in Bengal itself and a keen fight is still going on over the issue.[3]

It seems to me that much confidence cannot be placed on the genealogy furnished by Kavikarṇapūra and Baladeva. It is wrong and defective in many places. The names of Jñānasindhu and Dayānidhi are nowhere to be found among the successors of Jayatīrtha. Vidyānidhi is evidently a mistake for Vidyādhirāja and Jayadharma for Jayadhvaja. As for Vyāsatīrtha himself, there is nothing to show that he could not have had a North Indian disciple of the name of Lakṣmīpati who might have been initiated into the Bhakti-Panthā, which he transmitted to Mādhavendra Purī and other monks of an obviously Advaitic Order. In this way Caitanya himself might have inherited the gospel of Bhakti from his teacher Īśvara Purī. But there are not sufficient proofs that Īśvara Purī was at any time imbued with purely Mādhva ideas. Even if he had been, his title 'Purī' [4] is sufficient indication that he could not have *belonged* to the Mādhva Order which in the 16th century could never have tolerated such a distinctly Advaitic title for one of its brethren. We know too Caitanya himself (1485–1533) was a younger contemporary of Vyāsarāya (1478–1539). It sounds rather strange that Caitanya should have preferred to take orders from an Advaitic monk in or about 1509, when he ought to have known that the illustrious Vyāsarāya (the Paramaguru of his Paramaguru according to the table of Baladeva) was then alive and at the height of his power in the South. All things considered, it appears to be more or less certain that Caitanya had not heard of Vyāsarāya at all, until much later,—say about 1520, when he went to the South. It is not, however, unlikely that a Bhakti movement was started in the North

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[1] See his paper in the Winternitz Commemoration Volume, Leipzig, 1933, p. 201, which suffers, however, from several misapprehensions concerning the Order of Mādhva Sanyāsins—such as that the Mādhva ascetics retain their śikhā and yajñopavīta, etc.

[2] See his article on the subject of Caitanya and Mādhva in the Assam Research Society Journal, April, 1935.

[3] Vide the rejoinder to the above by Sjt. Acyutācaran Tattvanidhi in the Journal of the Assam Research Society, 1935.

[4] We have seen that Vyāsatīrtha had many disciples from among Advaitins, notably his biographer Somanātha. But the title 'Purī' is distinctive of an Advaitic Order. In the *Mādhvavijaya* we have the name of one Puṇḍarīka Purī opposing the Ācārya.

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of India by Rājendra Tīrtha and his disciple Jayadhvaja during their sojourn there. We have it from Kavikarṇapura that the celebrated Viṣṇu Purī, author of the *Bhaktiratnāvalī*, was a disciple of Jayadhvaja.[1] Most probably it was this Viṣṇu Purī who was the real father of the Bhakti movement in the North and the teachers Lakṣmīpati, Mādhavendra Purī, and Īśvara were descended from him and of these Īśvara Purī was probably contemporaneous with Vyāsatīrtha and presumably well-acquainted with him. This may, in a way, explain how in later years, when the genealogy of Caitanya had to be put up, he came to be reckoned in the line of Śuddha-Vaiṣṇava monks descended from Mādhvācārya. So far as Caitanya himself was concerned, the influence of the special teaching of Mādhva upon him was nil. Even at the time of his visit to the South, he does not seem to have been taken up over-much with Mādhvaism.[2] The Bengali biography *Caitanyacaritāmṛta* speaks of his visit to Udipi, the birth-place of Mādhva, but quite apart from the fact that its account is by no means flattering to the then Svāmis of the Kṛṣṇa-temple, the criticisms [3] said to have been made by Caitanya on the doctrines of Mādhva suffer from serious misunderstanding and misrepresentation of the true position taken up by Mādhva in his commentaries, on the relative places of Karma, Jñāna and Bhakti.[4] Perhaps Caitanya had ample time afterwards to revise his opinion on the faith of Mādhva and instruct his disciples accordingly. However that may be, it is not true to say that 'Bengal Vaiṣṇavism *first* came under the influence of Mādhva-thought, through Jīva Gosvāmin, the nephew of Rūpa and Sanātana. For, Rūpa himself *is considerably influenced* by Mādhva in his *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*. He not only *quotes* from Mādhva [5] on certain very intimate doctrines of Vaiṣṇavism,[6] but is also *anxious to reconcile* his views with those of the Ācārya and quotes the very passage cited by Mādhva from the *Brahmatarka* on the unity of the divine constitution.[7] He appeals

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[1] 'Śrīmad Viṣṇupurī yastu Bhaktiratnāvaliḥ kṛtiḥ Jayadharmasya śiṣyo'bhut ....'

[2] 'Kiyanta eva Vaiṣṇavā dṛṣṭāḥ. Tepi Nārāyaṇopāsakā eva. Apare Tattvavādinah. Tepi tathāvidhā eva. Niravadyam na bhavati teṣām matam' (*Caitanyacandrodaya*, Act 8, p. 174; Bib. Ind., 1854).

[3] Prabhu kahe jñān karma dohe hay hīn |
Tomar sampradāye dekhi sau duyī cihna ||

[4] Naivanyasādhanam bhaktiḥ phalarupā hī sā yataḥ (Bṛh. Up. c.). See c. on Gītā, III, 21. The same texts from the *Bhāgavata* are put into the mouth of Caitanya in the Bengali biography of Kṛṣṇadāsa.

[5] *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, Venkatesvar Steam Press, Bombay, 1902, p. 55.

[6] *Op. cit.*, pp. 125 (Pādma) and 162-3.

[7] P. 121-22. Nanvidam śrūyate ..... Atrocyate .... |

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to the many authorities cited by Mādhva [1] in his *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya, Bhagavata Tātparya,* etc. Still, he could not be said to have adopted Mādhva as his sole and only guide and teacher, or have been prepared to go the whole hog with him on all matters. His respect for Mādhva does not conclude his homage to the great Advaitic commentator on the Bhāgavata,—Śrīdhara Svāmin, whom he quotes [2] and mentions [3] several times. This clearly shows that the Gosvāmins [4] were equally divided in their allegiance between Mādhva and Śrīdhara. Rūpa's nephew, Jīva Gosvāmin, is no doubt greatly influenced by the views of Mādhva [5] and is quite prepared to take his word for it that such sources as the *Caturvedaśikhā, Brahmatarka,* Turaśruti, are genuine.[6] But he is equally well-disposed towards the memories of Śaṃkara [7] and Rāmānuja.[8] At the same time, the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas have, as a rule, shown their undisguised apathy to the Māyāvāda of Śaṃkara.[9] Jīva Gosvāmin says in so many words that he would follow the lead of Śrīdhara Svāmin, ONLY so far as it would be in keeping with the principles of genuine Vaiṣṇavism.[10] The implication is obvious that he cannot and would not follow him in his predilections as an Advaitin.

Till the days of Jīva Gosvāmin, the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas were thus only partially influenced by the writings of Mādhva and his followers. It was from the 18th century that this influence became complete and wholesale—the two great writers of this period being (1) Rādhā Dāmodara, a Kānyakubja Brahmin,[11] and (2) his disciple Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa.

The *Vedānta-syamantaka* of the former has been published from Lahore.[12] It is a short tract in six kiraṇas (chapters), dealing with the 'Pramāṇas' to be accepted; the five Prameyas, viz.,

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[1] Ityeṣa darśitā Mādhvācāryair bhāṣye nijā śrutiḥ ॥ (P. 222.)

[2] P. 18. Iti Svāmī.

[3] P. 50.

[4] Sanātana in his com. *Vaiṣṇavatoṣaṇī* on the Bhāg. refers to Śrīdhara with respect. (No. 3522-3, I. O. MS.).

[5] *Ṣaṭsandarbha*, pp. 15, 18, 77, 93, 101, 102, etc.

[6] P. 22, *op. cit.*

[7] See *Ṣaṭsandarbha*, p. 17.

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 164.

[9] In the *Caitanyacaritāmṛta* itself (Ādilīlā, 7, st. 121 ff.) Caitanya, on the occasion of a meeting with Advaitins at Benares, is represented as establishing the 'aṇutva' of the Jiva and severely criticizing the 'Vibhutva'-interpretation of the Sūtras propounded by Śaṃkara. Pp. 161–4 (Gauḍīya edn.).

[10] Bhāṣyarūpā ca tadvyākhyā Śrīdharasvāmir caraṇānāṃ Śuddhavaiṣṇava-siddhāntānugatā cet, tarhi yathāvadeva lekhyate (p. 20).

[11] Rādhādāmodaraḥ Kānyakubjaviprāvataṃsaḥ svasyamantropadeṣṭā—Balaḍeva, *Siddhāntaratna*, VII, 34 (p. iv, Introd. to Punjab O. Ser. No. 19).

[12] Punjab O.S., XIX, 1930.

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God, Soul, Prakṛti, Time, and Karma (chapters iii–vi), deal with the Prameyas one after the other. Rādhā Dāmodara quotes passages from the B.S.B. of Mādhva (p. 14) and pleads vigorously for the distinction of the Jīva and the Brahman, and repudiates the doctrine of the ' Avācyatva ' of the Brahman (p. 21).

His pupil Baladeva is said to have belonged to the Balasore district in Orissa. He was a contemporary of Jayasimha, ruler of Jeypore, who flourished in the beginning of the 18th century. Aufrecht notes that one of Baladeva's works—a commentary on the *Utkalikāvallarī*—was written in 1765 A.D. He was a painstaking scholar and enthusiastic follower of Caitanya, though not quite an accurate student of the philosophy of Mādhva. He lived up to a ripe old age and spent his last days at Bṛndāvana, adopting *sannyāsa*.

Over a dozen works are ascribed [1] to Baladeva, which include commentaries on (1–10) the ten Upaniṣads**; the *Viṣṇusahasranāma***; a *Stavamālā*** and commentaries again on (13) the *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta* (p) of Rūpa Gosvāmin, and the (14) *Saṭsandarbha* (p) of Jīva Gosvāmin. We have also an independent tract of his entitled *Prameyaratnāvalī* (p) and (16–18) three works dealing with the *Brahmasūtras*.

Of these, the *Prameyaratnāvalī* [2] is an exposition of the nine central principles of the Vaiṣṇavism of Caitanya, which are identical with the nine fundamental tenets of Mādhva's ' Viṣṇu-Glaubens ', as summed up in the well-known verse :

> ' Śrīmān Mādhvamate Hareḥ parataraḥ satyam jagat lattvato bhedo . . . . '

Baladeva has one to match this :—

> Śrī Mādhvaḥ prāha Viṣṇum paratamam . . .

and writes :

> Ānandatīrthai racitāni yasyām prameyaratnāni navaiva santi ।
> Prameyaratnāvalir ādareṇa pradhībhireṣā hṛdaye nidheyā ॥

It is in this work that Baladeva traces the Guruparamparā of Caitanya from Mādhva.

His most important work, however, is the *Govindabhāsya* on the B.S., which closely follows the B.S.B. of Mādhva. We have a

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[1] See the introd. to the *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, Venkatesvar Steam Press, Bombay, 1902, p. 6.

[2] A translation in English has been issued in the S.B.H. Series, Allahabad (by the late Rai Bahadur S. C. Vasu).

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MS. of the work in the Madras O.L. (R. No. 2990).[1] The *Siddhāntaratna* or *Govindabhāṣya-pīṭhikā* (Madras O.L. 2989) is a sort of introduction to the above and contains the following eight pādas :—

1. Paramapuruṣārthanirṇaya.
2. Bhagavad-aiśvaryādinirṇaya.
3. Viṣṇu-pāramyanirṇaya.
4. Sarvavedavedyatvanirṇaya.
5. Kevalādvaitanirāsa.
6. Vidhāntareṇa Kevalādvaitanirāsa.
7. Kevalānubhūtinirāsa.
8. Puruṣārthanirṇaya.

The author bows in this work to Rūpa and Sanātana whom he calls 'veritable clouds in quieting the dust-storm of Māyāvāda' (v. 4) and concludes with a reverential tribute to Mādhva :—

Ānandatīrtha plutam acyutam me
Caitanya bhāsvat prabhayāti phullam।
Ceto'ravindam priyatāmarandam
Pibatyaliḥ sacchavitattvavādaḥ॥

He wrote his own commentary on the *Siddhāntaratna* (Madras R. No. 2989). It is remarked in the course of this commentary that the author wrote the *Siddhāntaratna* to augment his *Govindabhāṣya* (on the B.S.).[2]

Here too is affirmed Caitanya's descent from Mādhva : Atha ātmanaḥ Śrī Mādhvānvayadīkṣita-bhagavat Kṛṣṇacaitanya-matasthatvam āha—Ānandeti॥

It will be seen from the above extracts that Baladeva was an out and out Mādhva who believed and taught that the school of Caitanya was really an offshoot of the Dvaita philosophy of Mādhva.

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[1] This has been translated into English by the late S. C. Vasu (S.B.H. Series, Allahabad).

[2] Atha soyam Govindaikāntī Baladevopākhyo Vidyābhūṣaṇaḥ Brahmasūtreṣu Govindabhāṣyābhidhānam vivaraṇam nirmāya, tat-paripoṣāya Siddhāntaratnākhyaṃ tatpīṭham nirmātukāmaḥ . . . .॥ Govinda Ekānti was evidently the ascetic name of the author.

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THE DATE OF THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA

By ATINDRA NATH BOSE

The controversy over the date of the Arthaśāstra attributed to Kauṭilya has of late tended to subside and scholars with rare exceptions are complacently building their theses upon the theory of Vincent Smith and Shāma Śāstrī assigning the work to the 4th century B.C. The plea to bring it down to the 3rd century A.D. set forth by Jolly in the introduction to his edition of the Arthaśāstra and by Winternitz in the third volume of the History of Indian Literature has had no wide acceptance and was weakened by the refutation of Shāma Śāstrī and N. N. Law. In an article in the J.R.A.S., 1929 (pp. 77–89) it was shown by another scholar that the comparison of certain expressions and passages in the Arthaśāstra with Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita on the one hand and with Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā and the Laṃkāvatārasūtra on the other placed the book with tolerable certainty between the beginning of the Christian era and about 150 A.D., or at most 250 A.D. In the Political History of Ray Chowdhuri 300 B.C. and 100 A.D. are taken as the upper and lower limits. Without any pretension to speak the last word on the subject a few clues to the chronological mystery may be gathered which expose the 4th century theory to considerable amount of criticism and incline the balance of evidence in favour of the 1st century after Christ.

The priority of the Arthaśāstra to the Smṛtis of Manu and Yājñavalkya has been sought to be proved by comparison of their social and political systems. This is based on the false assumptions that the theories in the Arthaśāstra correlate to facts and institutions without fail and that there was absolute uniformity of beliefs and practices in Magadha and the Brahmarṣideśa or land of Delhi and the Eastern Punjab where the sacred institutes were born. The points of analogy moreover are not less if not more outspoken than those of disparity. As between the Arthaśāstra and Manu, Yājñavalkya and Nārada affinity is very close with regard to the laws of hire and contract, of debt, deposit, witness, gift, stolen property and ownership; robbery, defamation and intimidation; assault, marital rights and proprietory rights of women and inheritance. Manu and Yājñavalkya attest to the fixing of the price of merchandise. There is also similarity with Manu on the existence of private and communal ownership of land side by side, acceptance of a day's work from common artisans in lieu of taxes, salt as a

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royal monopoly among other things (land-grants dating from the time of the Sātavāhanas frequently confirm that salt was a royal monopoly under their rule) and reference to the Māgadha among mixed castes. The argument that the Arthaśāstra knows only four kinds of slaves while Manu seven and Nārada fifteen was put forth from oversight for the Arthaśāstra distinctly refers to the (1) *udaradāsa*—born slave, (2) *krīta*—purchased, (3) *āhitaka*—acquired by mortgage, (4) *sakṛdātmādhatā*—voluntary enslavement, (5) *daṇḍa-praṇīta*—enslaved by court-decree, (6) *gṛhajāta*—born in the house, (7) *dāyāgata*—acquired by inheritance from ancestors, (8) *dhvajāhṛta*—captured in war or raids. It is moreover pointed out that slaves might be acquired in other ways that are left unspecified (*labdhakrītānam-anyatamāni*). Thus the Arthaśāstra list is wider than Manu's (VIII, 415) and embraces almost all the varieties cited by Nārada (V, 26–28) only under more numerous sub-heads except a few which may have been later development. It is most unsafe to derive chronological conclusions from comparison between *śāstra* literature which not only ignore facts on many instances but represent theories and institutions of a much earlier age than the one when they are composed. Still the closer resemblance of the Arthaśāstra to the later *dharmaśāstras* than to the earlier *dharmasūtras* of Gautama, Baudhāyana, etc. cannot be left entirely out of account.

A conspicuous example of this analogy is found in the currency system described in the three types of literature and in Pali works.

Commenting on Suttavibhanga, the Pārājika 11–16, Buddhaghoṣa says that in Bimbisāra's time in Rājagaha :—

1 *Kahāpaṇa*	..	20 *māsakas*
1 *pāda*	..	5 *māsakas*
1 *Kahāpaṇa*	..	4 *pādas*

This kahāpaṇa however, he warns, is the ancient *nīlakahāpaṇa* not the Rudradāmaka—a depreciated standard adopted and followed from Rudradāman's time.

Sāriputta again in his commentary on the passage of Buddhaghoṣa, explains that this Rudradāmaka is ¾ of a *nīlakahāpaṇa*.

From a comparison of the weight of the silver *dharana* as given by Manu, Yājñavalkya and Viṣṇu and of the Rudradāmaka *kahāpaṇa* it is found that they bear the same ratio in weight as the *nīlakahāpaṇa* to the latter, so that the *dharana* and the *nīlakahāpaṇa* may be identified denoting the same class of silver *coins*.[1] It is to be noted that while Gautama and Kātyāyana, like the Pali texts retain the term *kārṣāpaṇa* for silver as well as copper coins, Manu,

[1] See C. D. Chatterji's article on Numismatic Data in Pali Literature in B. C. Law's Buddhistic Studies, pp. 424 ff.

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Yājñavalkya and Viṣṇu reserve *kārṣāpaṇa* only for copper coins and invent the separate term *dharana* for silver coins. Probably the Pali term *nīlakahāpaṇa* was devised to remove this source of confusion.

Now the Arthaśāstra agrees with the later law-books in this respect. Its silver coin is *dharana* and its copper coin *kārṣāpaṇa*. It also agrees with Manu, Yajñavalkya and Viṣṇu in respect of the prescribed weight of the standard gold and copper money,—the *suvarṇa* and the *paṇa* or *kārṣāpaṇa*—but differs as regards the weight of the standard silver coin—the *dharana*. This difference may be easily accounted for. The prescribed weight of the *dharana* in the Arthaśāstra closely approximates to the prescribed weight of the *suvarṇa* and *paṇa* the margin being explicable by the fact that since the weight of the *gaurasarṣapa* and the *guñja* or *kṛṣṇala* might slightly vary in different parts of India, the ratio between the two given in the Smṛtis may not be the exact standard. It seems that the author of the Arthaśāstra aimed at a currency reform whereby the same weight standard could be prescribed for the three classes of coins like many other projected reforms in other spheres of *administration*.[1]

Shāma Śāstrī claims that the *kārṣāpaṇa* which according to Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya was in earlier times equivalent to 16 *māsas*, indicated the Arthaśāstra's equation of 1 *suvarṇa* or *karṣa* to 16 *māsas*. The doctor has confused between the weight standard of *karṣa* (to which conformed the standard gold coin *suvarṇa*) with the silver money called *kārṣāpaṇa*. In the Arthaśāstra's table 1 *karṣa* = 16 *māsas* = 80 *guñjas* or *kṛṣṇalas* (or *ratis*) according to Smṛti nomenclature while a *kārṣāpaṇa* weighs 56 grains or 32 *kṛṣṇalas*.[2] The *kārṣāpaṇa* of Patañjali may of course be identified with the *dharana* of the Arthaśāstra which is equated with 16 silver *māsas*. But this equation is repeated with Manu (VII, 135-36). Yājñavalkya (I. 364) and Viṣṇu (IV. 11-12) and in this as in many other respects the author of the Arthaśāstra may have merely lined up with contemporary Smṛti literature without caring whether the system described prevailed in his time actually or only in tradition ;—or the system may have been revived from the 1st century A.D.

The standard gold coin in the Arthaśāstra is *suvarṇa* which in earlier literature is *niṣka*, *śatamāna* and *kṛṣṇala* and in later ones *dināra*. But no chronological demarcation can be drawn between

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[1] C. D. Chatterji, *op cit.*, pp. 423 ff.

[2] The average weight of the Rudradāmaka *kahāpaṇa* or old silver punch-marked coin is 42 grains of 1 *nīlakahāpaṇa* $\equiv \frac{42 \times 4}{3}$ grs. $\equiv$ 32 *kṛṣṇalas* or *ratio*, 1 *rati* being approximately equal to 1·75 grs., C. D. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, pp. 423 ff.

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the *suvarṇa* and the *dināra*. The *dināra* never became a standard token coin all over India though it is found here and there from the 1st century A.D. while on the other hand the *suvarṇa* continues to be the standard as late as in Usavadāta's Nasik Inscriptions equalling 35 *kārṣāpaṇas*. Thus the mention of *suvarṇa* as standard gold coin places the Arthaśāstra positively later than the stage when the *niṣka* was the current coin as represented in the Epics and the Jātakas, but not necessarily earlier than the 1st century B.C. when the *dināra* began to obtain currency in parts of India.

The comparison of the political and social theories of the Arthaśāstra with the fragments of Megasthenes bespeaks a similar wrong mode of approach towards the chronological problem as its comparison with the legal injunctions. A political philosopher is no historian. Had Kauṭilya been the maker of the Maurya Empire and founder of the dynasty as well as the author of the monumental treatise it is of course likely that his pet theories would have been worked out in practice and Megasthenes' testimony agreed in many details over them. But Megasthenes differs no less than he agrees. He witnesses land-assessment at $\frac{1}{4}$ of produce, the Arthaśāstra at $\frac{1}{6}$ in normal times. He refers to a good war-practice that crops and lands are not destroyed by belligerents, the Arthaśāstra definitely enjoins such devastation (IX. i). His affirmation that infliction of injury on royal artisans or evasion of municipal tithe entailed death sentence is not found in the Arthaśāstra's penal code—which is more akin to that of Manu and Yājñavalkya. The evidences of Megasthenes on writing, on famine and on usury though faulty, contain an indirect truth which substantially militates against the Arthaśāstra.

While these conflicting evidences are dismissed on the score of the rashness of Megasthenes' statements the observation on non-existence of slavery is adduced as tallying with the liberal rules of the Arthaśāstra on slaves. But in the Arthaśāstra's time there were *mleccha* slaves who are summarily passed over, but who obviously far out-numbered the *ārya* slaves and for whom there was no mitigation. Megasthenes therefore seems to have either made a statement without knowledge of facts and consequently of no worth, or the foreign slaves must not have been so numerous in his day as in the time of the Arthaśāstra.

The supposition that the Arthaśāstra reflects pre-Buddhistic society does not stand in the face of the clear reference to *stūpa* (XIII. ii) and to the *śākyas* and Ājivikas. The proscription of these people along with the Sudra and the *pravrājita* (III. xx) in ceremonials devoted to the gods and the manes is characteristic of the movement of Brāhmanical revival which is held to have begun from about the

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time of the Sungas. The use of the word *śākya* to denote a *bhikṣu* is of special significance. We do not come across such use earlier than in Kuṣāṇa inscriptions where the word *sākyabhikṣu* is *common-place* [1] and later in the Divyāvadāna.

So far for the weaknesses of the 4th century theory. There are positive evidences of more weight which point to the 1st century A.D.

The strongest point in support of the post-Christian origin of the Arthaśāstra is the structure of the text. It is striking that it not only expounds a methodology of treating a subject which is foreign to earlier works but actually and scrupulously follows that methodology (*tantrayukti*). The medical treatise of Suśruta which is assigned to about the 2nd century A.D. and the Pali works Nettipakaraṇa and Peṭakopadesa belonging to about the 1st century A.D. follow the same order and expound it just in the same manner. Suśruta in particular agrees with the Arthaśāstra in definition and even the number of the *tantrayuktis* which is 32 (Uttaratantra LXV). The nomenclature is also the same except that for the Arthaśāstra's *upamānaṃ* and *uttarapakṣa* Suśruta substitutes *anekanta* and *nirṇaya* respectively. The definitions resemble not only in idea but in many cases also in language. A few parallels may be quoted.

Arthaśāstra.	*Suśruta.*
1. *Yam-artham-adhikṛtyo-cyate tad-adhikaraṇaṃ.*	Same.
2. *Sāstrasya prakaraṇā-nupūrvi-vidhānaṃ.*	*Prakaraṇānupūrvyā-bhihitaṃ vidhānaṃ.*
3. *Vākyayojanā yogah.*	*Yena vākyam yujyate sa yogah.*
4. *Samāsa-vākyam-uddeśah.*	*Samāsa-kathanam-uddeśah.*
5. *Vyāsavākyaṃ nirddeśah.*	*Vistara vacanaṃ nirddeśah.*
6. *Yad-anuktam-arthād-apadyate sā-rthāpattih.*	*Yad-akīrtitam-arthād-āpadyate sā-rthāpattih.*
7. *Ubhayato-hetumānartha-saṃśayah.*	*Ubhaya-hetudarśanaṃ samśayah.*
8. *Yena vākyam samāpyate sa vākyaśeṣah.*	*Yena padenā-nuktena vākyaṃ samāpyate sa vākyaśeṣah.*
9. *Paravākyam-apratisiddham-anumataṃ.*	*Paramatam-apratisiddham-anumataṃ.*
10. *Atiśaya varṇaṇā vyākhyāṇaṃ.*	*Atisayopa-varṇanaṃ vyākhyāṇāṃ.*
11. *Abhipluta-vyapakarṣaṇam-apavargah.*	*Abhivyāpyāpakarṣaṇam-apavargah*, etc. etc.

[1] For references, see Epigraphia Indica, Vol. X, p. 222.

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That Suśruta's definitions are a little more elaborate and precise is easily explained by the improvement undergone in a few intervening decades. It may be noted that later literature do not formulate but simply follow the method and in them its divisions evolve and multiply as for example in the Saṃhitā of Caraka which follows 34 sub-divisions (*Siddhisthāna*, XII).[1]

The reference to Cīna in the Arthaśāstra is a distinct pointer to an age much later than the year 249 B.C. when the Ts'in dynasty came to rule in China whence the name Cīna was introduced in India. The significant name appears in no Indian literature of proved earlier date. The earliest Pali reference to Cīna and Cīnapaṭṭa occurs in the Buddhavaṃsa and the Apadāna (I. 14; 406, 14), the two Pali compilations that were not included in the canon earlier than in the 1st century B.C. The instances in the Epics are evidently later interpolations as is further proved by the different readings in available recensions. To parade their geographical and racial knowledge the pedants of a later age introduced the Cīnas, the Sakas, the Yavanas (sometimes even the Romakas and the Pārasikas) and other generic terms indicating foreign barbarians along with the indigenous barbarians who existed from an older time and had place in the original text. These Cīnas inhabited the borderlands along the Vālhīka, the Tibetan valleys and the Prāgjyotiṣa and possibly implied the Mongoloid races percolating from the Himalayan ranges or the people who acknowledged some sort of suzerainty under the Chinese empire (Rāmāyaṇa, IV. 44, 12–14; Mahābhārata II. 26, 9; 51, 23; III. 176; VI. 9). Their chief produce was skin as well as woollen textile and fabrics of jute and silk in which they specialized along with the people of Vālhī (*pramāṇa-rāga-sparśādyāṃ vālhī cīna samudbhavaṃ: Aurṇañca rānkavañcaiva paṭajaṃ kīṭajantathā.* Mbh. II. 51, 26). In the Arthaśāstra Sāmūra, Cīnasi and Sāmūli are skins procured from Vālhava which according to Bhaṭṭaswāmin is the name of a country on the Himalayan borders; and the silk and jute fabrics have become famous Chinese luxuries in Indian market (tayā kauṣeyaṃ cīnapaṭṭaśca cīnabhūmijā vyākhyātāh, II. xi). This is reminiscent of the verse in the Buddhavaṃsa, XXIV. 11, which runs as: 'pallunnaṃ cinapaṭṭañca koseyyaṃ kambalaṃ pi ca'. The statements of the Mahābhārata, the Arthaśāstra and the Buddhavaṃsa are remarkably parallel and reflect approximately the same age which in the case of the Buddhavaṃsa cannot be earlier than the 1st century B.C. From Chinese and Indian sources it is definitely known that this flourishing intercourse between China and India began from the dawn of the Christian era.

[1] See B. M. Barua—Old Brahmi Inscriptions, p. 285.

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No less significant is the reference to Ceylonese sandal as Pārasamudraka (II. xi, Bhaṭṭaswāmin's commentary). In the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea of which the date is conclusively fixed near about the 6th decade of the 1st century A.D., Ceylon is referred to as Palisimundu. Now Megasthenes knows Ceylon as Taprobane. The same name is seen in Asoka's Edicts. The Rāmāyaṇa, however, knows it not only as Tāmraparṇi but also as Siṃhala and Laṃkā. Had the name Pārasamudra been in vogue in the time of the original composition of the Rāmāyaṇa which is not far removed from the beginning of the *Maurya Empire*[1] it would most probably have been used by the author of the Epic. The Arthaśāstra is thus acquainted with a name that seems to have existed in the 1st century A.D. but not earlier.

The industrial guilds in the Arthaśāstra are a constant source of menace and dangerous rival to royal authority. Villages and agricultural operations are protected against their interference. They supply militia to the royal force and are alternately wooed or intrigued against by kings. They serve as State banks and by means of sinister cartels and cornerings influence price. This extraordinary growth of the *śreṇīs* into an incalculable political and economic force is suggested to have been a later development by a comparative study of the earlier and later Smṛtis and post-Christian inscriptions. In Manu and Yājñavalkya the cartel and corner systems are found in full swing, an unwholesome factor in the market raising and lowering price by their machinations. The banking function of the *śreṇīs* referred to in the Arthaśāstra (V. ii ; VII. xi) is characteristic of a later age of thriving money transactions and speedy circulation of capital, and the earliest evidence we have of such operations is in Usavadāta's Nasik Inscription assigned to the 2nd century A.D.

The emergency tax or sur-tax of *praṇaya* (V. ii) appears in the Arthaśāstra and in Rudradāman's Junagadh Rock Inscription but in no revenue or fiscal list of earlier literature or *inscriptions*.[2] What is more striking is that this levy is mentioned in the Arthaśāstra without reference to any controversy by the author, a levy on the justice of which there might well become dispute. It may have been that the Sakas first introduced it and the earlier teachers were strangers to the tax or the distinct name by which it was known.

The Arthaśāstra inaugurates the important system of specifying dates in terms of regnal years and months, fortnights and days of an official year (*Rājavarṣaṃ māsah pakṣo divasaśea vyuṣṭaṃ* II. vi).

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[1] Winternitz—History of Indian Literature, Vol. I.

[2] See Ray Chowdhuri—Political History of Ancient India, 3rd Edn., p. 7.

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'But so far as the written records of Asoka hitherto discovered go he has nowhere mentioned the dates in term of the year, month and day. It is in the Kuṣāṇa records that the dates have been stated for the first time in term of the regnal year, and in that of the month and the day of an official year, cf. '*Devaputrasya Kaniṣkasya saṃ* 5 : *he ḷ di l*'. The specification of the date in term of the regnal year, and the month, half-month and day of an official year as enjoined in the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra is a convention which is met with for the first time in the earliest Sanskrit inscription of Rudradāman (A.D. 150) : '*Rudradāmano varṣe dvisaptatitame* (72) *Mārgaśirṣabahulapratipadāyām*'. The convention once established was adhered to in later Sanskrit *inscriptions*'.[1]

In the State contemplated in the Arthaśāstra Sanskrit is the official language. It is almost an established fact that from the time of the Maurya Empire right up to the beginning of the Christian era various forms of Prākṛt remained popular and official language while Sanskrit was confined to the cultured few. This is suggested by coin-legends and *inscriptions*[2] as well as by the rise of the two famous grammatical works, that of Patañjali in the north and that of Sarvavarman in the south who moreover preludes his book (Kātantra) by quoting an anecdote to illustrate how ignorant even the kings had become of the sacred language. The grammatical works heralded the revival and popularization of Sanskrit to which the Arthaśāstra is a clear testimony.

The Arthaśāstra shows intimate acquaintance with the Purāṇas and with epic literature not only in its main plot but in many of the subsidiary *ākhyāṇas* such as those of Nala, Vātapi, Māṇḍavya, Dāṇḍakya, etc. and in the theories of the great preceptors and theoreticians who are represented therein. As pointed out by Jolly most of the authorities in the field of political and social sciences quoted in the Arthaśāstra figure in the Mahābhārata and these warn against fixing the age of its composition as high as 325 B.C.

These are not to deny that the Arthaśāstra contains much that must be thrown back to the 4th century B.C. or much earlier. As has been pointed out already, this is the general characteristic of *śāstra* literature that they present an ideal rather than real state of society and often pass earlier opinions as their own. Unlike the Mānava Dharmaśāstra the Arthaśāstra seems to be the composition of a single author but it does not follow that all he wrote was his own. In fact, he acknowledges his debt to his predecessors a long list of whom frequently appears in the book. And in the process of

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[1] B. M. Barua—Asoka Edicts in New Light, p. 75.
[2] See Rhys Davids—Buddhist India, pp. 134–36, 317-18.

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taking from earlier authorities with or without acknowledgment theories and practices crept in the text which did not belong to the author's time.

It is tempting to synchronise a great treatise like the Arthaśāstra with the foundation of the biggest empire of ancient India. But the chicanery and intrigue, the ruthless police methods, the nightmare of sedition, the unscrupulous use of poison and women reflect not the formation of a stable empire rather its bankruptcy and decadence. The vicious theory of circles of states speaks of the *mātsyanyāya* or primitive anarchy among bundles of independent and semi-independent statelings each with unlimited territorial ambition coalescing and splitting with kaleidoscopic variety, faithlessness to allies and disrespect for treaties betray an absence of political morality which evoked scathing denunciation from Bāna the representative poet of another empire. The political philosophy of the Arthaśāstra fits not so well with Maurya imperialism as with an age of turmoil when local principalities were dissolving in internecine war.

A possible explanation of the testimony to Kauṭilyan authorship in later literature may be this. Kauṭilya or Cāṇakya or Viṣṇugupta may not have been altogether a fictitious figure as supposed by *Johnston*[1] and Jolly. He is known both to the Brahmanical tradition of the Mudrārākṣasa and Viṣṇupurāṇa and to the Buddhist tradition of the Mahāvaṃsa and Mañjusrimūlakalpa. But had he been the man behind the throne the historians of Alexander who wrote not solely upon Megasthenes' record but utilized plenty of materials now lost to us—Justin, Quintius Curtius, Arrian, Strabo and Plutarch for example,—would not have dismissed him with silent indifference while naming Candragupta and Nanda. Shāma Śāstrī fails to note that no literature earlier than from the 4th century A.D. mentions Kauṭilya or ascribes to him either the destruction of the Nandas or the composition of the Arthaśāstra or quotes from the book. The Milindapañho, a work believed to be compiled about the 1st century A.D., speaks of Nanda, his general Bhaddasāla, their great battle with Candragupta and of the heavy carnage on both sides but not a word about Kauṭilya. Probably he was boosted by orthodox Brāhmaṇas during the zenith of the revivalist movement under the Guptas and it was sought to prove that the king, a Kṣatriya or a Sudra, was a mere protégé of the Brāhmaṇa chancellor. The claim was bolstered up by the ascription of a masterly digest of political science to his authorship. The real author who hailed from a later age, remained obscure and was forgotten, liberally borrowed from earlier savants among whom Kauṭilya

[1] J.R.A.S., 1929.

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or Cāṇakya was one and may be, the chief, just as several other collections of political maxims were issued under the name of Cāṇakya held or supposed to be a crafty politician of antiquity ; and this may be a plausible explanation of the social and political institutions of widely separated ages reflected in the floating doctrines incorporated systematically in the book.[1]

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[1] Some of the points discussed here were raised in a footnote of my article in the Modern Review of September, 1937.

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MUSICAL CULTURE IN THE RĀMĀYAṆA

By Miss P. C. Dharma

Music in India is as old as the Vedas. As many portions of Ṛk-veda had to be sung during the sacrifices, the sages set those portions to music and collected them together in one group called the Sāma-veda.

The Sāma-veda is the oldest musical composition extant. Rāvaṇa is described in the Rāmāyaṇa as hymning God Śaṅkara with the Sāma-veda hymns (VII. 16. 35).

The next oldest musical composition extant in Sanskrit is the Rāmāyaṇa—a kāvya or poem set to music by Vālmīki and intended to be sung (not merely recited). This musical composition is of the Gīta type as stated by Vālmīki himself. It throws considerable light on the musical culture of the age, and abounds with references to music, and dancing.

The science and art of music must have reached a high state of perfection in those days. Music was highly esteemed by the public. It was the most widely diffused of all the arts at the time of the Rāmāyaṇa. All classes of people, both men and women, learnt music. The audience collected by Rāma to hear the music recitation of the Rāmāyaṇa during his Aśvamedha sacrifice is said to have been composed of all classes of people in the kingdom like grammarians, astrologers, linguists, learned men, skilled musicians, etc. (VII. 94. 4 FF). The love of music extended even to the ascetics of the forest. Those sages were good critics of musical performances, and they have been described as listening with great delight and admiration to the recitation of Rāmāyaṇa by the bards Kuśa and Lava (I. 4. 15 FF). The description of Ayodhyā as resounding with the sweet sounds of the Vīṇā and Mṛdaṅga, and with the sounds of the martial drums of the soldiers—the Dundhubi and the Paṇava (I. 5. 18),—bears witness to the universal appreciation of music. Music was cultivated not only in Ayodhyā but also in Kiṣkindhā (IV. 27. 26), Laṅkā (V. 6. 12 ; V. 10. 37 FF) and the west coast (evidently Kerala) (III. 35. 19).

Music dominated the daily life of the kings and the people. The birthday, marriage and coronation festivities of Rāma were celebrated with music. Sugrīva's coronation festivities were also celebrated with music. Kings were roused from their slumber with music every morning (II. 65. 6 ; II. 88. 8 ; V. 18. 3).

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Music was one of the recreations of the princes and the masses. Rāma is said to have enjoyed music and dancing with Sītā after lunch (VII. 42. 20 F). Sugrīva and Rāvaṇa used to enjoy music and dancing with drink and revelry (IV. 27. 26 ; IV. 33. 20 ; V. 10. 32, 37 FF). Bharata was entertained with music when he felt depressed (II. 69. 4). Maidens have been described in the Rāmāyaṇa as enjoying themselves with dancing and singing (I. 32. 12 ; VII. 2. 11).

Music played a very prominent part in royal processions. Rāvaṇa used to go to his assembly hall with music. Daśaratha went in a procession with music to the sacrificial grounds. Bharata's army, when going to fetch Rāma from the forest, was accompanied by musicians and dancing girls (VI. 130. 15, 17). When Sugrīva went with Lakṣmaṇa to Rāma to apologize for his delay in sending the search party, he marched with music in a royal procession (IV. 38. 12).

Music was not confined to the civil population. Armies marched both in peace and war with the military band. The call to arms to mobilize the troops in Laṅkā was by beating the Bheri or the big drum, etc. (VI. 32. 45). Rāvaṇa sallied out of Laṅkā for battle with martial music.

Music was also requisitioned in welcoming guests. Sage Bharadwaja specially provided music when entertaining Bharata and his army (II. 91. 45 F). Ayodhyā citizens welcomed Daśaratha and Ṛśyaśṛṅga, and Rāma with music (I. 11. 26 ; VI. 130. 15).

We meet with references to funeral music also in the Rāmāyaṇa. Rāvaṇa's corpse was carried to the burning ghat with funeral music (VI. 114. 105).

Dramatic performances must also have been prevalent as actors are frequently mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa. There are references in the text to dancing masters and dancing girls. The dancing girls of the royal household used to have dancing masters to guide them (II. 83. 15).

From a musical metaphor used by Śrī Rāma (IV. 28. 36 FF), we gather that a concert party consisted of the dancers, the dancing master, songster and drummers. The concerts of the day evidently corresponded to the present-day nautches.

We can get an idea of the musical theories of the day from Vālmīki's description of the recitation of the Rāmāyaṇa by Kuśa and Lava.

His ideas on the theory of music are sound and in entire accord with the practice of the present day, and with the directions laid down in Śarṇgadeva's Sangīta Ratnākara and Bharata's Nātya-śāstra. We shall deal with his views as given in the 4th chapter

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of the BĀLA KĀṆḌA and in the 93rd chapter of the UTTARA KĀṆḌA.

According to Vālmīki the words in a musical composition must sound pleasantly, both when recited and when sung. The composition must beautifully express one or more of the nine RASAS or sentiments recognized by the dramaturgists. These sentiments must be roused in the minds of the hearers. The nine sentiments recognized were :—

ŚṚṄGĀRA, KĀRUṆYA, HĀSYA, VĪRA, BHAYĀNAKA, RAUDRA, BIBHATSA, ADBHUTA and ŚĀNTA,

i.e. the sentiments of love, tenderness, humour, heroism, terror, anger, disgust, surprise and tranquillity.

The music must be capable of being reproduced in accordance with a recognized scale, composed of the seven notes SA, RI, GA, MA, PA, DHA and NI. VĀLMĪKI does not make any mention of different scales. He only notes that the seven notes are used in singing the Rāmāyaṇa. (There is only one reference to the RĀGA of later writers. The KAIŚIKA referred to in V. 1. 173 is said to be one kind of Rāga).

VĀLMĪKI was evidently of opinion that vocal music must have the accompaniment of a stringed instrument like the Vīṇā in order to enhance the pleasure of music.

A composition must be well adapted to the music. It must be sung in three speeds DRUTA, MADHYA and VILAMBITA, i.e. quick, medium and slow time. It must be adapted both for vocal and instrumental music.

The qualifications for songsters as laid down by VĀLMĪKI were many. Songsters had to possess a knowledge of the Science of Music (GĀNDHARVA TATVA). A practical knowledge of melody, notes, octaves, etc. (Mūrchana and Sthāna) were also necessary. They had also to possess a good voice. This is of course the very first qualification of a vocal songster. The voice had not merely to be a good trained voice, but had to be naturally sweet. It had also to be mellifluous, flexible, have a range of 3 octaves, and be capable of executing trills and flourishes. The singing had to rouse the emotions of the audience. The boys KUŚA and LAVA have been described as being blessed with a sweet voice, in singing as well as in conversation (I. 4. 5 and 10 F). The songs had to be sung in the natural sweet voice (and not in a falsetto voice) to give the greatest pleasure. VĀLMĪKI emphasizes the value of a good voice when he refers to singing of the GAṆIKAS or dancing girls (sent to lure ṚŚYAŚṚṄGA) (I. 10. 10).

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RĀMA has given a beautiful description of an ideal speaking voice in IV. 3. 22 F when applauding HANUMĀN's speech.

The bards who aroused RĀMA from sleep early morning are said to have had sweet and trained voices (VII. 37. 3).

According to VĀLMĪKI (as already pointed out) not merely the singing voice but also the speaking voice had to be sweet, as the beautifully strung words had to be melodiously expressed. This is particularly necessary in the case of Sanskrit songs (I. 4. 11).

A good personal appearance was considered desirable for a songster. It was supposed to enhance the pleasure of vocal music (I. 4. 10 and 11). The female songsters are described as decking themselves with fine clothing and tinkling ornaments (I. 10. 10) to improve their appearance. (Whenever women are mentioned as singing and dancing, in the Rāmāyaṇa VĀLMĪKI alludes to the sweet music of the tinkling bells of the anklets and the RAŚANA (III. 11. 19 ; IV. 13. 22 and IV. 33. 24).

The songsters had to memorize the whole song, and rehearse it well (I. 4. 12). A faithful reproduction of the song as composed was also emphasized. The musical compositions had always to be sung as taught by the great composers without any ingenious attempts to improve the compositions of the Masters of Music, or supplement them by musical flourishes (I. 4. 13). The songster had to give undivided attention in reproducing the music as intended by the composer. The singing had to be full and long drawn out. This kind of singing might be compared to the alapa in slow time and to the Padam singing of the present day.

Another qualification was the ability to sing in unison with another songster. The song would then be harmonious and pleasant (I. 4. 10, etc.).

Just as an actor enters into the spirit of the play, the songster had fully to enter the spirit of the composer and the particular sentiment displayed in the song.

Attention had to be paid as much to the words of the musical composition as to music. It was not only necessary to bring out the exquisite music of the composer but also the sense of the words set to music by the tones. The songsters had to pronounce the words in full and not mince them.

VĀLMĪKI was of opinion that appreciation by an intelligent audience, as expressed by the applause at suitable intervals, stimulated the songsters to greater and finer efforts. This fact was well known to the sages who listened to the recitation of the Rāmāyaṇa (I. 4. 17, etc.)

At present in South India importance is attached to the music of the SONGS and the RHYTHM or LAYA. In the

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Rāmāyaṇa stress was laid on the clear enunciation of the song also (IV. 33. 20). Unless the words be distinctly made out, it is not possible to make out the meaning of the song and appreciate its sentiment. When the Rāmāyaṇa was sung by VĀLMĪKI's pupils, three kinds of pleasure were said to have been produced, viz. the pleasure from the music, the pleasure from the sentiment expressed, and the pleasure from the realistic representation of events (I. 4. 9, 18).

The usual mode of publication of musical compositions in India from time immemorial has been to teach pupils and send them out to palaces, temples, houses of well-known patrons of music, etc., and make them sing before large audiences. VĀLMĪKI taught his composition to the two youthful minstrels and directed them to sing the poem in hermitages, in the houses of Brahmans, in the streets, in the sacrificial halls, and in the palaces—in fact wherever there was a possibility of having an appreciative audience (VII. 93. 6, 7). Three special instructions given by VĀLMĪKI to KUŚA and LAVA are particularly noteworthy: He asked them to eat sweet fruits and roots in small quantities, to sing exactly as taught and to take no money or remuneration under any circumstances (VII. 93. 8, 11 and 12).[1]

Music was known in olden days as Gāndharvam (VII. 23. 51) or Saṅgītam. The science or the principles of music was called Gāndharva Tatva (I. 4. 10). Music included the following: Gīta or vocal music, Vāditra or instrumental music (II. 15. 12) and Nṛtya or dancing (V. 20. 10). There was always a close association between music and dancing. GĪTA was always accompanied with instrumental music (I. 32. 12; III. 11. 7; IV. 27. 26; IV. 13. 22 and IV. 33. 20, etc.). The songster was called a GĀYAKA (I. 4. 22, 26 and II. 6. 14). The song was called GEYA (I. 4. 8).

The MĀRGA style of singing was adopted by VĀLMĪKI (I. 4. 30). It is not now in vogue. The style has been lost sight of. This style is spoken of as the celestial style by later writers, like ŚARṄGADHARA. The present-day style is the DEŚĪ or the Provincial.

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[1] The minstrels KUŚA and LAVA could not be tempted by RĀMA even with 18,000 pieces of gold coins.

The greatest composer of modern times, TYĀGARĀJA, could never be tempted with money by the RĀJA of TANJORE. To the end of his life, he went round the streets singing and begging for alms.

The BHAGAVATHARS in South India may be seen even at the present day going about the streets singing to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument the TAMBURA and a CHIPLA (for keeping time). The practice has been evidently kept up for nearly 3,000 years. These BHAGAVATHARS take only doles of rice, as they go round the streets.

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The following musical terms are frequently met with in the Rāmāyaṇa :—

ĀTODHYA—Musical instruments (V. 10. 49).
GĀNA—Singing (VII. 94. 15).
GĀNDHARVA—Music (VII. 23. 51).
GĀYAKA—Songster (I. 4. 22).
GEYA—Song (I. 4. 8).
KAIŚIKA—The commentator understands by KAIŚIKA a particular 'Tune' or 'Mode' (V. 1. 173).
LAYA—Unison with the Vīṇā and Mṛdaṅga (I. 4. 8).
MĀRGA—Style of music (I. 4. 30).
MŪRCHANA—Scales (I. 4. 10).
PRAMĀṆA—Refers to three kinds of speeds or tempo, fast time, medium time and slow time (I. 4. 8).
RASA—The nine sentiments expressed in music and dancing (I. 4. 9).
SAPTAJĀTI—The seven notes of the OCTAVE (I. 4. 8).
STHĀNA—The three Octaves (VII. 93. 14).
SVARA—Voice or notes (I. 4. 10).
TANTRĪ or a stringed musical instrument (Vīṇā) used as accompaniment (I. 4. 8).
TRISTHĀNA—The three Octaves (VII. 71. 15).
VĀDITRA—Instrumental Music (II. 15. 12).
VĀDYA—Musical instruments (V. 27. 9).

The musical instruments in use called VĀDITRA or ĀTODHYA (II. 15. 12 and V. 10. 49) were divided into four classes [1] :—

1. TATA—Vīṇā and other stringed instruments.
2. ĀNADDHA—Stretched or leather bound instruments—various kinds of drums, tabors, etc.
3. SUṢIRA—Hollow or wind instruments—e.g. Flute, Trumpets or Conch.
4. GHAṆA—Solid ones like bronze-bells, cymbals, gongs.

They were also divided as follows :—

A. *Stringed Instruments or Tantrī :*
(1) VĪṆĀ (six stringed) sometimes played with plectrum (V. 10. 37).
(2) VIPAÑCĪ (seven stringed) VĪṆĀ (VI. 24. 42 F).

Vīṇā was the most favourite instrument of the songsters for accompaniment, pitch, and time (keeping time). It is the

[1] See Govindaraja's commentary on V. 10. 49.

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most ancient instrument known in India. It was said to be first used by the Celestials. It is popular even now.

B. *Wind Instruments :*

VEṆU or VAMŚA or FLUTE (IV. 30, 51 ; V. 10. 40).
ŚANKHA or CONCH (VI. 50. 6).
TŪRYA or TRUMPET (IV. 13. 22 and IV. 30. 51).

C. *Percussion Instruments :*

(1) *With Leather facing.*

BHERI (VI. 50. 60).
DINḌIMA (V. 10. 44).
DUNDUBHI and KOṆA (VI. 57. 28 ; VI. 32. 45).
MAḌḌUKA (V. 10. 38).
MṚDAṄGA (VI. 50. 16).
MURAJA (II. 39. 41).
MURAVA (V. 11. 5).
PAṆAVA (VI. 59. 8).
PATAHA (VI. 96. 35).

(2) *Of earthenware.*

KALAŚĪ (V. 10. 46).

(3) *Metallic.*

GHAṆṬA (VI. 124. 125).
SVASTIKA (VI. 131. 37).
TĀLA (VI. 52. 24).

The musical instruments used in the military band were : BHERI, DUNDUBHI, MṚDAṄGA, PAṆAVA, SVASTIKA, ŚANKHA, TŪRYA (and VAMŚA also sometimes). RĀVAṆA and PRAHASTA marched with music to the battlefield (VI. 50. 60 ; VI. 57. 28 ; VI. 59. 8 ; VI. 96. 35 and VI. 131. 37).

This military band consisted of an odd combination of instruments which could not have produced any harmony. It is curious to note that the Hindus never had a talent for orchestral music. There was no regular orchestral music although there are references to the bands of musicians in processions. They seemed to have been ignorant of what are known as harmony and counterpoints in modern music. The only approach to harmony was the one between vocal music and the accompaniments.

The belts or zones and the anklets of women were always fitted with tinkling little bells,[1] to produce sweet sounds :

[1] The music of tinkling ornaments of women was believed to enhance the pleasurable effect of dancing to musical accompaniments (VI. 131. 10).

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'The song of women charmed the ear [1]
And, blending with their dulcet tones
Their anklets' chime and tinkling zones.'

If the size and shape of the tinkling bells be made to vary, one can easily understand the sweetness of the varied tones (VI. 124. 25).

Music has always been associated with religious worship amongst the Hindus. In the Rāmāyaṇa ŚATRUGHNA while resting in VĀLMĪKI'S hermitage after the slaughter of the Demon LAVANA is said to have been delighted with the SAṄKĪRTANS at night in praise of Śrī RĀMA (VII. 66. 11 and 12).

These SAṄKĪRTANS must have been common during the Epic period. They find their counterparts in the 'BHAJANAS' of the present day. When BHARATA got news of RĀMA'S return from exile, he ordered ŚATRUGHNA to arrange for the worship of the idols in the temples of AYODHYĀ with music (VI. 130. 2).

RĀVAṆA after worshipping the crystal idol of ŚIVA-LIṄGA on the sandy bed of the river NARMADĀ danced and sang (VII. 31. 40 F). The Śaivite worshippers do so even at the present day in South India, as ŚIVA is represented as being fond of dancing to the rhythm of the DAMARU.

ACTING was also associated with music. The actors on the stage had to sing very often while acting their parts. In the royal households the dancers and actors were often grouped together as NATA NARTAKAS. They formed part of the camp followers sent with the army of ŚATRUGHNA when he went forth to fight Demon LAVANA (VII. 64. 3).

Though music was cultivated both by men and women, women songsters were more appreciated on account of their ability to sing in the higher octaves and for the natural sweetness of their voice.

RĀMA and RĀVAṆA are said to have taken delight in hearing the music and witnessing the dance of beautiful and young damsels, well dressed and decked with jewels (VII. 42. 20 FF and V. 10. 31 FF). Women in olden days could not only sing and dance but also play on the various musical instruments.

The women in RĀVAṆA'S harem could play on all the stringed and percussion instruments. (See 10th Canto of Book V (V. 10. 37, etc.).)

Moderate drink was supposed to make the damsels amorous and enhance the liveliness of the dancing and singing. The youthful and beautiful maidens who entertained RĀMA and SĪTĀ with their music are described as being under the influence of drink (VII. 42. 20).

[1] Griffith's translation of the Rāmāyaṇa, page 478.

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Voluptuaries like RĀVAṆA enjoyed music after eating and drinking with their sweethearts at night.

The modern Night Clubs would find a parallel in the orgies of RĀVAṆA described in Canto 10 and 11 of the SAUNDARA KĀṆḌA, Book V.

Women were supposed to sing very sweetly when they were under the influence of love. HANUMĀN listened in LAṄKĀ to the sweet songs of the soldiers' wives, intoxicated with love and drink (V. 4. 11).

The classes of professional musicians mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa are :—

1. NATA—Actor (VIII. 64. 3).
2. NARTAKA—Dancer (VII. 64. 3).
3. GĀYAKA—Songster (II. 6. 14).
4. TĀLAVACARA—Musicians keeping time (II. 3. 16).
5. ŚAILŪṢA—Dancing Master. (They were often pimps.) (II. 30. 8.)
6. GAṆIKA or VESYA—Dancing Girl (II. 3. 16 and II. 15. 8).

In this connection it must be mentioned that many dancing girls attached to the places were of GOOD CHARACTER. All of them were not necessarily prostitutes [1] (II. 15. 8).

Music can only flourish in countries where there are kings, or aristocrats interested in music, to patronize the musicians. When after the death of King DAŚARATHA in AYODHYĀ, the Cabinet Ministers met and requested VASIṢṬHA to make arrangements for the appointment of a king ; one of the many reasons given by them was that acting, dancing, festivals and concerts would cease to exist in a kingless country, for want of patronage (II. 67. 15). Kings used to patronize musicians not only for their own relaxation, but also for providing music for the people on festive occasions such as sacrifices (VII. 91. 21). As stated before the various capitals like AYODHYĀ, KIṢKINDHĀ and LAṄKĀ used to resound with music.

When Prince BHARATA entered AYODHYĀ in ignorance of his father's death, he was struck with the unusual absence of music in the streets.

Musical metaphors have been profusely scattered throughout the Rāmāyaṇa. VĀLMĪKI would not have done so if the masses had not been very familiar with music, dancing and acting in their every-day life.

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[1] When VASIṢṬHA was making the arrangements for the coronation festivities of RĀMA (as Crown Prince), he ordered the ministers to keep in readiness, amongst other things, dancing girls of GOOD CHARACTER (II. 15. 8).

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Allusion has already been made to RĀMA'S musical metaphor from which we learn the details of a musical concert. From another musical metaphor used by RĀVAṆA we learn that the VĪṆĀ was played in those days with a plectrum, that dramatic performances were common, and that the actors played on the RAṄGA or the stage (VI. 24. 42). Many a musical metaphor can be found in the Rāmāyaṇa which can be understood and appreciated only by people with a musical training.

As pointed out in the beginning of this paper, a knowledge of music was very widespread during the Epic period amongst all classes of people in India. We may conclude by saying, that music and dancing were cultivated very much by both sexes during the Rāmāyaṇa period, in all strata of society, and much patronized by the kings and the public.

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THE VICISSITUDES OF THE MARRIAGE AGE OF GIRLS IN HINDU SOCIETY

By A. S. Altekar

The history of the marriage age of girls in Hindu society is a subject of fascinating interest. We find the age varying in different ages on account of certain definite views and circumstances prevailing in them. In this article we shall survey the history of the marriageable age from the Vedic times to the present day. The subject is not merely one of academic interest, but also of practical importance. The Sarda Act and the proposed amendments to it have long raised the controversy of the religious permissibility of the post-puberty marriages. A history of the subject will be of great utility in giving the proper historical and cultural background.

Girls were married at a fairly advanced age in the Vedic period. The precise age is not stated, but from the Avesta we learn that maidens were usually married at the age of 15 or 16 in ancient Iran (*Vendidād*, 14, 15). The same was the case in the Vedic period. The very term for marriage, *udvāha*, ' carrying away (of the bride) ', presupposes a post-puberty marriage, for it shows that immediately after her marriage, the bride went to her husband's house to live as his wife. A perusal of the marriage hymn (X, 85) shows that the bride was fully mature and quite grown up at the time of the marriage ; she is expressly described as blooming with youth and pining for a husband.[1] A hope is expressed that the bride would forthwith take over the reins of the household from her parents-in-law (v. 46). This would have been possible only in the case of grown-up brides, at least 16 or 17 years in age.

There are several references to unmarried girls growing old in their fathers' houses, and the Atharvaveda is full of charms and spells intended for compelling the love of a reluctant man or woman. At least some of these must have been intended to be used by maidens and bachelors, unsuccessful in winning the affection of the party desired. There are references to lovers following their sweethearts, giving them presents and yearning for mutual company. In one case we have the reference to a maiden pining for a husband approaching a youth anxious for a wife.[2] Under such circumstances, children

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[1] अन्यामिच्छ प्रफर्व्यां सं जायां पत्या सृज । X, 85, 22.

[2] एयमगन्पतिकामा जनिकामोऽहमागमम् ।
अश्वः कनिक्रदद्यथा भगेनाहं समागमम् ॥ *A.V.*, II, 30, 5.
अभित्वा योषणो दश जारं न कन्यानूषत । IX, 56, 3.

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of maidens were not unknown to society and we get references to their occasional exposures.[1]

Verses 27–9 and 37 of the marriage hymn describe the consummation of the marriage. The facts mentioned in the last paragraph make it clear that this event must have happened immediately after the marriage. It has been argued by some writers that we may suppose that this event took place several months or years after the marriage as the marriage hymn is a composite one, and that we cannot therefore conclude that child marriages were unknown to the Vedic age. The description of the bride as pining for a husband and blooming with youth renders this argument unacceptable.

Some other arguments advanced to prove the existence of child marriages in the Vedic age may also be considered here. It is true that in two passages of the Ṛigveda (I, 51, 13 and I, 116, 1) the word *arbha* has been used to denote the bride and the bridegroom. This word, however, denotes tenderness rather than childhood, for Vimada, who has been described as an *arbha* bridegroom, is seen to be defeating his rival in battle and winning his bride. This is possible only in the case of a full-grown youth. In another place (*R.V.*, VIII, 92, 4–7) we find a wife praying for hair growing at puberty; orthodox tradition itself, however, states that the cause for this prayer was not her childhood, but her suffering from a skin disease. Similarly in *R.V.*, I, 126, 6-7 we find a wife assuring her husband that she has profuse marks of full puberty on her person. This observation is made by the wife in the privacy of the bed-room to excite the passion of her lover and not to inform him of her age. There is thus no evidence to rebut the force and evidence of the passages and circumstances mentioned in the last two paras, which go to prove that marriages in the Vedic age took place when the parties were fully grown up.

The case continued to be the same down to about the 5th century B.C. The Gṛihya Sūtra literature composed at about this time lays down that the consummation of the marriage should take place on the fourth day. *Chaturthīkarma*, 'the event of the fourth day', long continued to be the technical name for the ritual prescribed at the consummation of the marriage. Some Gṛihya Sūtras also provide for the contingency of the bride being in her monthly course during the marriage ceremony. It is true that in a few Gṛihya Sūtras it is laid down that a bride should be a *nagnikā* at the time of

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[1] उत त्यं पुत्रमघ्न्यः पराष्टिं शतक्रतुः।
उक्थेष्विन्द्र आभजत्। IV, 30, 6.
See also *R.V.*, IV, 19, 9; *V.S.*, XXX, 6.

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her marriage. This term has been no doubt interpreted by some later commentators as denoting a girl of 5 or 6, who has no sense of bashfulness and who moves about without properly covering her body. This, however, is not the real or original meaning of the word. A bride of 16 has been elsewhere described as *nagnikā*[1] and one Gṛihya Sūtra lays it down that the *nagnikā* bride should also be a virgin at the time of her wedding.[2] Such a requirement in the case of a girl of 5 would be superfluous. The real meaning of the term *nagnikā*, when used by the Gṛihya Sūtras to describe the bride, really denotes a woman who is fit to immediately welcome her husband in privacy.[3]

The evidence from the epics and the Buddhist literature also shows that down to about 400 B.C. brides in cultured families used to be about 16 at the time of their marriage. They are often described as eagerly pining for being united with a mate. Nuns like Viśākhā and Kuṇḍalakeśā, who had entered the nunnery before their marriage, are represented as being either of the age of 16 or of the age of discretion when their marriages were being contemplated.[4] Brides in the Jātakas are also usually seen to be grown up. We often come across love affairs ; thus in one place we find a maiden named Paṭāchārā eloping with her lover, because her parents would not sanction her contemplated marriage.[5] Sītā, Kuntī and Draupadī were fully grown up at the time of their marriages, which were consummated immediately.

There is no doubt some ambiguity in the Rāmāyaṇa about the age of Sītā at the time of her marriage. In her talk with Rāvaṇa at the time when he had come to abduct her, she informs him that she was 18 at the time of her husband's banishment and that her

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[1] चिंशद्वर्षः षोडशवर्षां भार्यां विन्देत नग्निकाम् ।

Mbh. in Vīramitrodaya, Samskāraprakāśa, p. 766 (Cal. ed.).

[2] नग्निका सजाता ब्रह्मचारिणी । Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛihya Sūtra, I, 19, 2.

[3] तस्माद्बल्यविचेपणार्हा नग्निका मैथुनार्हेत्यर्थः । Mātṛidatta on the above.

When child marriages came into vogue, the meaning of the term was changed and it was maintained that it denotes a girl playing in dust without properly covering her person.

[4] राज गच्छेळतु एका सेठि दुहिता सोनसवस्सुद्देसिका अभिरूपा अच्छोसि दस्सनाय । तस्मिं च वये थिता नारियो पुरिसभासाय होंति पुरिसलोला । Comm. on *Dhammapāda*, 102.

A passage in *Sam. Ni.*, 37, 3, 1 points out that one of the evils to which women have to subject themselves is to go away from their parents' homes to those of their husbands' when they are young or *dahara*. The term *dahara* does not refer to childhood, because *Vimānavatthu*, 31, 5 describes a *dahara* wife as pure and chaste.

[5] *Therīgāthā*, No. 47 and comm.

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marriage had taken place 12 years earlier.[1] This would lead to the conclusion that Sītā was a child of 6 at the time of her wedding. This passage is, however, a spurious one ; Sītā, who was very anxious for her husband's safety, could hardly have discussed her history with Rāvaṇa. The Bālakāṇḍa, on the other hand, states that the marriages of Rāma and his brothers were consummated immediately after the return of the marriage party to Ayodhyā.[2] Similarly while narrating the story of her marriage to Anasūyā, Sītā describes to her the great anxiety of her father when she had attained an age fit for being united to a husband.[3] It is therefore clear that Sītā was a youthful maiden at the time of her marriage and the passage in Araṇyakāṇḍa, suggesting that she was a child of 6 at her marriage, is a later interpolation. It is true that Bhavabhūti also represents Sītā to have been quite a child at the time of her marriage ; he was, however, influenced by the practice of his age, rather than by the evidence of the earlier tradition.

Marriages at a lower age began to be advocated from about the 4th century B.C. The writers of the Dharmasūtras, who flourished from *c.* 400 B.C. to *c.* 100 A.D., begin to observe that marriages of girls should not be delayed long after their puberty. Two of them, viz. Vasishṭha and Baudhāyana, are prepared to recommend that girls may be kept unmarried for a period of three years after their attaining puberty, if there are difficulties in properly settling their marriages, and Manu concurs with them.[4] But Gautama and Vishṇu insist that marriages must be celebrated within three months of the

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[1] III, 47, 4 and 10.

[2] अभिवाद्याभिवाद्यांश्च सर्वा राजसुतास्तदा ।
रेमिरे मुदिताः सर्वा भर्तृभिः सहिता रहः । I, 77, 14-5.

[3] पतिसंयोगसुलभं वयो दृष्ट्वा तु मे पिता ।
चिंतामभ्यगमद्दीनो वित्तनाशादिवाधनः । II, 119, 34.
आविवाहसमयाद्गृहे वने शैशवे तदनु यौवने पुनः । *Uttararāmacharit*, I, 37.
शिशुर्दधती सुखम् । *Uttararāmacharit*, I, 20.

[4] त्रीणि वर्षाण्युदीक्षेत कुमारी ऋतुमती सती । *B.D.S.*, IV, 1, 14.
कुमारी ऋतुमती त्रीणि वर्षाण्युदीक्षेत ।
ऊर्ध्वं त्रिभ्यो वर्षेभ्यः पतिं विंदेत्तुल्यम् । *V.D.S.*, XVII, 59.
त्रीणि वर्षाण्युदीक्षेत कुमार्यृतुमती सती ।
ऊर्ध्वं तु कालादेतस्मादिन्देत सदृशं पतिम् । Manu, IX, 90.

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time of puberty.[1] Opinion was obviously divided at this time. Some thinkers pointed out that life was transitory, and if marriage was intended to ensure the continuance of the family, the bride should not be too young when it is performed. Others contended that absolute chastity was to be most desired and so we should select a bride, who should not have even dreamt of sexual love.[2] It is, however, necessary to point out that even those, who allowed a short period of three months after puberty, do not shower any curses upon the guardians, if they fail to perform the marriages within the ninety days' period of grace. Manu, who normally contemplates a pre-puberty marriage, goes to the extent of permitting the father to keep the daughter unmarried even to her life's end, if a suitable husband cannot be found.[3]

We may therefore conclude that during the period 400 B.C. to 100 A.D. the marriageable age of girls was lowered and the tendency on the whole was to perform it at about the time of puberty. There was, however, no uniformity in practice in society. The *Kāmasūtra*, which belongs to the end of this period, presupposes the existence of both the post-puberty and pre-puberty marriages (III, 2–4). The stories in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, which depict the social life of about this time, refer both to child marriages arranged by parents and love marriages arranged by the parties themselves (Chaps. 24, 124).

It is sometimes argued that girls used to be married not at about the age of 14 or 15 during the Mauryan period, but at the much younger age of 6 or 7. This contention is based upon Megasthenes, Fragment LI, where he states that among the Pāṇḍyas girls used to be married at the age of 6. Megasthenes had no first-hand information about the Pāṇḍya country and he makes his statement on the authority of a hearsay report, which gravely asserted that girls in that country could conceive at the age of 7, because of a favour conferred upon women there by Heracles of Greece, when he visited it (Arrain, chap. ix). The marriage at the age of 6 and conception at

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[1] चीन् कुमारी ऋतूनतीत्य स्वयं युञ्जेतानिंदितेन उत्सृज्य पित्र्यानलंकारान् । Gau., XVIII, 20.

See Vishnu, 24, 41.

[2] नातिबालां वदन्त्यन्ये ह्यनित्यतात्प्रजार्थिनः ।
वदन्ति कर्मिणस्तस्यामन्तःशुद्धिव्यपेक्षया ॥
विशुद्धान्वयसंभूतां संस्पर्शादिविवर्जिताम् ।
कामो यस्यां निषिद्धस्य केचिदिच्छन्ति चापदि ॥ *Mbh.*, XIII, 79, 14-15.

[3] काममामरणात्तिष्ठेद्गृहे कन्यर्तुमत्यपि ।
न चैवैनां प्रयच्छेत्तु गुणहीनाय कर्हिचित् ॥ Manu, IX, 89.

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the age of 7 are as true as Heracles' visit to South India. The data from Greek authors do not invalidate the conclusion reached above that girls were usually married at about the age of 14 or 15 during the Mauryan period.

We have seen above that there was a conflict of opinion in society during the period 400 B.C.–100 A.D. about the desirability of pre-puberty marriages. Soon after 100 A.D. this conflict ended and society definitely veered round to pre-puberty marriages. An undue premium came to be placed upon absolute chastity ; in order to prevent the theoretical possibility of unchastity even in ·01 per cent. of brides, it decreed that marriages should always be performed before puberty. Society was anxious that there should be no room whatsoever even for the possibility of any reports arising reflecting upon the character of its maidens.[1] At about this time Upanayana of girls came to an end and they had to follow no course of education worth the name. Girls of 15 or 16, who were not married, must have begun to find time hanging heavily upon them. Parents also must have felt that since girls were not preoccupied with completing any educational course, it would be desirable to get them married soon after, or at about the time of their puberty. The birth of a son to ensure the continuity of the family and to offer oblations to the manes was always welcome ; an early marriage meant a son soon after puberty and was thus felt to be preferable.[2] That this may mean an undue physical strain on the girl mother was not realized.

From about 200 A.D. pre-puberty marriages became the order of the day. Yājñavalkya, who wrote at about this time, insists that girls should be married before the age of puberty ; otherwise every month guardians will be guilty of the destruction of an embryo.[3] Yama, who came about 400 years later, states that even if a suitable match is impossible, the girl should be married before she comes of age even to an unsuitable husband.[4] What a difference between the

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[1] तस्माद्विग्रह्यितुमिच्छसि मां यदि त्वं वत्से तदुन्मिषति नूतनयौवनेऽस्मिन् ।
न खेच्छमर्हसि चिरं खलु कन्यकात्वमासेवितुं सुलभदुर्लभदुष्प्रवादम् ॥
Kathāsaritsāgara, 24, 229.

[2] ऋतवो बहवस्ते वै गता व्यर्थाः शुचिस्मिते । *Mbh.* I, 94, 65.
(Kaṇva to Śakuntalā on learning of her marriage.)
अप्रयच्छन्समाप्नोति भ्रूणहत्यामृतौ ऋतौ । I, 13.

[4] दद्याद्गुणवते कन्यां नग्निकां ब्रह्मचारिणीं ।
अपि वा गुणहीनाय नोपरुन्ध्याद्रजःखलाम् ॥
Quoted in Smṛitichandrikā, Sanskārakāṇḍa, p. 216.

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views of Manu and Yama! The former was willing to allow a girl to remain unmarried even to the end of her life, if a proper husband could not be secured. The latter did not mind a girl being chained to an unsuitable and undeserving husband for her whole life, if there was the least danger of the fateful line of the age of puberty being crossed.

It was not always possible to celebrate a marriage in every case just at the time of puberty. If it was postponed to the last moment, there was the danger of crossing the puberty limit. Not content therefore with prohibiting post-puberty marriages, Smṛiti writers of the period 500–1000 A.D. began to encourage marriages *much before* the time of puberty. They held that a girl should be regarded as having attained puberty at the age of 10, and therefore her marriage should not be postponed beyond that age.[1] At this time the ritual of marriage of girls was regarded as corresponding to that of *upanayana* of boys; if the 8th year was the proper time for the latter it ought to be the ideal time for the former also. A girl of 8 was Gaurī and was therefore the most suitable one for marriage.

Vedic marriage mythology referred to Soma, Gandharva and Agni as the earlier divine husbands of the bride; her human husband was the fourth one. Writers of this period began to advocate the view that the different divine husbands get jurisdiction over the girl when different signs of impending puberty manifest themselves at different ages. They pointed out that one should forestall them all by marrying the girl at the age of 8.[2]

The custom of pre-puberty marriages became common among the Brāhmaṇas alone in the beginning; one writer even of the 17th century A.D. observes that the Kshatriyas are not expected to follow it.[3] Life was more ephemeral in the case of the members of the

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[1] अष्टवर्षा भवेद्गौरी नववर्षा तु रोहिणी।
दशवर्षा भवेत्कन्या अत ऊर्ध्वं रजःस्वला।
प्राप्ते तु दशमे वर्षे यस्तु कन्या न यच्छति।
मासि मासि रजस्तस्याः पिता पिबति शोणितम्॥ Bṛihadyama, III, 21-22.

[2] रोमकाले तु संप्राप्ते सोमो भुंक्ते तु कन्यकाम्।
रजःकाले तु गंधर्वो वह्निस्तु कुचदर्शने॥
तस्मादुद्वाहयेत् कन्यां यावन्नर्तुमती भवेत्।
Samvarta in Smṛitichandrikā, Sanskārakāṇḍa, p. 213.

[3] यस्तु तां वारयेत्कन्यां ब्राह्मणो ज्ञानदुर्बलः॥
अत्र ब्राह्मणोपादानाद्ब्राह्मणस्यैवायं निषेधो न क्षत्रियादीनाम्।
Vīramitrodaya, Sanskāraprakāśa, p. 771.

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fighting classes than it was with the rest of the community ; they naturally refused to follow the new custom, which would have enormously increased the number of child widows in their community. We can therefore well understand how, in spite of the universal and terrible condemnation of the post-puberty marriages by Smṛiti writers from *c.* 200 A.D., child marriages did not come into vogue among the Kshatriyas for a long time. Heroines of most of the Sanskrit dramas written during the period 300–1200 A.D. are grown-up brides at the time of their marriages ; this is so because they mostly belong to Kshatriya circles. There are many historic examples of grown-up marriages among the Rajputs during the medieval period. This will now cause no surprise to the reader.

Post-puberty marriages continued as local customs in areas that were under the influence of the old pre-Aryan culture. This, for example, is the case in Malbar even at the present day. A 15th century commentator observes that among the people of this province, the attainment of puberty before the marriage is not regarded as a blemish.[1] The influence of the matriarchate is responsible for Malbar's bold stand against child marriages.

In the course of time the advocates of pre-puberty marriages did not remain content with the girl's marriage at 8 or 9. There was an extreme section among them that clamoured for a still lower age. It is represented in *Brahma Purāna*, which recommends that a girl should be married at any time after the age of 4.[2] Texts like those of Manu, which permitted a girl to remain unmarried even throughout her life if a suitable husband was not available, were explained away as emphasizing the importance of a proper selection of the bridegroom and not as permitting any post-puberty marriage.[3]

The analogy of *upanayana* was also utilized for lowering the marriage age to this ridiculous extent. Parents anxious to ensure a rapid progress of their sons in education were advised to perform their *upanayana* rather at the age of 5 than at the age of 8. Marriage was the substitute for *upanayana* in the case of girls, and so it also could be performed at the same age.

It may be, however, pointed out that the extreme views above referred to did not become popular for a long time. During the

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[1] केरलदेशे कन्याया ऋतुमतीत्वं न दोषाय । Mādhava on Par. I, ii, p. 78.

[2] चतुर्थाद्वत्सरादूर्ध्वं यावन्न दशमात्ययः ।
तावद्विवाह्यः कन्यायाः पित्रा कार्यः प्रयत्नतः । 165, 8.

[3] काममामरणादिति । तद्गुणवति सति गुणद्वीनाय निषेधपरम् ।
न तु सर्वथा गुणद्वीननिषेधपरम् । Mādhava on Par. III, i, p. 19.

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11th century A.D. we learn from Alberuni that the normal age of a Brāhmaṇa bride was 12 (II, p. 131). Lower sections of society, where the pernicious custom of the bride-price prevailed, were the first to take advantage of the permission to marry girls at the age of 5 or 6 for their own selfish ends. Their example was later on followed by other classes and the custom of very young marriages thus began to be more and more common. The ramification of the caste system into hundreds of sub-castes and the prohibition of inter-marriages among them from about the 8th or the 9th century A.D. further accentuated the evil of child marriages. The selection of a suitable bridegroom was becoming progressively more difficult as the field of choice was being further and further narrowed down by the rise of new watertight sub-castes. Parents did not like to take the risk of losing a good bridegroom by postponing the marriage to a later date. Paradoxical though it may appear, it seems that the popularity which the Satī custom acquired at this time helped the cause of early marriages. If the father died and the mother followed him on his funeral pyre, there would be a father-in-law at least to look after the young orphans if they were already married. So why not provide them with a guardian of natural affection by marrying them at an early age ? This reason for the child marriages prevailing in Bengal was given to Merchant Fitch by the Bengalis with whom he discussed the problem in the 16th century.[1] The joint family system prevailing in society was also favourable for early marriages. Marriages could be performed long before the husband became an earning member because his parents, uncles or elder brothers used to take care of his wife and children till the time he began to earn. The economic conditions of the country were fairly satisfactory and they did not necessitate the postponement of marriages to the time when the husband became an earning member. Naturally therefore society became more and more conscious of the advantages of early marriages and oblivious to their drawbacks. It further found that child marriages gave a good opportunity to the bride to know gradually the natures and idiosyncrasies of different members of her new household, to note almost imperceptibly the likes and dislikes of her husband, and to entertain an affection for him before the sex instinct had been aroused. There was further no chance of any scandals arising, as was admittedly the case in the earlier era of post-puberty marriages. Nor need the parents entertain any apprehensions of a daughter slipping into a nunnery against their wishes. Of course society knew full well

[1] Dasgupta, *Bengal in the 16th century A.D.*, pp. 128, 131.

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that there was the danger of widowhood overcoming a bride before she came of age. But such a calamity was attributed to fate which, it was felt, could not be set at naught by any amount of human effort.

During the Muslim rule the popularity of early marriages increased. Some enlightend rulers like Akbar disliked them and recommended to their subjects that marriages should be performed after the attainment of puberty (*Ain-i-Akabari*, p. 277). The advice, however, produced no effect. A number of foreign travellers and merchants tell us that boys and girls were married in India several years earlier than the time of puberty. Fitch, a 16th century English trader, has noted that boys and girls were married at Murshidabad in Bengal at the age of 10 and 6 respectively (Dasgupta, p. 131). Manucci tells us that during the 17th century boys and girls were often married before they were able to speak, though the usual age of marriage was 10 (Vol. III, pp. 59-60). The testimony of Tavernier is to the same effect (Crooke, Vol. II, p. 197). One of the Brāhmaṇa generals of the Peshva was filled with great anxiety because his daughter's marriage could not be arranged at the age of 9. 'If the marriage is postponed to the next year', he writes from the battlefield, 'the bride will be as old as 10'.

8 or 9 was the usual marriageable age of girls at the advent of the British rule. With the introduction of western ideas and civilization, the advanced sections of society began to feel the necessity of deferring the marriages to a more advanced age. Social conferences began to advocate the cause of post-puberty marriages during the nineties of the last century, but their efforts did not bear much fruit till the beginning of the 20th century. The terrible havoc caused by the plague advanced the marriageable age of girls from 8 to 12 or 13. Society, however, was still afraid to cross openly the prohibited limit of puberty. The gradual disruption of the joint family system, the progressive realization of the usefulness of female education, and, above all, the hard necessities of the economic struggle for existence have now induced the advanced sections to throw overboard the Smṛiti injunctions and to openly adopt post-puberty marriages. If, on account of economic factors, bridegrooms find it difficult to marry before the age of 24 or 25, naturally their partners in life have to be at least 16 or 17 at the time of the marriage. The Sarda Act, which has laid down 14 as the minimum legal age of marriage for girls, follows the actual practice in the advanced middle classes of society. Of course early marriages still prevail in lower sections of society, and the Age of Consent Committee of 1927 computed that about 39% of girls were married before the age of 10 in 1921. But the factors favouring late marriages will soon begin to

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operate even in the case of lower classes, and in less than a generation, post-puberty marriages would become the order of the day.

The passing of the Sarda Act in 1929 penalizing the marriages of girls before the age of 14 produced a reaction in the orthodox section of Hindu society, some members of which proceeded to openly break the law. Their protests and propaganda, however, are not likely to help the cause of the child marriage to any appreciable degree. The fact is that all those secular causes, which favoured the custom of the child marriage, are rapidly disappearing now. The joint family system is disintegrating, the economic struggle is becoming hard, and the theory that girls need not be educated like boys has ceased to appeal to society. The injunction of the later Smṛitis prescribing pre-puberty marriages is of course there, but the thoughtful section of Hindu society feels that it should be now set aside in favour of the view of the earlier Dharmaśāstra writers, that the marriages of girls may be postponed to about the age of 16 or 17. In accepting and following the theory of post-puberty marriages, Hindu society is merely returning to the old custom of the Vedic and epic times. It need not therefore be regarded as anti-religious at all. The main reason that was responsible for popularizing post-puberty marriages in the early period of Hindu history was the great concern which society felt over the question of girls' education. Precisely the same reason is now helping the cause of post-puberty marriages. In the past a few ladies known as Brahmavādinīs used to remain for ever unmarried as they were anxious to devote themselves entirely to the cause of learning and religion. The phenomenon is repeating itself in modern times. To-day also we have some ladies in society who prefer to remain unmarried because they want to devote themselves to the cause of education and social service. The recently founded Servants of Women Society of Poona has laid it down that its members shall remain unmarried, so that they should find it possible to devote themselves wholely and solely to the cause of their Society.

When the pendulum is now moving towards the direction of late marriages, it is necessary to point out that they also have their own defects and drawbacks. The marriage of a girl at the age of 10 is as undesirable as her marriage at the age of 30. There should be post-puberty marriages, but the marriage of girls should not be normally postponed to beyond the age of 18 or 20. The secondary and higher education of girls can be finished before this time, if a special curriculum is devised for them. One Dharmasūtra writer has pointed out that both the bride and the bridegroom ought to be in the prime of their youth at the time of their marriage; not a single hair of theirs should have grown grey at that time. This

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point has to be remembered when the marriage age limit is being gradually raised every decade.

Before concluding this section it may be pointed out that child marriages were quite common in Europe also for a long time. In ancient Rome maidens were married at the age of 10 or 12 (Müller, *Family*, p. 260). In the age of chivalry girls were often married at the age of 5, simply because marriage was a matter of military tactics and territorial alliance. The rule of the church that boys and girls should be married at the age of 15 and 12 respectively was openly flouted. In England, especially in the upper classes, child marriages were common in Tudor times. Sometimes they were performed when the parties were only 4 or 5 in age; they were, however, voidable before the time of consummation (Müller, p. 114). Child marriages were less common among the working classes. Though in actual practice, late marriages became quite common in England by the beginning of the last century, still down to 1929 A.D. the minimum legal age of marriage continued to be 12 in the case of girls and 14 in the case of boys. In that year the British Parliament raised it to 16 both in the case of boys and girls, partly as a reaction to the Sarda Bill, then before the Indian legislature.[1]

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[1] This article is based upon a portion of a chapter in the author's forthcoming book on '*Women in Hindu Civilization*'.

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INTERNAL SECURITY IN THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

By B. A. SALETORE

The Vijayanagara Government had quite a number of questions to tackle. Some of these I have referred to elsewhere while delineating the problems before the Vijayanagara monarchs and how they were solved.[1] The object of this paper is to describe other questions which faced the mediæval monarchs. These problems, however, are quite distinct from those relating to the incursions by wild tribes like the Bēḍars, or cases pertaining to disputes over lands and the like which came under the jurisdiction of civil courts or arbitration boards set up by communities.[2] We shall be concerned here with four main types of problems which confronted the Vijayanagara Government. They are gathered entirely from the numerous epigraphs dealing with the history of the Vijayanagara Empire. A study of these problems reveals the methods by which the Government as well as the people dealt with them, and at the same time shows the vitality which characterized that great mediæval organization. The four questions with which we are concerned here are the following—danger to citizens from the depredations of wild beasts ; insecurity to personal property resulting from an insufficient policing of rural areas ; havoc caused to villagers by cattle-raiders ; and, finally, riots and such other disturbances which occasionally broke out in cities and towns.

The first problem in our list is that pertaining to the depredations of wild beasts, especially of tigers. The region which suffered most from these animals was naturally the hilly country of the Western Ghats, although there is reason to believe that the comparatively lower regions like the Bangalore District also sometimes were troubled by the wild beasts. For instance, in A.D. 1351, as is related in a stone inscription found in the village called Eḍamāranahaḷḷi, Kānakānahaḷḷi tāluka, Bangalore District, Vīra Somāji, the son of Sīgalanāḍ Mārehaḷḷi Sivana Gauḍa, had gone to tend cattle when he was attacked by a huge tiger (*hebbuli*) and killed. This was in the reign

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[1] Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, I, pp. 303–323.

[2] Such cases have been dealt with by me in my *Wild Tribes in Indian History*, pp. 10-11, 55–57, 89–91, 109-110 ; and in my new work entitled *Mediæval Jainism with special reference to the Vijayanagara Empire*, Ch. 7. See also *S.P. Life*, I, pp. 318-319.

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of King Bukkaṇṇa Oḍeyar. The fact that only a hero memorial stone (*vīragal*) was erected in his memory shows that no provision was made for his dependents.[1]

The Shimoga District of course suffered more from this evil. The Hanumanta temple stone inscription found at Udri (ancient (Uddhare), Sohrab tāluka, in the same district, and dated about A.D. 1470, has the following interesting account to give concerning the manner in which the public duly honoured citizens who had killed tigers. The events described in this epigraph took place in the neighbourhood of the immemorial *agrahāra* of Kuppaṭūr. Here a big tiger (*hebbuli*) came into the Kēdagi forest in front of the town. This huge beast had to be killed ; and Korana Haripa's son Si . . . . ., forcing it out with great noise, hit it savagely with a big stick and killed it. It was a great feat, indeed, which the thousand Brahmans of the Kuppaṭūr *agrahāra* at once appreciated. For they promptly bestowed on the gallant bond servant (*besevaga*) Si . . . . the name *Ripumāri*. But he did not live long to enjoy this honour ; for the damaged stone inscription suggests that he died of the effects of the wounds he received in the encounter with the huge beast.[2]

It might appear from these instances that neither the State nor public bodies in the Vijayanagara Empire took any measures to prevent the recurrence of such dangers like those mentioned above. This, however, was not the case. The people under Vijayanagara had a keen sense of public duty which did not always make them look upon the State as the only protector from some of the evils under which they suffered. They could certainly look after themselves without waiting for the executive machinery of the Government to move. This will be understood when we note how they solved the question of robbers. The Shimoga and Mysore Districts figure prominently in this connection. Hiriyūr in the Tirumakūdli-Narsīpura tāluka, Mysore District, suffered much from robbers in A.D. 1354 during the reign of the King Bukka Oḍeyar. A man who belonged to the stone mason class by name Rāmoja took up the public cause, and fought with the robbers. He died in the encounter but a memorial stone was set up to commemorate his services to the people, by Mādoja, the son of Huṇasoja.[3]

Another instance may be given to show the civic sense of the people of Vijayanagara. In A.D. 1416 during the time of the King Deva Rāya (I), Haravūru Mulitevaram Nāyaka was attacked by robbers in the Sigga road. But this person ' fought like a hero ',

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[1] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, IX, Kn. 40, p. 125.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 258, p. 40.
[3] *Mysore Archæological Report for* 1912, p. 47.

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placed the robbers in the custody of the ferrymen (who were undoubtedly servants of the State), but died in the attempt. All the honour given to him by those who raised the memorial stone found at Udri Mujure Yalavāṭa *grāma*, Sohrab tāluka, was expressed in the concluding line—That he went to the world of gods (*sura-lōka-prāptiyāda*).[1]

Robbers not only molested peaceful citizens near ferries but attacked temples as well. The Vīraraguḍi in Malūrpaṭṭaṇa, Cennapaṭṭaṇa tāluka, Mysore State, was one such temple which was besieged by robbers. This was in A.D. 1432 in the reign of the Vijayanagara monarch Deva Rāya II. The official placed over the locality was Māyitamma, the son of Mayideva, and the Gauḍa of Malūrpaṭṭaṇa in Keḷalenāḍ. The memorial stone dated in that year relates that the robbers were lying in wait in Mallayadeva's grove before besieging the temple. But Māyitamma was not the official to give them an opportunity to loot the temple. He wounded the robbers but was himself killed by them. The *vīragal* set up by his younger brother merely affirms, as in the above case, that Māyitamma went to the *svarga* of heroes.[2]

Likewise when in A.D. 1457 Sohrab was infested by robbers, as is mentioned in a stone inscription found in the village of Oṭūr of the same tāluka, Bommarasa Gauḍa, the son of the Voṭūr Dānamūli Visa Gauḍa, fought with them but died in the attempt. The inscription merely records that he gained the feet of the gods (*dēvara pādake sandanu*).[3]

In the suppression of the above two kinds of public dangers, *viz.*, depredations by wild beasts and attack by robbers, therefore, the Vijayanagara State could always trust the people to look after themselves. The few examples we have given show that the citizens, on their part, expected nothing more than a *vīragal* to commemorate their services to the public. This should not be interpreted to mean that no adequate provision was made by the Central Government to police either the great capital or the rural areas. We have amply demonstrated elsewhere, on the strength of the evidence of the foreign travellers as well of the epigraphs, that there was perfect safety both in the city of Vijayanagara and in the most distant provinces of the Vijayanagara Empire.[4]

The consciousness that the Vijayanagara Empire was their own, and that it rested solely on their arms was one of the reasons, it may be supposed, which made the people deal with such problems

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[1] *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 168, p. 24.
[2] *Ibid.*, IX, Cp. 149, p. 164.
[3] *Ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 78, p. 12.
[4] Saletore, *S.P. Life*, I, pp. 348-349, 393-394.

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like those given in the preceding paragraphs. In graver dangers, however, the State sometimes stepped in, although here too the public sense of the citizens was content with the mere mention of their bravery in stone inscriptions. These more dangerous questions were of two kinds—cow-raids and riots. Cow-lifting in Karnāṭaka had a history of its own which we have described elsewhere.[1] The common Kannaḍa expression for a cattle-raid was *tuṟu-gōḷ*, but in some instances its Sanskrit equivalent *go-grahaṇa* was also used.[2] This evil sometimes was seen in the Vijayanagara Empire.

One of the earliest examples of a cattle-raid in Vijayanagara times is that mentioned in a stone inscription found in the Cennapaṭṭaṇa tāluka, Bangalore District. This record is dated A.D. 1369 and it mentions the King Bukkaṇṇa Oḍeyar (II). The inscription records that Rāya Nāyaka, who, among other titles, bore the *biruda* of 'Bhīma among royal champions', was placed over the Kundaūru-durga in the middle of the Konganāḍ. The herd of cattle belonging to this official was grazing on the bank of the Kāverī, when certain Rāvuttas swooped upon them and placed them in Tiruvanambi Kampaṇoḍeyarasa's hiding place. Hearing this Vijayaṇṇa, the son of Bomma Gauḍa, who is called the Keḷalenāḍ *Mahāprabhu*, and who had other titles, by order of his ruler Rāya Nāyaka, attacked the cattle-lifters in Maḷali, recovered the cows but lost his life in the fight. Only a memorial stone with a description of his brave deed was set up by his brother Rāma Gauḍa.[3]

Since a cattle-raid affected the welfare of all the citizens, these latter never failed to exert themselves to rescue their cattle from robbers. A stone inscription assigned to the year A.D. 1400 and found in a field to the west of Taḍimālingi near Talakāḍ, affirms that Saganṇa carried off to Mūgūr all the cattle of the respectable citizens (*praje-gavuḍagaḷ*) of Haḷḷi Hiriyūr. It cannot be made out what was the cause of this cattle-raid. But from what follows in the inscription, it seems that Sanganṇa was a sort of a black-mailer who wanted a specified sum of money from the wealthy citizens of Haḷḷi Hiriyūr. For the record informs us that eighty *gadyāṇas* were paid to him, and that this sum was lent by Mallaya Māra Gauḍa of Kalavūr. But the citizens failed to return the amount to Mallaya Māra Gauḍa, and, therefore, the Mahājanas (or Brahman burgesses) of Śrīrangapura *alias* Māyilange granted to his son Cavuḍappa 4,000 *kamba* of land in lieu of the amount, and gave him a (stone) *śāsana* recording the gift.[4]

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[1] See my paper on the subject to be published soon.
[2] *M.A.R. for* 1917, p. 38.
[3] *E.C.*, IX, Cp. 150, p. 164.
[4] *M.A.R. for* 1912, p. 48.

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Brave souls were not wanting in the Vijayanagara Empire who could meet cattle-raiders without expecting any reward either from the Brahmans or the State. The cows of Koṇḍagaṇale in the Sohrab tāluka were driven off by marauders (*hanubaru*) in A.D. 1448. Two citizens by name Mādi Gauḍa and Sūrappa Gauḍa, father and son respectively, at once came to the rescue of their citizens. They fought with the army of the cattle-raiders, stabbed the men, seized their horse, and thus distinguished themselves with the highest devotion, or as the inscription plainly relates—*ati-rataru-mahā-rataru-meṛadaṛu*. Both of them evidently lost their lives in this gallant attempt, for the inscription ends with the statement that Mādi Gauḍa's wife and mother both went to *svarga*, obviously because of their grief.[1]

We are to suppose that *vīragals* of the above type were set up by the citizens themselves. This will be made clear when we examine the stone inscription found at Udri Mujure Yalavāṭa *grāma*, and dated A.D. 1454. Lingappa Oḍeyar, the treasurer of the Emperor Mallikārjuna Mahārāya, was protecting the Candragutti region which belonged to the Vijayanagara *ṭhāṇa*. In that year the cows of Puleya Haraūru in Hiriya Jiḍḍuḷigenāḍ were impounded (*tuṛu-seṛe hōge*). Two Kuḷavādi Gauḍas by name Bommarasa Gauḍa, the son of Masaṇa Gauḍa, and Narasaṇṇa Gauḍa, the son of Tamma Gauḍa, fought with the cattle-lifters, but died in their endeavour to save the cows. The citizens assembled together and set up a *vīragal* to commemorate their gallant services to the society. This *vīragal* is styled in the record *sāngatyada vīra kallu*, showing thereby the corporate nature of the sympathies of the citizens.[2]

A modest monument of the usual *vīragal* type was raised to the memory of the gallant Kaliya Dasari Kapaṇṇayya. This person was the noble disciple of Hampe Vīrarāja-āyiya. In A.D. 1509 on the cattle-raiders coming to the village of Mūrūru, Sohrab tāluka, as a *vīragal* found in that village relates, he fought with them but died like a hero and went to *svarga* (*vīranāgi svargastanādanu*).[3]

Even so late as A.D. 1674 there were cattle-lifters. They carried off the cows in the woods north of Honnevaḷḷi, Tiptūr tāluka, Mysore State, but a citizen named Sūreya Nāyaka attacked them, and, as the *vīragal* found in the Malleśvara temple at Honnahaḷḷi relates, released the cows but paid the penalty with his life. The Brahmans of the locality, however, gave some present to his son Gangeya Nāyaka. The record being defaced here, it cannot be made out

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[1] *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 559, p. 89.
[2] *Ibid.*, Sb. 167, pp. 23-24.
[3] *Ibid.*, Sb. 68, p. 11.

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what exactly was given to him, although it is not improbable that it was land.[1]

In addition to the above there was another problem which assumed sometimes grave proportions. This concerned riots and local risings. As in the case of the troubles centring round cattle-raids, robbers and wild beasts, the region which gave the State much anxiety was mostly the wild tract of the Shimoga District. Of course elsewhere too, as will be pointed out presently, this danger manifested itself. An early instance of a riot is afforded in one of the stone inscriptions found at Udri and dated A.D. 1380. It refers to the reign of King Harihara Rāya II, when Mādhava Rāya was placed over the Konkaṇa country as viceroy. The inscription relates that some base born persons in the Konkaṇa country (*ī Konkaṇa dēsajar khaḷar*) rose against him. The bravest person who could quell the rising was Baicapa, one of the most celebrated men in the city of Uddhare. This Jaina official met the rioters, and sending many of the Konkaṇigas to destruction, distinguished himself. Nothing more than the fact that he gained the heavenly world and attained the feet of Jina (*udāra cāru-Jina-pādāmbhōja saktam manohara-rūpam vara-dhārtriyoḷ-maḍidu-nāka-kṣetramam porddidam*), is said in the epigraph.[2]

Loyal service of this kind was usually appreciated by the State and the public. The State gave grants of land (*umbaḷi*) to the son or dependents of the man who had given up his life for the cause of public peace. Thus it is related in the damaged stone inscription found at Ciṭṭūr, Sohrab tāluka, and dated A.D. 1387, that some one fell in a riot at Ciṭṭūr. To the son of the fallen citizen was given an *umbaḷi* by the Oḍéyar (the Viceroy on behalf of the King or the King himself). The ruler mentioned in the record is King Harihara Rāya II.[3]

Such riots sometimes were caused by boundary disputes. For instance, in A.D. 1410, as is narrated in one of the stone inscriptions found in the Dūgūru village, Sohrab tāluka, there was some commotion in that village, when Nārapa Nāyaka, the son of Bommeya Nāyaka, fell fighting doing his duty. It is evident from the *vīragal* that Nārapa Nāyaka belonged to a respectable family, for his father is spoken of as one who had the following *birudas—Śrīman ācāryanu pracaṇḍa-nāyakanu Rāya-gauḍa*, including others, which are effaced in the record.[4]

A more serious fight was about A.D. 1415. It was the work of Banki Nāyaka, who is described as the worshipper of the god

[1] *E.C.*, XII, Tp. 134, p. 68.
[2] *Ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 152, p. 22.
[3] *Ibid.*, Sb. 512, p. 85.
[4] *Ibid.*, Sb. 484, p. 81.

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Madhukeśvara of Banavase, and one who had 'become great' (*udayam geydu*). These titles suggest that he was in some way descended from the once-powerful family of the Kādambas. He seems to have made himself master of the city of Banavase, for the epigraph assigned to A.D. 1415 by Rice and found in the Maratūru grāma, Sagar tāluka, relates that Bhaleyabhaleya Bidire Kancayya, the son-in-law of the *Maneya-pradhāna* Kaṭaka Deva, marched upon Banki Nāyaka, and in the neighbourhood of Banavasepaṭṭaṇa, or in that city itself, gave him battle. The damaged stone inscription which contains the first and last figures of the date, *viz.* 1 and 9 respectively, relates that in the encounter that took place, Bhammeya slew many horses but gained the world of gods.[1] If the date assigned to the record by Rice is correct, then it falls within the reign of King Deva Rāya I.

Petty causes must have caused riots in those days as they have done in our own. A dispute concerning one Lakkaṇṇa occurred in A.D. 1426. We do not know the nature of the causes of this dispute. But in that year, as the Kukkūru grāma (Cennapaṭṭaṇa tāluka) *vīragal* narrates, Bayicaṇṇa, the son of Koḍambaḷi Kala Gauḍa, fell in the fight which ensued, wounded by a weapon. This riot was evidently one which was rather serious, since it necessitated the interference of Devappa, the son of the master of the Kukku village by name Mañca Gauḍa, who also died in the riot, or, as the inscription narrates, 'became the master of the *svarga* of heroes'. Two years later (A.D. 1428) the whole assemblage of subjects, 'in accordance with *dharma*', set up a *vīragal* to 'celebrate his entrance into the Indra *lōka*'. This was done amidst 'sacrifices, songs (and) drums'.[2] From this it may be inferred that 'Lakkaṇṇa's dispute' was probably of a very serious type which affected the welfare of the subjects.

Citizens were not content merely with eulogizing the deeds of heroes on stone They also made provision for the dependents of the dead. Thus in A.D. 1432 when Śrīgirinātha Oḍeyar was the Viceroy of the Āraga province, in the reign of the Emperor Virūpākṣa Rāya, a force (*paṭhāvaḷī*) came and fought (with that of the State), for reasons not enumerated in the epigraph. But Puṭṭagaḍe, the son of Bommarasa Heggaḍe, broke the army (*daḷavan-muṟidu*), and with valour like that of Kumāra Rāmanātha (of Kampili), covered with arrows, took *svarga* by force. On this Bommarasa Heggaḍe granted specified land (as war relief) to Joyiśa Singaṇṇa, who could only have been either the son of Puṭṭagaḍe or his dependent. And

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[1] *E.C.*, VIII, Sa. 49, p. 99.
[2] *Ibid.*, IX, Cp. 162, pp. 166-167.

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Vīroja made the *vīragal* (now found in the Koḷavaḷḷi grāma, Tīrthahalli tāluka) commemorating the brave action of Puṭṭagaḍe.[1]

Granting *umbaḷi* lands for meritorious service done was, as in pre-Vijayanagara days, a marked feature of the Vijayanagara age.[2] When Hiriya Tammaya Nāyaka, as is related in the effaced inscription found in the Dūgūru grāma, Sohrab tāluka, besieged Kaṇagota in the service of his master (whose name is lost in the record), and fell, land as an *umbaḷi* gift was granted to his children. This was in the reign of King Deva Rāya II in A.D. 1436.[3]

Keḷalenāḍ was a region where riots occurred twice—once in the A.D. 1414, and again in A.D. 1437, the former in the reign of King Deva Rāya I, and the latter in that of King Deva Rāya II. Details about both are mentioned in two inscriptions found in the Maḷūrpaṭṭaṇa grāma. The damaged record of A.D. 1414 relates that when Manjappa and Deva Gauḍa, the sons of the Keḷalenād *Mahāprabhu* Maḷūrpaṭṭana Kitti Gauḍa, were going through a street called Eleyakēṛi, some one attacked them. The two brothers fell but not before 'splitting the skull of that Singa', who was probably the leader of the gang that had rushed upon them. A *vīragal* was set up by their younger brother and sons (named), and afterwards it was rectified by Gūli Allappa.[4]

In A.D. 1414 occurred a riot (*huyulu*) at Honganūr in the same Keḷalenāḍ. The *Mahāprabhu* of Maḷūrpaṭṭaṇa by name Tirumalayya Gauḍa, the son of Doḍḍa Śeṭṭi, was involved in it. The inscription affirms that he fell in the fight, and that his elder brother set up the *vīragal* in his memory.[5]

The city of Banavase was again the scene of a serious affray in A.D. 1442 when the great Jaina general Irugappa Oḍeyar was ruling over Gōve, as the minister of the Emperor Deva Rāya II. Maḷalagaḍe Bomma Gauḍa, in the service of his master Nāgi Deva, came from Eḍenād and besieged Banavase. The damaged stone inscription found in the Dūgūru grāma informs us that some one (probably Baicaṇa of the school) fell in the riot. But provision in the shape of gifts of land called here by the term *nettaru-godāna* (for the more usual phrase *nettaru goḍage*) was made for his children by the forty-two (representatives) of the city.[6]

Personal disputes sometimes developed into regular riots. The reign of the Emperor Mallikārjuna Rāya saw one such riot in A.D.

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[1] *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 23, pp. 167-168. On Kumāra Kampila, read, Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, I, pp. 32-33.
[2] On this read Saletore, *ibid.*, II, pp. 253–261.
[3] *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 490, p. 83.
[4] *Ibid.*, IX, Ch. 148, p. 165.
[5] *Ibid.*, IX, Cp. 147, p. 165.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 489, p. 82.

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1448. The damaged inscription found in the Kalleśvara temple at Hoḷemarūru, Sohrab tāluka, seems to suggest that the cause of the trouble in that year was Bayicaṇa Oḍeyar, the son of Triyambaka Deva Oḍeyar. The record informs us that ' having come, saying the Candragutti kingdom . . . ' (was probably his by right ?), a dispute arose between him and the Treasurer Lingapa Oḍeyar, the son of the Vijayanagara treasurer Māṇikerāya Oḍeyar. The dispute seems to have given occasion to Bayicaṇa Oḍeyar to do more mischief. For the epigraph relates that he raided Andavaḷi in Uḷigenāḍ. In the fight that ensued, Maraūr Deva Gauḍa seems to have fought on behalf of the State and died at his post on the boundary. What provision was made for the descendents of this loyal servant of the State by the Government is not known ; but the *vīragal* merely asserts that he ascended *svarga*.[1]

When death in a riot meant privation to the dependents of the dead, especially to their wives, these latter died by the cruel mode of *sahagamana*. In Sīrūr, Sagar tāluka, some one besieged (a town or an institution, the name of which is effaced) in A.D. 1454. Rāma Gauḍa, the son of the Sīrūr Gauḍa, fought with the enemy but fell in the fight. At this his wife Ciya Gauṇḍi committed *sahagamana*.[2]

Only a memorial stone was set up to perpetuate the loyalty of citizens like Bayire Nāyaka the son of Mada Nāyaka, who fell in his master's service (*svāmi kārya, i.e.*, the service of the *Svāmi* or King or the latter's viceroy) in A.D. 1460. The enemy's name cannot be made out in this damaged record, but the event took place when the *Mahāpradhāna* Devarasa was governing the Candragutti principality in that year.[3]

Similarly when in A.D. 1461, during the reign of the Emperor Mallikārjuna Rāya, Bogaya Nāyaka besieged Kōḷigaśāle, and Macala Gauḍa speared the enemy, seizing their horse, and when he died, only a *vīragal* was set up to mark his gallant deed.[4]

But, as mentioned above, the corporate sense which characterized the people of the Vijayanagara Empire, generally prompted them to provide for the dependents of those who had fallen in State service, by granting gifts of land to them. A riot (*huyulu*) broke out in Heddase (Sohrab tāluka), as is mentioned in a vīragal found in the Kyāsanūr *grāma* of Sohrab tāluka, in A.D. 1462. Kesalur Tippa Gauḍa fought well but died in the riot. And for his wife and children specified gifts of land were made by the citizens.[5]

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[1] *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 473, pp. 79-80.
[2] *Ibid.*, Sa. 48, p. 99.
[3] *Ibid.*, Sb. 488, p. 82.
[4] *Ibid.*, Sb. 562, p. 90.
[5] *Ibid.*, Sb. 506, p. 84. Rioters and such other mischief-makers are called *hāvaḷikāraru* in a record of A.D. 1467. *Ibid.*, X, Kl. 33, p. 8.

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The State rewarded its servants who maintained peace on occasions of riots or local risings, by official promotion. During the regime of the *Mahāpradhāna* Devappa Daṇḍanāyaka, the Viceroy placed over the Āraga kingdom by the Emperor Virupāksa in A.D. 1468, a grave situation arose in Yallayaśāle. This was because some one whose name is lost in the record, found in the Naṇṭūrumajarenā-baḷa grāma, Tīrthahaḷḷi tāluka, came up the Ghats in the western nāḍ of Śāntaḷige, and attacked the King's servants in Yallayaśāle. At this Kōṭiyappa Heggaḍe and Bommarasa Heggaḍe attacked the intruders but the former was killed in the affray. The latter, who was raised to the position of *Immaḍi Kōṭiyappa Heggaḍe*, set up a *vīragal* in Nābaḷa for Bommarasa Heggaḍe. The fact that Bommarasa Heggaḍe is said to have been 'established as *Immaḍi Kōṭiyappa Heggaḍe*', and that 'he was protecting all in Nābaḷa as at first', shows that he was raised to the office of Kōṭiyappa Heggaḍe who was probably his father.[1]

There was a quarrel (*jagaḷa*) between Saṅkaṇa Nāyaka and Arasappa Nāyaka in A.D. 1579. In the course of this quarrel the Executive Official (*pārupatyagāra*) of Sohrab, Virūpākṣa, and Mandikudūr Hemāji laid siege to Eḍenāḍ and plundered it. But Cikkana Gauḍa, the son of Malliṇa Gauḍa, 'refusing to give up Siḍḍahalli and Kumuruhaḷḷi', died in the fight. It cannot be made out what happened to his children, in the damaged record found in Siḍḍihaḷḷi, Sohrab tāluka.[2]

We may assume that a *nettaru goḍage* may have been given to his descendents, on the basis of other records mentioning identical loyal service. For instance, in about A.D. 1598 the Yaḷagaṇala torch-bearer Bommi Gauḍa died in the service of Keḷadi Malla Gauḍa. The latter gave his son Kāma Gauḍa specified land in Beḷalamatti as war-relief, because his father 'had died in our service'.[3]

But when Vīra Rāhula Nāyaka fought and fell in a riot in A.D. 1599 in Kuppagaḍe, only a *vīragal* was set up to record the event.[4]

Conclusion

The above instances may seem to indicate the inherent weakness of the Vijayanagara Government. For not only is the direct action of the State not mentioned, but in many instances not even is the

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[1] *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 143, p. 191.
[2] *Ibid.*, Sb. 301, p. 53.
[3] *Ibid.*, Sa. 26, p. 95.
[4] *Ibid.*, Sb. 182, p. 28. See *ibid.*, IX, Ht. 105, pp. 101-102 for a riot caused by religious reasons in A.D. 1693.

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monarch spoken of! It may be asked—Are these examples not enough to demonstrate the utter indifference of the Vijayanagara Government to the needs of the people; and is it not true that it left them to look after themselves as best as they could?

These statements can only emanate from a superficial knowledge of Vijayanagara history and ignorance of the true spirit of the times which made it possible for the Vijayanagara Empire to come into existence. The many examples we have cited above contain no doubt pointed reference to the provision which the State, but most often the public bodies of citizens, or private individuals, made for the relatives of those who had given up their lives on behalf their town or *nāḍu*. And these gallant men were content with only a modest memorial stone which contained a brief statement of their deeds. To them pompous rewards at the hands of the State were of lesser consequence than proper and timely self-help.

And as regards absence of any direct reference to the action of the Vijayanagara Government in the epigraphs under review, it does not mean that the State was indifferent to the welfare of the people. On the other hand, it shows the true nature of the Government as well as of the people. Under Vijayanagara the people did not look up to their Government for the solution of every problem which confronted them. Only an effeminate people crave for a continual guidance of their Government in every matter concerning their daily life. No doubt such questions like those of robbers and cow-raiders were serious problems. But to the people of the mediæval times there was another authority that was called into existence in order to meet many contingencies which undoubtedly could have come under the purview of the Central Government. This other power may be styled Collective Authority which was the result of the united exertions of the people as well as of the rulers. The people of Vijayanagara realized that the well-being of their Empire rested solely on their conjoined efforts; and it was not at all a great matter for them to settle even such questions like those of rioters and cow-raiders which could have been better tackled by the authority of the Central Government. The Vijayanagara age was essentially an era of corporate life of the people in civil as well as in political spheres [1]; and it is not surprising, therefore, that in the matter of maintaining internal peace, the people themselves exerted more than the State.

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[1] Read Saletore, *Social and Political Life*, I, pp. 351–358, II, pp. 316–370, where this point is illustrated fully.

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IDENTITY OF MAKKIBHAṬṬA, THE AUTHOR OF A COMMENTARY ON ŚRĪPATI'S SIDDHĀNTA-ŚEKHARA WITH MAKKIBHAṬṬA, THE AUTHOR OF A COMMENTARY ON THE RAGHUVAṂŚA

By P. K. Gode

Aufrecht does not record any MSS. of a commentary on the *Siddhānta-Śekhara*[1] of the astronomer Śrīpati by Makkibhaṭṭa. We must, therefore, thank Pt. Babuji Miśra, for bringing to light at least a fragment of this commentary called the *Gaṇitabhūṣaṇa* on the first three chapters and about half of the fourth chapter[2] of Śrīpati's text (up to verse 75). Makkibhaṭṭa himself tells us that he was well versed in many subjects viz. : (1) Veda, (2) Grammar, (3) Poetry, (4) Vedānta, (5) Logic, (6) Dharmaśāstra, (7) Prosody, (8) Rhetoric, (9) Drama, (10) Purāṇas, (11) astronomy, and (12) Yogaśāstra (verse 4). He is assigned to Śaka 1299[3] (= A.D. 1377). Generally Makkibhaṭṭa follows Āryabhaṭṭa. The following references to earlier authors and works are found in the fragment of Makkibhaṭṭa's commentary[4] published by Pt. Babuji Miśra :—

(1) वराहमिहिर, p. 2.

(2) भगवत्पादाचार्यैः, p. 3.

(3) पिङ्गल, p. 5.

(4) पाणिनि, p. 5.

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[1] Ed. by Pt. Babuji Miśra, Cal. University, 1932, Part I (Chapters I–X).

[2] Pt. Babuji Miśra has written an original commentary on the portion of the *Siddhānta-Śekhara* not covered up by Makkibhaṭṭa's commentary.

[3] *Siddhānta-Śekhara*, Ed. by Babuji Miśra, Intro., p. 26.

[4] Mr. D. V. Ketkar of Bijapur informs me that Makkibhaṭṭa's commentary on Śrīpati's *Siddhānta-Śekhara* has freely borrowed from the *Brahmasiddhāntavāsanā-bhāṣya* of Caturveda Pṛthūdakasvāmin, son of Bhaṭṭa Madhusūdana. Makkibhaṭṭa, however, does not mention by name the source of his borrowing. The India Office MSS. of Pṛthūdaka's commentary (Nos. 2769-70) are fragmentary and hopelessly jumbled together. The Govt. MSS. Library at the B.O.R. Institute, Poona, has a good MS. of this commentary, viz. No. 339 of 1879-80. It is, however, in a decaying condition. It is dated *Śaka* 1595 (A.D. 1673) '*Bhādrapada, Śu.* 5, *Gurau*'—folios about 255.

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(5) बोधायन, p. 5.

(6) पितामह, p. 5.

(7) दण्डिना, p. 5.

(8) महाभाष्यकारिणा, p. 6.

(9) वराहसंहितायाम्, p. 6.

(10) ब्रह्मसिद्धान्ते, pp. 7, 29.

(11) आर्यभटेन, pp. 7, 19, 23, 27, 260, 263.

(12) सूर्यसिद्धान्ते, pp. 13, 15, 27, 28, 52, 151, 194.

(13) सूर्यसिद्धान्तकारः, pp. 15, 151.

(14) महाभारतेन, p. 15.

(15) श्रीधराचार्येण नवशत्याम्, p. 17.

(16) ब्रह्मगुप्तेन, pp. 31, 89, 162, 286.

(17) चरकसुश्रुतादि, p. 32.

(18) भास्करेण, pp. 39, 75 (भास्कराचार्येण), 181.

(19) आर्यभटसिंहाचार्यादयः, p. 44.

(20) लाटदेवादयः, p. 45. लाटाचार्यः, p. 45.

(21) यवनेन्द्रपतिः, p. 45.

(22) वराहमिहिरेण पञ्चसिद्धान्तिकायाम्, p. 45.

(23) मनुः, p. 46.

(24) "बृहद्भास्करीयव्याख्याने गणितविलासाख्ये अस्माभिः प्रपञ्चितम्," pp. 51, 199.

(25) "अस्य श्लोकस्य बहवः अर्थाः सन्ति ते सर्वे श्लोकान्तरव्याख्यानव्याजेन गणितविलासे अस्माभिः प्रपञ्चिताः", pp. 59, 78, 93, 214, 216, 222.

(26) भट्ट हलायुधः, p. 64.

(27) अमरसिंहवचनात्, p. 112.

(28) पौलिशसिद्धान्ते, p. 132.

(29) श्रीपतिब्रह्मगुप्ताभ्याम्, p. 151.

(30) गणितमुखे, p. 267.

Items Nos. 24 and 25 in the above list prove that Makkibhaṭṭa wrote a commentary called the गणितविलास on the बृहद्भास्करीय,

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which Pt. Babuji Miśra explains [1] as the work of भास्कर who was the chief pupil of Aryabhaṭa (Śaka 444 = A.D. 522). No MSS. of this गणितविलास have been recorded by Aufrecht. So far only two works on mathematics composed by Makkibhaṭṭa have been known, viz.: (1) the गणितभूषण commentary on the Siddhānta-Śekhara mentioned above and (2) गणितविलास, a commentary on the बृहद्भास्करीय mentioned by Makkibhaṭṭa in the गणितभूषण. It is possible that an erudite scholar like Makkibhaṭṭa well versed in different branches of learning as stated by him in verse 4 of his introductory remarks to the commentary गणितभूषण may have written original works or at least commentaries on works pertaining to subjects other than mathematics.

I propose in this note to prove that Makkibhaṭṭa the author of the *Gaṇitabhūṣaṇa* is identical with Makkibhaṭṭa, the author of a commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa*, a fragment of which is available in the India Office Library. This identity will prove Makkibhaṭṭa's interest in Kāvya literature.

The only reference to Makkibhaṭṭa's works found in Aufrecht's *Cata. Catalogorum* [2] is the following :—

> 'मक्किभट्ट—*Raghuvaṁśapradīpikā* (Sarga 1–9). At the end of Sarga XIX, the statement is found that Makki wrote the commentary as far as Sarga 14 and the remaining Sargāḥ were explained by Jñānendra '.[3]

Reference to the MS. of the above commentary made by Aufrecht is :—

> (1) '*B.C.*, 410 '.[4] This MS. was presented by Dr. A. C. Burnell to the India Office Library. It is described by Prof. Keith in his *Catalogue of India Office MSS.* [5]

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[1] "आर्यभटप्रधानशिष्येन भास्करेण विरचितस्य बृहद्भास्करीयस्य टीका अपि 'गणितविलास'नामिका कृता इति बङ्गत्र अपि श्रूयते"। (*Vide* p. 26 of *Siddhānta-Śekhara*).

[2] *Cata. Catalo.*, Part III, p. 90.

[3] Ind. Office Cata. Part II (Vol. II), p. 1062.

"मक्किभट्टै[:] कृतव्याख्या नीलमंदिरसंभवैः।
आचतुर्दशसर्गान्ता रघुवंशप्रदीपिका॥
आपंचदशसर्गात्तु ज्ञानेंद्रगिरिभिष्यरं।
पूरिता रघुवंशस्य व्याख्या कृतिपदं स्फुटा॥"

[4] *Cata. Catalo.*, Part III, p. 104.

[5] Vol. II, Part II, pp. 1061-62.

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under two different numbers, viz. No. 6992 and 6993, the first number comprises the commentary of Makkibhaṭṭa proper while the second Comprises the supplementary commentary on Sarga, XIX only by Jñānendragiri.

Makkibhaṭṭa's commentary available in No. 6692 is for Sargas, I–III only. The identity of authorship of the *Raghuvaṁśapradīpikā* and the *Gaṇitabhūṣaṇa* will be clear from the following comparison of textual matter at the beginning of both the works :—

I.O. MS. of रघुवंशप्रदीपिका	Text of गणितभूषण Commentary
"देवो विष्णुविरिंचिवंदितपदद्वंद्वारविंदौ शिवौ नित्यानंद भुवौ समस्तजगतामानंददौ दंपती । शब्दार्थात्मतया विभर्तजतनूद्यादिस्टवा स्थितौ वेदांतप्रतिपादितौ हृदि सदा तौ सन्निदत्तां मम ॥ १ ॥ तीर्णो वेदमहार्न्नवस्खलकितं वेदांतिनां दर्शनं पीतं व्याकरणाम्रतं विफ(भ)जितं तर्ज्जैमिनीयं मतं । चुंणो न्यायमहाचलो विम्रदितो बाह्यागमस्सादरं येनासौ भुवने चकास्ति यतिराट् भूव्यासगिर्यान्वयः ॥ २ ॥ वेदव्याकरणाश्रयस्तु कविता वेदांततर्कस्मृति- छंदोलंकृतिकाव्यनाटकपुराणाम्नाय वारां निधिः । ज्योतिःशास्त्रसुमंत्रनौतिनिपुणो योगागमे निष्ठितो मक्याह्यो(ख्यो) विदणोति भट्टरुतवान् रघ्वाद्यवंशं कृतीं ॥३॥"	"देवो विष्णुविरिञ्चिवन्दितपदद्वन्द्वारविन्दौ शिवौ नित्यानन्द घनौ समस्तजगतामानन्ददौ दम्पती । सृष्टिस्थित्यविधानकृत्यनिरतौ लोकेश्वराराधितौ विस्पष्टं प्रविदार्य मोहपटलं ज्ञानं विधत्तं मम ॥ १ ॥ तीर्णो वेदमहार्णवस्खलकितं वेदान्तिनां दर्शनं पीतं व्याकरणाम्रतं विघटितं प्राभाकरं भाट्टयुक् । चूर्णो न्यायमहाचलो विम्रदितो वाच्छागमः सादरं येनासौ भुवने चकास्ति यतिराट् श्रीव्यासधीराक्रयः ॥ १ ॥ ..... वेदव्याकरणाश्रयः सुकविता-वेदान्ततर्कस्मृति- छंदोलंकृतिकाव्यनाटकपुराणाम्नाय वारां निधिः । ज्योतिःशास्त्रसुमन्त्रनीतिनिपुणो यो योगशास्त्रे पटु- मक्याख्यो विदणोति भट्ट ऋतवाक् सिद्धान्तसच्छेखरम् ॥४॥"

It will be seen from the above comparison that the introductory verses in both the commentaries are almost identical. The *Raghuvaṁśapradīpikā* contains 3 verses at the beginning while the *Gaṇitabhūṣaṇa* contains 4 verses, out of which verse 3 only is not found in the *Raghuvaṁśapradīpikā*. Then again the last 2 lines of verse 1 in both the commentaries differ in expression though the metre is identical. A study of the India Office MS. of the *Raghuvaṁśapradīpikā* may furnish more data to support the identity of authorship for both the commentaries, which is, however, obvious from the above comparison of common passages and which coupled with the identity of the name *Makkibhaṭṭa* needs no elaborate proof. It would, however, be worth while to analyse the fragment of the India Office MS. of the *Raghuvaṁśapradīpikā* with a view to see

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what more light it can throw on the chronology of Sanskrit authors referred to therein. Such a study would be all the more desirable especially in view of the exact date of Makkibhaṭṭa's *Gaṇitabhūṣaṇa*, viz. : A.D. 1377 already referred to in this note and the rarity of MSS. of Makkibhaṭṭa's works so far known, viz. : (1) गणितविलास (2) गणितभूषण and (3) रघुवंशप्रदीपिका.

Besides the *Siddhānta-Śekhara* commented on by Makkibhaṭṭa, Śrīpati wrote the following works :—(1) *Jātakapaddhati* or *Śrīpati-paddhati*, (2) *Jyotiṣaratnamālā* or *Śrīpatiratnamālā*, (3) *Ratnasāra*, (4) *Śrīpatinibandha*, (5) *Śrīpatisamuccaya*, (6) *Dhikoṭidam Karaṇam* (7) *Dhruvamānasa Karaṇam*. I am concerned here with the work *Jyotiṣaratnamālā* in the above list. Pandit Babuji Miśra informs us in his Sanskrit Introduction to the *Siddhānta-Śekhara* (p. 9) that there are many commentaries on the *Jyotiṣaratnamālā* including one by Mahādevabhaṭṭa. Aufrecht [1] records a MS. of a commentary on this work of Śrīpati by Śrīpati himself. Aufrecht does not say if this MS. contains the commentary in Sanskrit or vernacular. I wish, therefore, to draw the attention of the Sanskritists to Śrīpati's commentary on the *Jyotiṣaratnamālā* composed in Marāṭhī. A rare MS.[2] of this commentary was discovered by the Maharashtra historian Rajawade and published by him in 1914. It begins :— "॥ तेया ईश्वररूपा कालातें मिं। ग्रंथकर्त्ता श्रीपति नमस्कारी ॥ मी श्रीपति रत्नाचि माळा रचितों". Students of philology will find much useful material in this specimen of old Marathi of about Śaka 950 (= A.D. 1028) which is the date assigned to Srīpati by the learned editor of the *Siddhānta-Śekhara*. In his work '*Dhruvamānasākhya*' Śrīpati states that he was the son of Nāgadeva and grandson of Keśavabhaṭṭa and that he wrote the work in "रोहिणीखण्ड".[3] Pandit Babuji

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[1] *Cata. Catalo.*, I, p. 213—'B. 4, 184'.—This MS. was in the possession of one Morarji of Vadhavan. As Buhler does not give any description of this MS. it is impossible to say if this commentary on the *Jyotiṣaratnamālā* by the author was composed in Sanskrit or in the vernacular.

[2] Rajawade describes this MS. as follows on pp. 81-82 of the *Bharata Itihasa Mandal Series No.* 8 (Śaka 1836 = 1914 A.D.). The MS. was found at *Nevāse* and consisted of 74 leaves. It was written about 466 years ago as the copyist has recorded the years, 1369, 1370, 1371, 1372, and 1373 on the reverse of the 4th folio. The language of the commentary is almost identical with that used in the Jñāneśvarī (p. 83).

[3] This information is furnished by the following verse quoted by Pt. Babuji Miśra :—

"भट्टकेशवपुत्रस्य नागदेवस्य नन्दनः।
श्रीपतौ रोहिणीखण्डे ज्योतिःशास्त्रमिदं व्यधात् ॥"

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expresses his inability to identify this place or to state anything definitely about the place where the work was composed or the birth-place of its author. According to Mahādeva who commented the *Jyotiṣaratnamālā* of Śrīpati, Śrīpati was of *Kāśyapagotra*.[1] Mr. S. B. Dikshit assigns Śrīpati to Śaka 961 (= A.D. 1039).[2] From the fact of Śrīpati's composing a Marāṭhī commentary on one of his works it would be reasonable to conclude that he belonged to Maharashtra or at least to districts where Marāṭhi was spoken in the middle of the 11th century.

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[1] *History of Indian Astronomy* by Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit, Poona, 1896, p. 237—Mahādeva states—

"कश्यपवंशपुंडरीकखंडमार्तंडः, केशवस्य पौत्रः, नागदेवस्य सूनुः, श्रीपतिः संहितार्थं अभिधातुमिच्छुः आह"

Vide Bhandarkar: *Report* (1882-83). 'The author of *Jyotīratnamālā* was the son of Nāgadeva and grandson of Keśava, who of course was a different person from the father of Ganeśa. This Kesava belonged to the *Kāśyapagotra* while Keśava of Nandigrāma was a *Kauśika*'.

[2] *Hist. of Ind. Astronomy*, p. 237.

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MATERIALS FOR A DHĀTUPĀṬHA OF INDO-ARYAN—I

By S. M. KATRE

It is a well-known fact that each of the orthodox grammatical systems in Sanskrit consisted of five principal divisions : Sūtrapāṭha, Dhātupāṭha, Gaṇapāṭha, Uṇādi and Liṅgānuśāna [1] ; of these the Dhātupāṭha gives us the classified list of the roots with appropriate *anubandhas* showing the type of its inflection when applying to any root the rules of the Sūtrapāṭha. Besides the system of Pāṇini we have Dhātupāṭhas for Hemacandra, Śākaṭāyana and Śarvavarman, as also for Candragomin. This system seems to have been copied to a certain extent by the orthodox Pāli Grammarians and we have such works as the *Dhātumañjūsā* and *Dhātupāṭha* [2] giving us lists of roots according to their class. Similarly the *Saddanīti* of Aggavaṁsa [3] calls its second part by the title *Dhātumālā*, and the grammars of Kaccāyana and Moggallāna have their own independent lists of roots. But unfortunately there are no such lists where the Prakrits are concerned ; in a certain way we may admit some such lists in the case of the Prakrit Dhātvādeśas,[4] but a regular list of all possible roots is conspicuous by its absence.

From the point of Linguistics the Sanskrit Dhātupāṭhas have met with a certain degree of doubt and hesitation on the part of some scholars. They have been often criticised as artificial creations in respect of many roots which are not generally met with anywhere in Vedic literature. The reason is obvious. Roots which are not current in Vedic or genuine classical Sanskrit literature which is written from an æsthetical point of view and not for satisfying artificially made laws of grammar, are open to a suspicion of artificiality. But we have to consider here two types of roots : (*a*) those inherited from Indo-European and (*b*) those arising from an expansion on Indian soil, giving new words not only to Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, but also to Pāli and other Middle Indo-Aryan languages. The charge of artificiality then will have to be judged by

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[1] See BRUNO LIEBICH, *Kṣīratarangiṇī* (Breslau, 1930), p. 233.

[2] Both edited by D. ANDERSEN and H. SMITH, Copenhagen, 1921.

[3] Edited by HELMER SMITH, Vols. I–III, Lund. 1928–30.

[4] Cf. Sir GEORGE GRIERSON, the Prakrit Dhātvādeśas according to the Western and Eastern Schools of Prakrit Grammarians, *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, pp. 77–170, Calcutta, 1924.

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the usage current in Middle Indo-Aryan and possibly also in New Indo-Aryan.

Besides the question of the genuineness of a root there is also the wider one of root Morphology. We have only to study critical editions of an epic or Purāṇa to see the gradual change affecting the classical Sk. itself; if our studies extend to Jain and Buddhist Sanskrit works we have a still wider but equally useful field for the development of verb-forms. We have then sufficient material for studying the development of root Morphology if only these forms are properly arranged in one place. In other words a root Dictionary of Old and Middle Indo-Aryan is a desideratum for a comparative study of Middle Indo-Aryan in the first instance, and secondly for throwing light on what is known as classical Sanskrit. Such a Dictionary must record every inflected form from the whole range of Vedic, Classical Sanskrit, Jain and Buddhist and Epic Sanskrit, and all the Middle Indo-Aryan literatures, and from a comparative etymological point of view. Besides the forms the meanings also should be studied and variations recorded. The first essential factor on which such a Dictionary may be based is a Dhātupāṭha of the whole Indo-Aryan literature in its earlier and middle stages. For the Dictionary must form around the root first with all the quotable examples of its inflexion followed by a detailed and documented alphabetical list of all these forms, referred back to the original root in the main part. My attempt here, therefore, is preliminary to this wider and more detailed work, which will form the necessary equipment for a comparative study of Old and Middle Indo-Aryan.

I am not concerned here directly with the problem of Indo-European relationship; this is part of another work—namely the comparative and etymological study of Old-Indo-Aryan with reference to Indo-European; nor am I concerned with the growth of Modern Indo-Aryan root systems, though incidentally we may have to turn to this stage to find justification in the earlier system. The first I expect to be satisfactorily dealt with by Prof. WÜST in his *Vergleichendes und Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Alt-indo-arischen* while justice will be done to the latter by Prof. TURNER in his *Comparative Etymological Dictionary of New Indo-Aryan.*

The main source for these materials is as follows :—

Ks. .. Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī, edited by BRUNO LIEBICH.
Cv. .. Candra-Vyākarana (Dhātupāṭha), edited by BRUNO LIEBICH.
Dhm. .. Dhātumañjūsā.
Dhp. .. Dhātupāṭha, both edited by D. ANDERSEN and H. SMITH.

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Dictionaries :—

MONIER WILLIAMS : A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Oxford, 1899.
CPD. .. A Critical Pāli Dictionary, Copenhagen, 1924 ff.
PED. .. Pali Text Society's Pāli-English Dictionary.
Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavo by Pandit HARGOVIND DAS SHETH, Calcutta, 1923–28. An illustrated Ardha-Magadhi Dictionary, 1923–32.

For the actual Root Dictionary of Indo-Aryan much greater material will be used in proportion to the magnitude of the work. In the following collection I shall only quote, where possible, the third person singular present indicative as the key-form. The full flexion will be given, as mentioned above, in my proposed Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Verb Forms, for which the material given below is only an introductory study. The materials collected here have the object of recording all possible roots current in Old and Middle Indo-Aryan and incidentally trace out the phonological, morphological (to a slight degree only) and semantic relationship between these two so far as the roots are concerned.

For Middle Indo-Aryan dialects the following abbreviations are used :—

Amg. .. Ardha-Māgadhī.
Ap. .. Apabhraṁśa.
Aś. .. Aśokan Inscriptions.
JM. .. Jaina-Māhārāṣṭī.
JS. .. Jaina-Śaurasenī.
M. .. Māhārāṣṭrī.
Mg. .. Māgadhī.
Ni. .. Kharoṣṭrī Inscriptions.
P. .. Paiśācī.
S. .. Śaurasenī.

Other abbreviations, if used, will be indicated in their proper places. For a comparative table of roots in Sanskrit (Sk.) reference is made to Ks. pp. 290–359. Pk. and Pā. as usual stand respectively for Prakrit and Pāli.

The main entry will be given where possible in its Old Indo-Aryan form, followed in turn by Sk. and Pāli Dhātupāṭha quotations and forms with meanings and by the Pk. forms. In the case of roots having no basis in the older stage, the earliest form as judged from its phonology will be given as an entry. As regards the large number of Prakrit Dhātvādeśas cross reference will be necessary, particularly of ' those which are regularly derived from Sk. roots,

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but which have changed their meaning, and which are therefore, by Prakrit Grammarians equated with, and substituted for, some other Sk. root which has a meaning more nearly akin to the acquired meaning of the Pk. word '.[1]

MATERIALS

Pk. *aīcchai* goes, given as a Dhātvādeśa (Dhv. or dhv.) for *gacchati*, by Hemacandra (Hc. iv, 162), has also the meaning of 'transgresses' ;—cf. Pā. *aticchati* below.

Pk. *aīi* goes, dhv. for Sk. *gacchati* (Hc. iv, 162) : Sk. √*i* to go (q.v.).

1. √AṀŚ

Sk. *aṁśa samāghāte* (Ks. x, 371) : *aṁśayati* divides, distributes ; also occasionally *aṁśayate* and *aṁśāpayati*. (Mon. Will. s.v. *áṁśa* : 'probably from 1. √*aś*, perf. *āṇaṁśa* ; and not from the above √*aṁś* fictitiously formed to serve as rt.').

2. √AṀŚ

Sk. Kṣīrasvāmin observes on the rt. √*aṁś* as follows : *Candro dantyāyām āha*, but the root is missing in Cv. ; cf. Buddhist Sk. (Bsk.) *vyaṁsayati* (Divyāvadāna) cheats, deceives ; *aṁsāpayati* divides.

Pā. *aṁsa saṁghāte* (Sd. 1657) : *aṁseti, aṁsayati* ;—cf. *aṁsa*.

3. √AṀH

Sk. *ahi gatau* (Ks. i, 666 ; Cv. i, 464) : *aṁhate* sets out, commences ; approaches ; *aṁhayati* sends, speaks, shines ; cf. √*aṅgh* below.

Pā. *ahi gatiyaṁ* (Sd. 1018) : *a(ṁ)hati*.

4. √AK

Sk. *aka aga kuṭilāyāṁ gatau* (Ks. i, 829, Cv. i, 534) : *akati* moves tortuously (like a snake). Cf. √*ag* and √*añc*, √*aṅk* and √*aṅg*.

5. √AKṢ

Sk. *akṣū vyāpatau saṁghāte ca* (Ks. i, 684) ; *akṣū vyāptau* (Cv. i, 210) *akṣati, akṣṇoti* reaches, pervades, passes through ; *akṣayati* causes to pervade ; cf. Ved. *ākṣāṇá*.

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[1] GRIERSON, DHĀTVĀDEŚAS, p. 77.

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Pā. *akkha vyatti-saṅkhātesu* (Saddanīti ii : Dhātumālā = Sd.) Sd. 61 ; *akkhati* (grammar = gr. only).

6. √AG

Sk. *v.s.v.* no. 4 above (*√ak*) : *agati* winds, curls, moves tortuously *agayati* causes to wind. Observe the relation *√ak : √ag* with softening of the surd. Cf. *√aṅg* below.

Pā. *agga kuṭila-gatiyaṁ* (Sd. 108) ; *gati-koṭille* (Dhm. 29) : *aggati* proceeds, behaves < OI-A.* *agyate.*

7. √AGH

Sk. *agha pāpe* (Ks. x, 392) : *aghayati* wrongs, sins, cf. Ved. *agha-* mfn. sinful, impure, sin.

Pā. *pāpakaraṇe* (Sd.) : *agheti* ; cf. *agha-* : Pk. *aha-.*

8. √AṄK

Sk. *aki lakṣaṇe* (Ks. i, 87, Cv. i, 340) : *aṅkate* moves in a curve ; *aṅkayati* (Ks. x, 382) moves in a curve ; marks, stamps ; cf. Ved. *áṅkas* n. a curve, bend, *aṅká-* a curved line. Cf. *√añc* below and *√ak* above.

Pā. *lakkhaṇe* (Dhp. 3, Dhm. 10, Sd. 22) : *aṅkati, aṅketi* (Dhp. 535, Dhm. 745) marks, characterises (gr. only) ; cf. *aṅkita-* marked : Pk. *aṅkia-.*

Pk. **aṅkaï*, cf. *aṅkia.*

9. √AṄKH

Sk. *aṅkhayati* stirs up, mixes ; cf. Śat. Br. *aṅkhayát* stirring up, mixing.

10. √AṄG

Sk. *agi gatau* (Ks. i, 155) : *aṅgati* goes (Cv. i, 38) ; *aṅgayati* marks (cf. *√aṅk*) ; *paly-aṅgayate* causes to go round, stirs round ; *paly-aṅgyate* turns round, revolves ; Śat. Br. *vipalyaṅgayanta-* enveloping, surrounding.

Pā. *gamane* and *gatiyaṁ* (Dhp. 25, Dhm. 32, Sd. 95) : *aṅgati* proceeds, moves, cf. *aggati.*

11. √AṄGA

Sk. *aṅga pada-lakṣaṇayoḥ* (Ks. x, 382) *aṅgayati* marks ; cf. *√aṅg.*

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12. √AṄGH

Sk. *aghi gatyākṣepe* (Ks. i, 109, Cv. i, 347) : *aṅghate* commences, sets about, hastens, speaks harshly ; *aṅghayati* : *aṅgayati* (Ks. x, 382 : *aṅghety-eke*). Cf. *aṁh.*

13. √AC

Sk. *acu* (*ity-eke* Ks. i, 915) *gatau* : *ácati* moves, *áciṣṭu-* moving ; (cf. *áñcati, áñcate*) bends curves ; speaks indistinctly.

14. √AJ

Sk. *aja gati-kṣepaṇayoḥ* (Ks. i, 248), *aja gatau* (Cv. i, 81) : *ájati* drives, propels, cf. *ajá-* a driver, instigator.

Pā. *aja gamane* (Dhp. 58, Dhm. 71) ; *gati-khepaṇe, gatimhi* or *visaraṇe* (Mmd. 640), (*gamane*) *khepane ca* (Sd. 188) : *ajati* (gr.)

Pk. Amg.* *ayaï*, cf. *ayamāṇa-* ; cf. Pk. *ayaṁta-*.

15. √AÑC

Sk. *añcu gati-pūjanayoḥ* (Ks. i, 203), *aci gatau* (Ks. i, 915), *añcu viśeṣaṇe* (Ks. x, 198), *añcu gatau* (Cv. i, 49, 915) : *áñcati, áñcate* bends, moves towards, worships, requests ; *añcayati* unfolds, produces, manifests.

Pā. *gamane* (Dhp. 45), *pūjāyaṁ* (Dhp. 48), *pūjā-gate* (Dhm. 48, Sd. 129) : *añcati* pulls, drags, contracts, shrinks, twists, bends ;— 2. *vyaya-gatiyaṁ* (Sd. 160) ; 3. *visesane* (Sd. 1334) ; *añcita-* ; CPD. observes that the meaning ' to shrink ' is not mentioned by the orthodox Pāli grammars ; there appears to be a contamination here with Sk. √*kuc* and √*kuñc*, suggested also by the equation *añcati* = *saṁkocati* at Attha-sālinī 376, 7.

Pk. *aṁcaï, aṁcia-, aïṁcaï, aïṁcia-* in the sense of worship, honour. Hc. iv, 187 gives *aṁcaï* as a dhv. for *kárṣati* ; compare with this Pā. *añcati* shrinks, contracts, and √*añch* below.

16. √AÑCH

Sk. cf. *āñch* : *āñchati, āñchet, āñcha* or *āñcha*, etc. (q.v.)

Pā. and Pk. forms, see under √*āñch*. Pk. *aṁchaï, aẏaṁchaï, āiṁchaï*, and *aṇacchaï* are given as dhvs. for Sk. *kárṣati* besides *aṁcaï* quoted above, by Hc. iv, 187. There is no doubt that we have allied forms in Sk. √*āñc*, √*āñch*, √*kuc*, √*kuñc*, etc.

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17. √AÑJ

Sk. *añjū vyakti-mrakṣaṇa-gatiṣu* (Ks. vii, 21), *aji bhāṣārthaḥ* (Ks. x, 245), *añjū vyaktau* (Cv. vii, 17) : *anákti, aṅkté* anoints, represents, decorates, honours, celebrates ; *añjayati* smears with, speaks, shines, causes to go.—Cf. Ved. *añjasī*.

Pā. *vyatti-makkhaṇa-gati-kantisu* (Dhp. 69), *vyatti-gatī-kanti-makkhaṇesu* (Dhm. 74), *vyatti-gatisu* (Mmd. 640) : *añjati* smears, besmears ; * *añjeti*, cf. *añjetvā* ; *añjāpeti*.

Pk. * *aṁjaī*, cf. *aṁjiyavva* to be anointed.

18. √AṬ

Sk. *aṭa gatau* (Ks. i, 317, Cv. i, 104) : *aṭati, aṭate* roams, wanders.

Pā. *aṭa gamanattho* (Dhp. 84), *gamane* (Dhm. 102), *aṭane* (Sd. 525) : *aṭati* wanders.

Pk. *aṭaī* (Hc. i, 165), *pari-aṭṭaī* (Hc. iv. 230 < * *pari-aṭyate*) roams, wanders about ; * *aḍaï*, cf. *aḍa-māṇa-* wandering.

19. √AṬṬ

Sk. *aṭṭa atikramaṇa-himsanyoḥ* (Ks. i, 273), *anādare* (Ks. x, 25, Cv. x, 14), *atikrame* (Cv. i, 365) : *aṭṭate* exceeds, kills ; *aṭṭayati* contemns, lessens, diminishes.

Pā. *aṭṭa anādare* (Sd. 1382) ; *aṭṭeti, aṭṭate, aṭṭiyati*.

Pk. *aṭṭaī*, M. *aṭṭaṁti*, is (or are) dried, evaporated, boiled, thickened. Hc. iv, 119 gives this as a dhv. for *kvathate*.

For all the three groups reference should be made to Ved. *ârta* (*á*+√*ṛ* q.v.) : Pa. Pk. *aṭṭa-*, whence the root in I-A. ;—cf. √*aḍḍ*.

20. √AṬH

Sk. *aṭhati, aṭhate* goes ;—cf. √*aṇṭh*.

21. √AḌ

Sk. *aḍa udyame* (Ks. i, 380, Cv. i, 131) : *aḍati* endeavours.

22. √AḌḌ

Sk. *aḍḍa* (*aṭṭa atikramaṇahiṁsayoḥ : anye tv-aḍḍety-āhuḥ* Ks. i, 273) *abhiyoge* (Ks. i, 371, Cv. i, 125) : *aḍḍati* joins ; infers, argues ; mediates, discerns ; attacks.—Cf. *aḍḍanam* n. a shield. Both √*aṭṭ* and √*aḍḍ* are connected as mentioned under √*aṭṭ* with Ved. *ārta-* ; for a similar doublet in MI-A. cf. Ved. *kṛṣṭá-* : Pā. *kaṭṭha-, kaḍḍha* (or * *haṭṭa-* : *haḍḍa-* : Sk. *ásthi*).

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23. √AṆ

Sk. *aṇa śabdārthaḥ* (Ks. i, 437, Cv. i, 147) : *aṇati* sounds ; *aṇyate* (4th cl.) breathes, (cf. √*an*).

Pā. *aṇa saddattho* (Dhp. 114), *saddle* (Dhm. 169) : *aṇati*.

Pk. Amg. *aṇaī* sounds.

24. √AṆṬH

Sk. *aṭhi gatau* (Ks. i, 280, Cv. i, 370) : *aṇṭhate* goes, moves, tends.—Cf. √*aṭh*.

25. √AT

Sk. *ata sātatyagamane* (Ks. i, 38 ; cv. i, 3) : *átati* goes constantly, walks, runs ; obtains.

Pā. *ata gamane* (Dhm. 177), *sātaccagamane* (Sd. 292) : *atati* goes.

26. √AD

Sk. *ada bhakṣaṇe* (Ks. ii, 1 ; Cv. ii, 1) : *átti* eats, consumes, devours ; *ādáyati, ādáyate* feeds ; *ádanam* n. eating.

Pā. *ada bhakkhaṇe* (Dhp. 154), (Dhm. 225) : *adati, adeti* (< PI-A. * *adati*, * *adayati*) ; the root *ada bandhane* (Dhm. 202-3) is for √*and* (q.v.).

Pk. (gr.) *adaī, adae* (< PI-A. * *adati*, * *adate*) eats.

27. √AN

Sk. *ana prāṇane* (Ks. ii, 61 ; Cv. ii, 30) : *ániti, ánati* breathes, respires, gasps ; lives ; moves ; goes ; *ānayati* caus.

Pā. *ana pāṇane* (Dhp. 176, Dhm. 255, Sd. 537) : *anati* breathes ; *udāneti* recites.

28. √ANT

Sk. *ati bandhane* (Ks. i, 62 ; Cv. i, 20) : *antati* binds, cf. *ántaḥ* m. boundary ; cf. √*and*.

Pā. *ati bandhane* (Sd. 394) : *antati, antiyati*.

29. √AND

Sk. *adi bandhane* (Ks. i, 63 ; Cv. i, 20) : *andati* binds, cf. *andū̆* f., *andū̆ka-* m. the chain of an elephant's feet. Cf. √*ant* : √*and*.

Pā. *anda bandhane* (Dhp. 141), *adi bandhane* (Dhp. 203) : *andati* binds ; cf. *ada bandhane* (Dhp. 202) under √*ad*.

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30. √ANDH

Sk. *andha dṛṣṭy-upasaṁhāre* (Ks. x, 380) : *andhayati* makes blind, cf. *andhá-* mfn. blind, *ándhas* n. obscurity.

Pā. *andha diṭṭhūpasaṁhāre* (sd. 1511) : *andhayati*, andheti.

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MISCELLANEA

VITTAPĀLA AND HARI

That the importance of the unique historical poem, the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākaranandin, to Indian historians, specially to those who deal with the ancient history of Bengal, is very great, is an acknowledged fact. In his own words, we find the poet calling himself Kalikāla-Vālmikī, and styling this peculiarly interesting poem, every verse of which simultaneously yields two different interpretations, the Rāmāyaṇa of the Kali-yuga, inasmuch as it is the record of the heroic achievements of both Raghupati Rāma and Rāmodeva or Rāmapāladeva, the Gauḍādhipa. It was discovered in 1897 by that great Indologist, the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. H. P. Śāstrī and published by him in 1910, as a Memoir of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Vol. III, No. 1). Many obscure passages and hints on historical matter, difficult to explain, occur in this book, specially in its uncommented portion. This poem has, however, not been very scientifically edited by the late Śāstri and haphazardly explained in many places, and his interpretation has generally been accepted as fully correct, without proper scrutiny, by historians like the late Mr. R. D. Banerji and others. In course of my study of this poem and other historical records of the times, in connection with the proposed new editi[on] of this poem (now in print) to be published by the Varendra Resear[ch] Society of Rajshahi, containing a Sanskrit commentary of [the] uncommented portion and a complete English translation, unc[er]-the joint collaboration of Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Pandit Nani Gopal Banerji, and the present writer, I read with sad curiosity the two following passages, i.e., passages (i) and (ii), occurring at page 14 of the Śāstri's Introduction to his edition, and also another passage, i.e., passage (iii), occurring at page 91 of the late Mr. R. D. Banerji's book, 'The Pālas of Bengal' (Mem. A.S.B., Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 43–113). The three passages read thus :—

(i) 'The allied army threw a bridge of boats on the Ganges, crossed the river and advanced and destroyed the Damara (described again at p. 13, as "a suburban city close to the capital of the Pāla empire"), and took Bhīma a captive while riding on his elephant in the battle-field. He was placed in charge of Vittapāla, who showed him all hospitality, and treated him very kindly.'

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(ii) 'But Hari, a friend of Bhīma, rallied the scattered Kaivarta army and advanced to fight. It was a well-contested battle in which both sides lost much. Rāmapāla's son contested every inch of ground, and established his power. Hari at last found himself powerless, was captured, and led to the place of execution. Bhīma, too, seems to have been put to the sword.'

(iii) 'The commentary on another verse states that Rāmapāla destroyed Ḍamara, a small town. The adjective *upapura* is no doubt applied slightingly because it happened to be the capital of the enemy. Bhīma remained a captive and was placed in charge of a certain Vittapāla. The scattered forces of Bhīma were rallied by one of his friends named Hari. In the ensuing battle, Rāmapāla's son contested every inch of ground and at last succeeded in defeating the *Kaivarttas*. Hari was, at last, deprived of his forces, captured and executed with Bhīma.'

In this short paper I wish to examine the truth of these three passages and discuss the part played by Vittapāla and Hari belonging to the two contending parties of Rāmapāla and Bhīma respectively, carrying on the fight in the land of Varendrī in the eleventh century A.D., and I shall also try to identify them both, if possible.

First of all, I need not point out that both the late Śāstri and the late Mr. Banerji committed the greatest mistake in thinking that Rāmapāla or his army ever destroyed any town of the name of Ḍamara which, only to their imagination, was 'a suburban city close to the capital of the Pāla empire', or that it was ever the capital of Rāmapāla's enemy (Bhīma) and was called an *upapura*. The fact is that the late Śāstri made a great blunder in reading the word as *upapura* instead of *upaplava* which the commentator really used as a synonym for the word *ḍamara* of the text (I. 27). The word *ḍamara* means affray, or political riot or disturbance, and we find it both in the lexicographies of Yādava ('डमरोपप्लवोत् पाता उपसर्ग उपद्रवः') and Hemacandra ('डमरे डिम्ब-विप्लवौ') and it occurs also in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (II. 6) used in the same sense. So the theory of Ḍamara being a suburban town, far less the capital of Bhīma, is a thorough myth and must be regarded as exploded.

We read again in the *Rāmacarita* that Bhīma who was seated on an elephant was captured by Rāmapāla in the course of the battle (II. 20) and that he was helped to descend from the back of his elephant by the Pāla king (II. 28). In this humiliating condition

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when he became deprived of his territory and devoid of his *rājyāṅgas*, Bhīma, as the poet described, was naturally sunken in spirit and appeared to be, as it were, an abode of all calamities, whose military implements were thrown away and the various divisions of whose infantry, cavalry, elephant troops and the animals for transport of war equipments were rendered futile. Such were the circumstances when the valiant enemy of Rāmapāla was made a captive.

We have read in the passages referred to above from the writings of the late Śāstrī and Banerji that Bhīma was then placed in charge of Vittapāla. This is truly warranted by the evidence of *Rāmacarita* (II. 36), but the late Śāstri cautiously avoided hinting at anything about the relationship of Vittapāla with Rāmapāla and the late Mr. Banerji, without being able to discover the same, ignored the real identity of the person and wrote that Bhīma was placed in charge of a *certain* Vittapāla. I may mention here in passing that Mr. P. L. Paul, in his article in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (March 1937, p. 39), wrote in the same strain, stating that Bhīma was kept under the charge of an *officer* named Vittapāla. In this view, I am sorry, Mr. Paul followed the late Mr. Banerji's Bengali version of this historical event as described in his Bāṅglār Itihāsa (2nd edition, Vol. I, p. 291). The *Rāmacarita*, however, clearly states in verse 36 (Canto II) that Vittapāla was the son of Rāmapāla and the words used there are '**सूनोः वित्तपालस्य**', which, in the case of the Rāmāyaṇa, refer to Rāvaṇa who was the **सूनु** (younger brother) of Vittapāla, i.e., Kubera (the lord of wealth) and in the second case of Bengal's history they refer to Vittapāla being son of the king (Rāmapāla). Sandhyākaranandin, such a great exponent of the Sanskrit rhetorical figure *śleṣa*, never used a word in a single sense. The author of the Medinī-koṣa stated that when used in the masculine gender the word **सूनु** may convey the meanings of a 'son' and a 'younger brother' and sometimes also a third meaning 'the sun-god' ('**सूनुः पुत्रेऽनुजेऽर्के ना**'). So there is absolutely no doubt that Vittapāla was one of the sons of Rāmapāla. Epigraphic evidence corroborated by the *Rāmacarita* bears out the fact that Rāmapāla's two sons, Kumārapāla and Madanapāla, ruled as Gauḍādhipas, but in addition to these two sons, we have, on the authority of the *Rāmacarita* alone, that Rāmapāla had two more sons at least, viz. Rājyapāla and Vittapāla. Rājyapāla is mentioned in the original text by name in verse 6 of Chapter IV where he is referred to as one of the two sons to whom the old king, Rāmapāla, entrusted the administration of his kingdom, after his entry into the newly-established

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capital, Rāmāvatī, the other son (the former's natural brother) being Kumārapāla. The commentator also while commenting on the word 'चण्डधामनन्दन', used in verse 7 of Canto II, suggests that these sons of the king, who were of such a formidable prowess, were Rājyapāla and others ('राज्यपालादिभिः'). So it is clear that Rāmapāla had at least four sons, viz., Rājyapāla, Vittapāla, Kumārapāla and Madanapāla.

We are, however, not aware of the ultimate fate of the two sons, Rājyapāla and Vittapāla. The late Mr. Banerji was of opinion that the former may have died during the lifetime of his father. But that he was alive even in the old age of his father has been hinted at by us above, but ultimately he may have predeceased his father.

As to Vittapāla, he is described by Sandhyākaranandin as the person under whose care Bhīma was kept by Rāmapāla, after the latter made him a captive. But though Bhīma was much honoured by the hospitality of this good soul, Vittapāla, he could not achieve his wished-for release from the latter's custody. In the meantime Hari, that well-known friend of Bhīma, gradually rallied the army of Bhīma and effected a blockade to the circle of hostile chiefs belonging to Rāmapāla's party and this army also, though now in a drastic state, consisted of immense infantry, cavalry, and elephant troops and even buffaloes, which some soldiers rode while hurling formidable arrows against the enemy. But it appears that their fate was sealed and they were totally defeated by the Pāla forces. Therefore, there shone, with all glory, this Vittapāla who was the son of that blessed king, Rāmapāla, and he then shadowed the well-known gifts of the Mahābhārata Karṇa, by exhausting the royal coffers by making wartime gifts to the partisans concerned, and appointed his *Sāmantas* (feudatories) to apply themselves to the act of protection of the people of Varendrī (विश्वहितरक्षासामन्तः). We are also told that Vittapāla felt exalted by the world-winning power of his father, Rāmapāla, who was a righteous victor [दृष (=धर्म्मे) जयी] and the same power having attached itself to his son too, made him, i.e., Vittapāla, establish his own glory on earth. It appears that after the thorough defeat of Hari's army, Vittapāla, who acted, as it were, as a saviour to the Pāla kingdom (described as the source of the world's life, 'जगत्प्राणभू'), led Bhīma to the place of execution ('मृत्युस्थानं निन्ये') where Rāmapāla at last brought about his slaughter—an incident which the former kept as a preconceived idea in his mind. But it may be noted here that

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Bhīma, who adopted various military tricks before, was hitherto victorious to some extent through his friend Hari's valour ('हरेः पराक्रमेण जेता'). The personal fate of Hari in this battle is unknown to us and the author of the *Rāmacarita* seems to be silent on this. It is, therefore, very difficult to accept the views of both the late Śāstri and Banerji that Hari was also led to the execution ground and executed along with Bhīma. It is only Bhīma who was killed by Rāmapāla on the execution ground and the *Rāmacarita* is explicit on this point.

It may be suggested here with certain diffidence that this Hari, who is only described as a friend (सुहृत्) of Bhīma in this book, may have been a son of Bhīma's elder brother and this may have been hinted at in the use of the word अर्कभू in the *Rāmacarita* text (v. 37, Chap. II), which will bear one meaning as either 'Sugrīva' or 'Yama' and the other as 'one born of अर्क' which also means an elder brother (ज्येष्ठभ्राता) according to Yādava, the almost contemporary lexicographer.

RADHAGOVINDA BASAK.

SOME NEW LIGHT ON SHUJAUDDAULAH'S CHARACTER AND POLICY

The history of Shujauddaulah, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, has yet to be written. He was one of those ambitious personalities of the 18th century, who figured prominently in the kaleidoscopic politics of Hindustan for a considerable period, and as such excited the jealousy, opposition, and even hatred of his rivals and enemies. This probably accounts for a good deal of exaggerated denunciation of his character by some of the contemporary observers.

The latest authoritative account of Shujauddaulah's personality and career is to be found in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's monumental work on 'Fall of the Mughal Empire'. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has utilised all the relevant European and Indian sources in his monograph on the history of India in the XVIIIth century. While recently exploring the manuscript records of the Government of India at the Delhi Record Office in connection with my projected researches on Verelst's Indian administration, I have incidentally come across stray passages in the contemporary Select Committee Proceedings and even Public Consultations which sometimes throw new light

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on the Nawab Wazir's character and administration, and which may lead to a revision of some of the existing notions concerning that ruler.

According to Jean Law (*vide* his Memoire) whom Sir Jadunath Sarkar has quoted in his sketch of Shujauddaulah's character (*vide* his Fall of the Mughal Empire, II, p. 531), the latter was no more than a worthless sensualist lacking even in ordinary courage and ability. To the author of the Imadus Saadat, who too has been referred to by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Shujauddaulah was a drunken debauchee. Marathi and Persian sources cited by the learned historian all corroborate the same description. One is thus naturally constrained to regard the Nawab Wazir's character as despicable.

But, while it may be admitted that Shujauddaulah was not free from vice, it may be stated in fairness to him that judged from the moral standards of those days he need not be regarded to have been extraordinarily intemperate or immoral. Intemperance and immorality were too common a vice among the Indian potentates of those days.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes: 'But Shuja's fairly successful conduct of revenue and war . . . was due entirely to the band of able and devoted generals and civil administrators that clung to his house'. (*Vide* Fall of the Mughal Empire, II, p. 532, foot-note). While this estimate is not far from the truth, it may be pointed out on the basis of English records that with all his vices, Shujauddaulah was himself a talented and enterprising administrator, and his success must not be ascribed entirely to his officials, as it was no less due to his own ability, ambition, and enterprise. Verelst has expressly declared in the course of his observations which have passed unnoticed'. . . . he (Shujauddaulah) plans, directs, oversees, and executes every thing himself'.

From Verelst's letters and minutes it appears that Shujauddaulah had many good qualities in him, though, according to Verelst himself, they were marred by his boundless ambition, extreme vanity, and excessive impatience. Thus an accurate idea of his character and rule can be had only when the contemporary and unexplored English records preserved in the Imperial Record Office at Delhi, and in the India Office at London are thoroughly examined and utilized.

Students of Indian History need not be reminded that the scholarly paper on 'Shujauddaulah' contributed in 1926 by Nawabzada Khan Bahadur A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, to the Indian Historical Records Commission (*Vide* Proceedings, Vol. IX) is an excellent pioneer work in this direction and will be a source of great help to future

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research workers. A few of the important English records of Verelst's time are quoted below to illustrate their importance. It may be pointed out here that Verelst was a shrewd observer as well as good judge of character, and his remarks bear the unmistakable stamp of sincerity and conviction.

* * * *

SOME EXTRACTS FROM VERELST'S LETTERS:

"If gratitude can be any tie on an Hindostan heart, we have every reason to consider him as connected with us by the most indissoluble bonds. His dominions, except the Zamindary of Bulwant Sing, lie on the north of the Ganges, and extend to the hills; and, though they are more thinly peopled than is common in this country have been so much improved by his late regulations in them, as to produce annually near one crore and twenty-five lacs of rupees.

His increase of the strength has kept pace with his increase of revenue. He has near eleven battalions of sepoys of all sorts, a good body of horse, and has made considerable additions to his artillery and magazines; but, as his whole revenue can never support a force which can be really formidable to us, so it will always be in our power to direct the force he has to such purposes as may best conduce to the interest of the Honourable Company and the general peace.

The Nabob's education, and perhaps disposition, have led him to be vain, aspiring, and impatient. He is active, but desultory; his judgment rather acute than sound; and his generalship and policy more plausible than solid. From pride, or jealousy, he is afraid to employ men of abilities or rank, in the several departments of his Government; he plans, directs, oversees, and executes everything himself, so that the multiplicity of business, and his daily increasing infirmities oblige him to leave his best designs imperfect and crude.

His ambition, it is true, is always inciting him to form new projects, but his volatility induces him to be continually abandoning some, and his impetuosity often renders the remainder abortive. In a word, from a most careful review of his character and conduct, he seems a much proper instrument to accomplish the Company's main point.

* * * *

When we considered the very rapid progress he has lately made in his levies of troops; his extraordinary vigilance in the

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discipline of his army ; the reports which we have received of his inviting auxiliaries into his service, at a time when perfect tranquillity seemed to reign throughout the empire, the connections he is forming with different powers ; the establishing a foundry, which has already supplied him with a quantity of cannon for field service ; and his amazing improvement in the making of small arms, which are by no means inferior in quality to the very best exported to India : all these were circumstances which naturally demanded our most serious attention, and compelled us to resolve upon losing as little time as possible in arriving to some degree of certainty with regard to his future designs. (Letter, dated Fort William, April 10, 1768).

* * * *

The character of the Nabob-Vizier was never thoroughly known till his connections with us. His enterprising genius, his high spirit, his plausible policy, are all sullied, if not entirely obscured, by opposite blemishes ; for, with these, he is inconstant, ostentatious, and impetuous. His military spirit has received a severe mortification in the late defection of his best battalions no doubt, it has abated the ardour of his expectations, and given birth to other ideas than those of foreign aggrandisement and conquest.

Experience has shewn us that this prince possesses no firmness nor solidity. However high his demands trifling concessions provided they speak to his passions, will mollify him. His expressions may be boasting, but they do not lead to action. If, therefore, we sooth his vanity, and manage his foibles in trifles, we may lead, or even dictate, in essentials". (Letter, dated Fort William, December 16, 1769).

* * * *

From the English records of Verelst's period the following facts appeared to me particularly noteworthy, as these may be easily ignored by historians :—

(i) In the first place, Shujauddaulah was a sagacious financier as his revenue regulations and administration show. It is a pity that Verelst does not specify the aforesaid regulations.

(ii) In the second place, he did not trust his own officials, and so supervised every detail personally.

(iii) In the third place, all his schemes were generally initiated by himself.

(iv) In the fourth place, his military organisation and reforms were praiseworthy.

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(v) In the fifth place, his encouragement of the manufacture of cannon and small arms places him above the common run of Indian rulers of those days. His enterprise in this respect is comparable to that of Mir Qasim. It is likely that Shujauddaulah may have been inspired by the latter's successful venture in this direction.

(vi) In the sixth place, Shujauddaulah's character was not altogether vile and despicable.

NANDALAL CHATTERJEE.

THE MUSLIM OCCUPATION OF NORTHERN INDIA—A STUDY

The people are prone to believe that the Muslim conquest of India was an easy affair. But the trend of evidence points to exactly contrary direction. Nine hundred years of continuous campaigns enabled the Turks to subjugate the whole of Northern India. The first act of the drama opened with the conquest of Sindh about 712 A.D. by Muhammad ibn Kāsim, a general of Khalifāḥ Wālid I (705–15 A.D.). Long after him came Junaid. Making Sindh the base of their operations, the Arabs commenced to raid the neighbouring Hindu States. Junaid despatched an army against Marmad (*Marumāḍa* present Marwar), Mandal, Dhanaj and Barus (Broach). Another was sent against Uzain (Ujjaini), the country of Malibas (Malwa); while Junaid in person is reported to have captured Al-Bailāmān (Bhillamāl) and the Jurz (Gurjara) country. These expeditions seems to have ended disastrously for the Arabs. Because the Sāgartāl (sic. Jodhpur) Inscription tells us that Nāgabhaṭa II, a member of the Gurjjara Pratīhāra dynasty, defeated the king of Sindh and conquered the forts of the *Turushkas*.[1] The same tale is probably related in the Naosari copper plates,[2] which relates that an army of the *Tājikas* (that is the Arabs), destroyed the Saindhavas, Kācchhellaas, Saurashtras and the Chāvaṭakas, but their attempt to conquer Southern India was frustrated by Avanījanāśraya-Pulakeśīn II. One of the most piquant phrases in the inscription is *anivattaka-anivarttaka-nivartayitṛi* (repeller of the

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 99–114.
[2] *Vienna Oriental Congress*, Arrian Section, p. 230.

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unrepellable), a title of the victorious Chālukya chieftain. Evidently the Arab forces had come to be regarded as invincible.

The Muhammadan traveller Sulaimān (851 A.D.) informs us that the kingdoms of the Rāshṭrakuṭas and the Gurjaras were conterminous with each other. The same traveller significantly remarks, that amongst the Indian monarchs there was no greater foe of Islam than the Gurjara prince. Little later Ma'asudi (943 A.D.) noted that the Gurjara king was at war with the Arab rulers of Multan ; but the Rāshṭrakuṭas of Māṇyakheṭā were very friendly to the Muslims. The agelong feud between the Gurjjaras and the Rāshṭrakuṭas is now quite well known. It appears that having been unable to humble their great adversary, the southern monarchs had sought the alliance and aid of the Arabs of Sindh. Nevertheless, the Pratīhāras were more than a match for the early Muslim invaders of India. The Arabs got their first foothold in India in c. 712 A.D., and though the Arabs and their co-religionists, soon after the death of the Prophet, were irresistible, whichever part of the globe they traversed, they could not make any permanent impression in India, except in Sindh. As long as the forces of the great Pratīhāras of Kanauj guarded the frontiers of *Hindusthān* the crescent had to remain contented, with their hold on the borderlands of India.

The second great step for the Muslim advance on the rich and fertile plains of *Āryāvartta* was made in the middle of the ninth century. Though Persia was conquered in the middle of the seventh century and the southern coast of Beluchistan in 643, Afghanisthan remained independent till the middle of the ninth century. Herat and Balkh in the north had been conquered long before the Hindu Shāhiya dynasty ruled at Kābul till the last decade of the ninth century of the Christian era. It was finally conquered by Yāqub ibn Laith. The Shāhiya kings retired towards India, and for a long time held the valleys washed by the Kabul river.

Tenth century of the Christian era saw tremendous changes in the political stage. Taking advantage of the decline of the Ābbasi emperors, the outlying provinces of the Arab empire became independent. Khorasan and the country to the north of the Oxus, had fallen to the share of the Sāmani dynasty. Ābdul Mālik, the fifth king, had a favourite Turkish slave named Alaptegin. He later became the governor of Khorasan, and on the death of his master, opposed the succession of Mansur. He was obliged to fly the country and reached Ghaznā with a body of trusted adherents. Here he founded a new kingdom without much opposition from the local Hindus. In Northern India the same century ushered in the dawn of a new epoch. The old kingdoms which had dominated the political arena so long, made their exit, and new powers rose to

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take their place. The fabric of the great Gurjjara empire broke up. Rajputana and East Punjab declared independence under the Chāhamāṇas ; and the Tomaras occupied Delhi and the adjacent districts. The Chāndellas ruled over Bundelkhand, the Haihayas at Tripurā and the Gāhadvīlas in the Doab and Ayodhya. In Eastern India the Pāla empire too had fallen on evil days. The incompetent successors of Dharmapāla and Devapāla were unable to keep together their costly conquests.

In 977 A.D. Sabuktegin, himself a slave, succeeded Alaptegin. He started the continuous campaigns against the Shāhiyas of Und (that is of the Kabul valley) that finally led to the extinction of the dynasty and the occupation of its territories. The first raid of Sabuktegin took place in 986 A.D. Jayapāla the Shāhiya king retaliated by invading the Ghaznavite territories, but was defeated in the valley of Lamghān and compelled to surrender a large number of elephants and a large sum as indemnity. Once within the battlements of his capital the Shāhiya monarch refused to ratify the treaty ; and appealed to the principal Rajput chiefs of India for concerted action against the Turks. Some Rajput chiefs seems to have responded. The confederate army, however, suffered a crushing defeat at the battle of Kurram. Jayapāla who was now left alone to face the consequences had to surrender the country to the west of the Indus.

Sabuktegin died in 997 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Mahmud. Mahmud might have been a begotted Muslim but was an able general. The weakness of the Hindu kingdoms of Northern India was soon apparent to him. The smiling plains, the dune covered arid plateaus, the populous cities with fabulous riches, attracted him, and he invaded it more than dozen times. The whole land was laid waste, the temples demolished, the idols smashed or carried away into an alien land, the cities sacked and burnt. It was a misfortune for India that it did not succumb to the attacks of more civilized Arabs, but to the repeated onslaughts of the Turkish converts of Islam. The principal achievements of Mahmud's career was the destructions of the Shāhiya kingdom, by which he was able to annex portions of the Punjab. A decline however set in with the death of Mahmud. But this does not signify that India received a total respite. Ibrahim, the grandson of Mahmud, ascended the throne of Ghaznā in 1059 A.D. In 1075 A.D. he appointed his son also named Mahmud as governor of his Indian possessions. He launched an expedition against the Central and North Indian States. The great Persian poet Salman tells us that the prince besieged the fort at Agra and defeated the Amir Jaipal—probably a Tomara chieftain. He is further reported to have built stable of elephants

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at Kanauj, which was then the capital of Sindh. He is also reported to have subjugated Malwa and reduced the fort of Kalanjar.[1] This was merely a predatory campaign. The Turkish army returned to Punjab without being able to retain their conquests.

About 1150 A.D., Ālauddin Hussain, chief of Gor, attacked Bahram, King of Ghaznā, and compelled him to take refuge in the Punjab. The city of Ghaznā with its palatial buildings, built with the untold wealth, obtained by the plundering raids, was destroyed. From this time, the successors of Alaptegin ceased to have any control over Afghanisthan ; and the members of the obscure house of Gor rose into prominence.

The annexation of Punjab brought about a disastrous change in the political stage of India. Because it exposed the Tomara, the Chāhamāṇas and the Gāhadvālas to the constant attacks of the Turks. *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya*, a work describing the exploits of the last of that name, tells us that Durlabharāja II, lost his life in a conflict with these foreigners. Next one of his descendants Arṇorāja is credited with having defeated a Turkish army and constructed a lake on the site of the battle, now called Ānāsāgar near Ajmere. His son Vigraharāja the IV alias Visāladeva is credited in a Pillar Inscription at Delhi, with having brought the whole of Northern India under his domination, and is reported to have made it again a fit abode of *Āryas*, by extirpating the *mlechchhas*.

Further information on this point is furnished by a drama composed by Somesvara and found inscribed on a series of stone slabs found at *Āḍhāi-din-kā jhoṁprā* at Ajmere. Vigraharāja II was succeeded by his nephew Pṛithvīrāja II, one of whose records were originally found at Hansi, in the Hissar district of the Punjab. From this we learn that the king gave the command of the fortress of Hansi or Asi to a maternal uncle of his named Kilhaṇa, of the Guhilot clan. Kilhaṇa captured and burnt a place called Pañchapura, probably belonging to the Turkish State of the Punjab. We find probably an echo of it in the *Feristhāh* when it states that, in conjunction with other Rājas, the Raja of Delhi retook Hansi, Thanesvar, and other dependencies from the governors to whom Modood had entrusted them. From there the Hindus are reported to have marched towards Nagarkote.

In spite of these checks, the raiding Turkish armies sometimes crossed the Chāhamāna territories and invaded the kingdom of the Gāhadvālas. In his inscriptions Govindachandra the Gāhadvāla King is credited with having defeated the *Hammira* (Amira) twice, once when he was *yuvarāja*, and second time when he was king.

[1] Sir H. M. Elliott—*History of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 522–24.

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Another most important information supplied by Gāhadvāla records is the mention made of a tax called *Turushka-daṇḍa*. Opinion differs regarding the nature of this levy. According to some it was an impost to bear the cost of constant war against the Turkish invaders. Others however aver that it was a poll-tax levied on the Muhammadan settlers in the Gāhadvāla dominions. Govindachandra's son Vijayachandra is also reported to have defeated a *Hammira* general.

Pṛithvīrāja II was succeeded by his minor son bearing the same name. The widowed queen was appointed 'Regent'. *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya* tells us that the beef eating *mlechchha* called Gori who had occupied Garjanā (Ghaznā) had sent an envoy to the Chāhamāṇa court. It further informs us that the Ghorid king captured Nādol, but they were routed by the Gujarat king. This certainly refers to the expedition led by Muhammad Ibn Sām of Gor in 1178 A.D., when by crossing the desert of Marwar, he invaded Gujarat, and was routed by the Solaṅki King Bhīmadeva II, aided by the Nādol chief Kilhaṇa and others at the battle of Kashradā, near the foot of Mt. Abu. The fact is referred to in the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī* and *Feristhāḥ*. The crushing defeat seems to have made a great impression on the Ghorid chief, and for a long time the Hindu States of Northern India received a much needed respite. In 1186 the last Ghaznavite king of Multan, Khasru Malik, was defeated by Muhammad Gori and the rest of the Punjab annexed to the Gorid dominions. In 1191 he proceeded against the Chāhamāṇa king Pṛithvīrāja. The armies met at Tarāin or Talāwārī, near immortal Kurukshettra and Panipath ; and the Gorid army was totally routed. Here the Chāhamāṇa king committed the greatest blunder of his life. Had he pursued the fugitives, he could have annexed the Punjab up to Purushapura (modern Peshawar). Muhammad with the remnants of his army did not dare to tarry in the Punjab but fled precipitately to Ghaznā. He paid the penalty of his blunder next year, when Muhammad returned with a fresh army, and was able to recover his reputation, as well as prestige, by defeating the Chāhamāṇa king.

The battle of Tarain is an important landmark in the mediæval history of India. From 712–14 A.D. the struggle had continued with few years of intervals. The Turks trying to penetrate into Hindusthan and the various North Indian States trying in vain to stem the onrush of the inevitable deluge. From 1193 A.D., however, matters took totally different aspect. The second battle of Tarain decided the fate of India. The Turks now got a firm foothold in the very heart of India and would be able to subjugate surrounding Hindu States.

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In this they were partially successful. The Muslim chronicles tell us that the Chāhamāṇa King Pṛithvīrāja fled from the battle-field, but was captured and murdered. For a year the deceased king's brother Hemrāj kept the flag flying, but Delhi and Ajmere had soon to submit to Qutb-ud-din Aibak's valour. Nevertheless the major portion of Chāhamāṇa dominions with the principal forts like Raṇastambhapura (Ranthambhor), Vijayagaḍh (Bayana), maintained precarious independence, through the different branches of the Chāhamāṇa families.

ADRIS BANERJI.

DATE OF COMMENCEMENT OF THE GĀṄGEYA ERA

Five years ago, we pointed out that the initial year of the Gāṅgeya Samvat commenced in 496 A.D.[1] It roughly corresponds to 496-7 A.D., i.e. commencing in 496 and ending in 497 A.D. In the present paper, we shall try to see if the exact day of commencement can be fixed. For this purpose the following four inscriptions are of importance :—

1. Date of issue—Gāṅgeya Samvat 80, '*Kārttika-dina* 8'; occasion of the grant—'*Kārttika-kṛṣṇāṣṭamyām*'.[2]

Charters are issued on the date of the actual gift, or on a later date, but never earlier. According to the *amānta* system, the 8th day or *tithi* of a month is a bright one and is earlier than the 8th *tithi* of the dark fortnight, which is equivalent to the 23rd day of the month. So the month of Kārttika, in the present case, could not have been an *amānta* one, for in that case the date of issue becomes earlier than the date of the gift. The month of Kārttika of the present charter, therefore, was a *pūrṇimānta* one. The charter was issued on the date of the gift.

2. Date—G.S. 195 '*Śrāvaṇa-kṛṣṇa-dine pañcame*'; Occasion —'*Dakṣiṇāyane*'.[3]

The year corresponds to (496-7+195=) 691-2 A.D. and the date of issue, according to the *pūrṇimānta* system, to 21st June, 691 A.D. The occasion of the grant was the commencement of the *Dakṣiṇāyana* or the *Summer Solstice*, which takes place on the 21st June. We find that according to the *pūrṇimānta* system both the

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXV (1932), pp. 237-8.
[2] D. R. Bhandarkar's *Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 1471.
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 1479.

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dates of gift and issue were identical, i.e., 21st June, 691 A.D., so the month in the present instance also was a *pūrṇimānta* one.

These two dates show that the months of the Gāṅgeya Samvat were *pūrṇimānta*. For this reason we shall make all our calculations according to this system.

3. Date—G.S. 304 ; Occasion—Solar eclipse.[1]

The year corresponds to 800-1 A.D., i.e. it commenced in 800 and ended in 801 A.D. There was a solar eclipse on the 15th *tithi* or day of the *pūrṇimānta* month of Śrāvaṇa of 800 A.D. As the eclipse took place in the first or commencing part of the year, i.e., in 800 A.D., the month of Śrāvaṇa was also in the commencing part of the year. From this we conclude that the beginning of the year was not later than the 15th of the *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvaṇa.

4. Date—G.S. 351 ; Occasion—Solar eclipse.[2] The year corresponds to 847-8 A.D. There was a solar eclipse on the 15th day of *pūrṇimānta* Āṣāḍha of 848 A.D., i.e. in the ending part of the year. From this it is clear that the end of the year was not earlier than the 15th of the *pūrṇimānta* Āṣāḍha.

It is evident from the above two calculations that the years of the Gāṅgeya year commenced not later than the 15th of the *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvaṇa, and ended not earlier than the 15th of the *pūrṇimānta* Āṣaḍha. The period covered by these two dates falls short of a complete year by 29 days, besides they begin and end in the middle of months, which is generally not the case with the Indian Eras. They begin with the beginning, and end with the end of a month, whether *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta*. These defects can be remedied if we push the commencement 14 days back to 1st Śrāvaṇa, and the end 15 days forward to 30th Āṣāḍha. The years of this era, therefore, commenced on the 1st day of the *Pūrṇimānta* Śrāvaṇa, equivalent to *kṛṣṇa-pratipada* or the 16th day of the *amānta* month of Āṣāḍha, and ended on the 30th day of *pūrṇimānta* Āṣāḍha, equivalent to the day of full-moon or the 15th day of the *amānta* month of Āṣāḍha.

As the years commence in the solar month of Āṣāḍha, the Era was an *Āṣāḍhādi* one. The *amānta* months take their names after the solar months in which they begin, while the *Pūrṇimānta* ones after the next *amānta* month. Again as the Indian Eras are of the luni-solar character, this was also a luni-solar one. From all these we conclude that the Gāṅgeya Era was an *Āṣāḍhādi* and *Pūrṇimānta Luni-Solar* one, which commenced on the day after the full-moon of the solar month of Āṣāḍha of 496 A.D. corresponding to the 12th June of 496 A.D. In terms of the Śaka Era, the initial year corresponds to Śaka 418-9.

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[1] *Ibid.*, No. 1482.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 1484.

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There are some other charters under this Era, which were also granted on the occasion of eclipses. We shall now study the dates of these, with a view to see if they corroborate our conclusions.

5. Date—G.S. 128, '*Caitra-di* 10 5'; Occasion—'*Mārgaśīra-paurṇamāsyām som-oparāge*', i.e. 'lunar eclipse on the full-moon-day of the month of Mārgaśīra'.[1]

The year corresponds to 624-5 A.D., and the date of issue, according to the *pūrṇimānta* system, to 14th March, 625 A.D. There was a lunar eclipse on the 30th day of *pūrṇimānta* Mārgaśīrṣa (30th November) of 624 A.D. Both the dates of occasion and of issue are within the year, and the former is earlier than the latter.

6. Date—G.S. 154; Occasion—solar eclipse.[2]

The year corresponds to 650-1 A.D. There was a solar eclipse on the *pūrṇimānta* Bhādra (3rd August) of 650 A.D.

7. Date—G.S. 251; Occasion—solar eclipse.[3]

The year corresponds to 747-8 A.D. There was a solar eclipse on the 15th of *pūrṇimānta* Mārgaśīrṣa (7th November) of 747 A.D.

8. Date—G.S. 221; '*Āṣāḍha-dina pañcamī*'; Occasion—solar eclipse.[4]

The year corresponds to 717-8 A.D., and the date of issue, according to the *pūrṇimānta* system, to 24th may, 718 A.D. There was no solar eclipse, during this year, visible in India.

9. Date—G.S. 397; Occasion—solar eclipse.[5]

The year corresponds to 893-4 A.D. There was a solar eclipse on the 15th day of *pūrṇimānta* Āṣāḍha (7th June) of 894 A.D.

10. Date—G.S. 192, '*Māgha-divase tṛñśatime*'; Occasion—lunar eclipse.[6]

The year corresponds to 688-9 A.D., and the date of issue, according to the *pūrṇimānta* calculation, to 11th January, 689 A.D. There was a lunar eclipse on the 30th day of the *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvaṇa (17th July) of 688 A.D. Both the dates of issue and of gift are within the year and the former is later than the latter.

All the above dates have been calculated with the help of Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, Part I, Tables II and IV–L.

It will be seen that our date of 496-7 A.D. as the initial date of the Gāṅgeya Era satisfies all the data found in the Gāṅga Inscriptions, with the exception of No. 8 above, when there was no solar eclipse visible in India. The reading of the date in this instance is not free from doubt. Rajaguru read the date as '*śate* 221'. Here *śate* is redundant. Mr. Ramdas reads 323 in place of 221. We find after

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[1] *Ibid.*, No. 1474. [2] *Ibid.*, No. 1477. [3] *Ibid.*, No. 1480.
[4] *Ibid.*, No. 2050. [5] *Ibid.*, No. 2052.
[6] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, pp. 300ff.

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śate only two digits, which seem to be 21. *Śate* here indicates one hundred (cf. ' *śate catur-aśītte* 184 ' of the Dharmaliṅgeśvara Temple plate of Devendravarman, son of Guṇārṇava, *J.H.R.S.*, Vol. II, p. 275). So we read the date as 121, which corresponds to 617-8 A.D. There was a solar eclipse on the 15th of *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha (31st March) of 618 A.D., which is earlier than the date of issue and within the year.

We are glad to find that Dr. R. C. Majumdar has dealt with the question of Gāṅgeya Era in the recent issue of the *Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, pp. 171–9). He has arrived at the final conclusion that ' the Gāṅga Era falls within the first half of the sixth century A.D., with a possible margin of ten to twenty years on either side, and that there are good grounds to place it between 550 and 557 A.D.' By the addition of these margins, he has extended the range of possibility from 8 years to 90 years from 481 to 570 A.D. By this extension, strangely enough, he has admitted our date also within the range of possibility, which he rejected at the outset of his paper. Again by admission of the date, he has automatically admitted our identification of Devendravarman and his father Anantavarman with Kāmārṇava (c. 937-8 Śaka) and his father Anīyaṅkabhīma-Vajrahasta II (c. 902–937) respectively, on which we based the calculation of our date. This too at the outset was discarded as unwarranted. He, however, thinks that 550–557 A.D. is a more possible limit of the initial year of the Era. But this is not free from difficulties.

Firstly, this cannot, according to his own admission, accommodate Madhukāmārṇava (526 G.E.) within the Gāṅga genealogy. This difficulty has been created by his identification of Devendravarman (520 G.E.) with Rājarāja-Devendravarman (992–999 Śaka), a date posterior to 960 Śaka. In fact we find that the earlier kings of the Gaṅga dynasty used the Gāṅgeya Era, while the later kings, from the time of Anantavarman-Vajrahasta III (coronation 960 Śaka), have consistently used the Śaka Era in their inscriptions. As soon as the hitherto-known lastest Gāṅgeya years of 520 and 526 are placed anterior to 960 Śaka, it becomes possible to identify Madhukāmārṇava (526 G.E.) with Madhukāmārṇava (c. 941–960 Śaka), son of Anīyaṅkabhīma-Vajrahasta II and the youngest brother of Kāmārṇava, whom we have identified with Devendravarman (520 G.E.). There is no other Madhukāmārṇava in the whole of Gāṅga genealogy, except Anantavarman-Madhukāmārṇava, son of Anantavarman Coḍa-Gaṅga, who is much later.[1] Dharmakhedi lived in this transition-period, so he had dated his earlier charter in

[1] *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXXII, Pt. I, p. 112, No. 5.

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Gāṅgeya Era and the later one in Śaka Era. This view alone can explain why he used two different Eras in his charters.

Secondly, it cannot be supported astronomically. There was a lunar eclipse in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa in 128 G.S. (No. 5 above). According to Dr. R. C. Majumdar's preferential theory, the year falls between 678–685 A.D. But there was no lunar eclipse, whether visible or invisible in India, in those years or near about them, in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa. This argument may not carry weight with Dr. Majumdar, who has unfortunately lost all faith in astronomical calculations, but we, who are believers in them, cannot ignore it.

As our date of 496-7 A.D. as the inital year of the Gāṅgeya Era can explain all facts, and over above it is supported by astronomical calculations, we hope that there cannot be any objection to its acceptance, at least as a tentative one.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

THE ANTIQUITY OF JAINISM IN SOUTH INDIA

Regarding the antiquity of Jainism in South India, it is believed generally that Śrutakevalî Bhadrabāhu in company with his royal disciple Chandragupta Maurya and numerous Jaina saints carried the torch of Jainism to the South for the first time about 298 B.C.[1] Yet it is proved from solid evidence that Jainism reached the countries lying near South India in the very life-time or just a little after Mahāvîra, the last Tîrthaṅkara. For instance, we may take the countries of Kaliṅga, Mahārāṣṭra, Ândhra and Ceylon. It is clear from the reference in the famous Hāthigumphā Inscription that Mahāvîra visited Kaliṅga and preached Jainism from the Kumārî-Parvata,[2] so much so that it continued to be the flourishing religion of Kaliṅga till the earlier centuries of Christian era.[3] In Mahārāṣṭra, Jainism had its sway even before Tîrthaṅkara Mahāvîra, for, it is proved from monumental evidence that a royal disciple of Pārśva, the 23rd Tîrthaṅkara, by name Karakaṇḍu, the king of Campā, visited Terapura (Dhārāsiva) caves and built Jaina shrines there, in which he installed the old as well as newly constructed images

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[1] Early History of India, p. 154 ; Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, pp. 164-165 ; Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. I.

[2] Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc., Vol. XIII, p. 245.

[3] My Hindi work : ' Saṃkṣipta Jaina Itihāsa ', Vol. II, Pt. II.

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of Jinendras.[1] And it is said about Āndhra that Jainism was probably pre-Mauryan in that country.[2] Likewise we learn from the Buddhist chronicle of Ceylon, the Mahāvaṃsa, that Jainism was introduced in that island as early as fifth century B.C.[3] Now viewing that Jainism was prevalent in the east, north and south of the Cera, Cola and Tamil countries of South India long before Śrutakevalî Bhadrabāhu reached there, it is impossible to think that South India would have remained untouched of Jainism. Prof. M. S. Ramaswamy Aiyangar also remarked some time ago that 'it is impossible to conceive that a purely North Indian religion could have gone to the island of Ceylon without leaving its mark in the extreme south of India, unless like Buddhism it went by sea from the north'.[4] Moreover a fact worth consideration is that a Jaina Ācārya would not carry the Saṅgha of Jain monks under his care to such a country which does not abound with the followers of Jaina due to the religious obligation and as such, if South India was void of the Jainas before Bhadrabāhu reached there, it is least conceivable that an Ācārya of Bhadrabāhu's status would have lead the Jaina Saṅgha to such a country and for the mere sake of Dharma rakṣā. Under the circumstances, the question arises, when did Jainism reach South India ?

The Jaina books tell a different tale in reply to the above question. According to the Jaina tradition it was due to Ṛṣabhadeva, the first Tîrthaṅkara that Jainism had its advent in South India.[5] Ṛṣabhadeva's son Bāhubali was the first king of South India, who renounced the world and adopted the life of a naked Jaina saint. He practised austerities and penances at Podanapura, which was a flourishing town on Godavarī and acquired omniscience at that place.[6] As an omniscient Teacher Bāhubali, no doubt, preached the Jaina Dharma to the people of southern countries. Thus the advent of Jainism in South India reaches to a hoary antiquity and it is anticipated that scholars will doubt it. But the literary and monumental evidence which can be deduced in support of the Jaina view, forces us to believe that there is something historical in it.

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[1] Annals of the Bhandarkara Res. Inst., Vol. XVI, Pt. 1-2 and Karakaṇḍu-Cariya (Karanja Series) Intro.

[2] Studies in South Indian Jainism, Pt. II, p. 2.

[3] Mahāvaṃsa, pp. 66-67 and 203-206.

[4] Studies in South Indian Jainism, Pt. I, p. 33. It is not possible that Jainism reached Ceylon by sea, since it is seldom that the Sangha of Jain monks travels by sea route.

[5] Mahāpurāṇa, Parva, XVI, Sts. 152-156.

[6] The Jain Antiquary, Vol. III, No. 3 and Saṃkṣipta Jaina Itihāsa, Vol. III, Pt. I, pp. 18-29.

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The Jaina literature is full of materials concerning South India long before Bhadrabāhu and the cities and towns of that side such as Dakṣiṇa Mathurā, Podanapura, Polāspura, Bhaddila near Mt. Malaya, Mahāśrokanagar, etc. are mentioned in it.[1] Daḳṣina Mathurā was founded by the Pāṇḍava brothers who reached there while on exile.[2] It happened so that when Pāṇḍavas were staying at Daḳṣiṇa Mathurā, Dwārikā was destroyed in a conflagration and Kṛṣṇa Vasudeva with his brother Baladeva left it for Daḳṣiṇa-Mathurā. While on their way, Kṛṣṇa was hit dead by the fatal arrow of Jaratkumāra in the Kauśāmba forest. When the Pāṇḍavas came to know of this sad event, they hastened to console Balarāma, who after much persuasion agreed to cremate the body of great Nārāyaṇa on Mt. Śrengî; where Balarāma also set himself to practise asceticism. Pāṇḍavas went back to South and on hearing that Tîrthaṇkara Ariṣṭa-Nemi was on a religious tour in Pallava country, they went at once to his audience and adopted the vow of a Jaina Muni.[3] Along with them, a certain Dravidian king, also, became Jaina monks and all of them liberated themselves from Mt. Śatruñjaya.[4]

Besides the Jaina literature, the Hindu Purāṇas, also, vouchsafe the Jaina view; since we learn from them that at the time of war between Devas and Asuras, Jainism was preached by Viṣṇu in the incarnation of a Digambara Jaina Muni amongst the Asuras, who resided on the banks of the Narmadā.[5] If it may be assumed that the Asuras referred to here were no other people than the aborigines living on the border of Southern India, rather it may be more correct to assume that they were the civilized people other than the Dāsas, who occupied India before the Vedic Aryans came,[6] then it is obvious to say that Jainism had a great centre on the banks of the Narmadā; which place even to-day is worshipped as a Tîrtha by

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[1] Harivaṃsapurāṇa, p. 487; Jñātradharmakathamga, p. 680; Antakratadaśānga, pp. 11 and 22; Bhagwati, p. 1958, etc.

[2] Harivaṃsa, p. 487.

[3] *Ibid.*, Sargas 53–65 and Saṃkṣipta Jaina Itihāsa, Vol. III, pp. 78–80.

[4] पंडुसुआ तिण्णिजणा दविडसारिंदाण अट्ठकोडिओ ।

सेतुजद्य गिरिसिहरे णिव्वाणगया णमो तेसिं ॥ णिव्वाणकांडगाहा.

[5] The Viṣṇupurāṇa, Ch. XVIII; Padma-Purāṇa, I, Sraṣṭi-Khanda, XIII, p. 33 ('बृहस्पति साहाय्यार्थं विष्णुना मायामोहसमुत्पादनम् दिगम्बरेण मायामोहेन दैत्यान् प्रति जैनधर्मोपदेशः दानवानां मायामोहमोहितानां गुरुणा दिगम्बर-जैनधर्मदीक्षादानम् । etc.) Devî-Bhāgawata, Skandha IV, Ch. XIII and Matsya-Purāṇa, Ch. XXIV.

[6] Indian Hist. Quarterly, Vol. XII, p. 337.

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the Jainas and Jainism must have been preached from there long before Bhadrabāhu. The copperplate grant of Emperor Nebuchadnezzar I (circa 1140 B.C.) or II (circa 600 B.C.) found recently in Kathiawad and as deciphered by Prof. Pran Nath, also, renders support to the above view ; since it is mentioned in it that Nebuchadnezzar, who was the lord of the kingdom of Revānagar, came to Dwārikā and having built a shrine there dedicated it to Nemi, the lord of Raivata hill.[1] Nemi referred to in the grant is obviously the Jaina Tîrthaṅkara Nemi or Ariṣṭa Nemi and it is clear that Nebu had a great regard and love for him. Now the kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar is named after Revānagar, which seems to be a place in the vicinity of the Jaina Tîrtha Siddhavarakûṭa on the bank of the river Revā in Southern India.[2] If it may be taken so, it also points to the greater antiquity of Jainism in South India.

The ancient works of Tamil literature also bear testimony to the fact established above. For, a careful study of the oldest Tamil Grammar Agathiyam and its successor Tolkappyam would show that Jainism was prevalent in South India at the time of their composition.[3] Tolkappyam is considered to be a work of fourth century B.C.[4] and was composed by a Jaina.[5] The Tamil Kāvyas, Manimekhalai and Silappadikaram which belong to the ancient Sangam period, prove the fact that Jainism was an established and a religion of long standing there.[6]

As to the monumental evidence, the Brāhmī inscriptions of third century B.C. found in the districts of Madura and Ramnad go a far way to prove the greater antiquity of Jainism in that part of the country.[7] The inscriptions and images of Jainas at Alagarmalai also prove the same thing.[8] Had Jainism reached South India in the third century B.C., it is not possible to have inscriptions and images of Jinas of that period. Rather they point out the fact that Jainism was widespread and its roots were gone deep in the heart of the country at that time, so much so that the people established the images and temples of Jains.

We may be justified in the end to sum up that Jainism reached South India long before Śrutakevalî Bhadrabāhu. It is wrong to

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[1] Times of India, 19th March, 1935, p. 9 and Saṃkṣipta Jaina Itihāsa, III, pp. 65-66.
[2] Saṃkṣipta Jaina Itihāsa, Vol. III, p. 66.
[3] Jaina Gazette, Vol. XIX, p. 75.
[4] Buddhistic Studies, p. 674.
[5] Studies in South Indian Jainism, pt. I, p. 89.
[6] Buddhistic Studies, pp. 3 and 681.
[7] Studies in South Indian Jainism, I, pp. 33-34.
[8] Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XXVII, pp. 123-124.

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assume and begin the history of South Indian Jainism with the great Jain migration of Mauryan period.

K. P. JAIN.

THE SOUTHERN KEKAYAS

According to the Purāṇas (*Matsya*, 48, 10–20 ; *Vāyu*, 99, 12–23), the Kekayas, Madras and Uśīnaras were branches of the family of Anu, son of Yayāti. The Anu tribe is frequently mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* (I, 108, 8 ; VII, 10, 5). A hymn of the Ṛgveda (VIII, 74) seems to suggest that the Anus lived in the Central Punjab, not far from the river Paruṣṇī. It is interesting to note that the same territory is afterwards found to be in the possession of the Kekayas and the Madras (see Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd ed., pp. 36-37).

The Kekaya tribe is known from early literature to have dwelt in the modern Punjab between the country of Gandhāra, which lay on both sides of the Indus, and the river Vipāśā (Beas). According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (II, 68, 19–22 ; VII, 113-14), the Kekaya territory lay beyond the Vipāśā and was adjacent to the Gandharva (i.e. Gandhāra) viṣaya. The name of the capital of the Kekaya country is not mentioned in the Vedic texts ; the *Rāmāyaṇa* (II, 67, 7 ; 68, 22) however tells us that the capital of the Kekayas was at Rājagṛha or Girivraja. This Rājagṛha-Girivraja has been identified with modern Girjak or Jalalpur on the Jhelum. Another Rājagṛha-Girivraja is known to have been the ancient capital of Magadha. This city has been identified with Rājgir situated in Bihar between Pāṭnā and Gayā. In order to distinguish between the eastern and western Rājagṛha-Girivrajas, the eastern city was sometimes called 'Rājagṛha of the Magadhas' (*S.B.E.*, XIII, p. 150). A third Rājagṛha is mentioned by Yuan Chwang (Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, I, p. 44) as a city of Po-lo, i.e., Balkh. Jain writers mention a Kekaya city called Setaviya and say that one-half of the Kekaya kingdom was Aryan (*Ind. Ant.*, 1891, p. 375). See Raychaudhuri, *loc. cit* ; Law, *Ancient Indian Tribes*, II, pp. 49-50.

The *Chāndogya Upaniṣat* (V. II, 5) tells a story about Aśvapati, king of Kekaya, who realised the Supreme Truth and is reported to have once said, 'In my *janapada*, there is no thief, no villain, no drunkard, no Brāhmaṇa who does not maintain and consecrate sacred fire in his house, no illiterate person, no adulterer and therefore no adultress'. According to the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* (X, 6, 1. 2) and *Chāndogya Upaniṣat* (*loc. cit.* et seq.), Aśvapati, a contemporary

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of king Janaka of Videha, instructed a number of Brāhmaṇas. It is known from the *Rāmāyaṇa* that Daśaratha, the Ikṣvāku king of Ayodhyā, married a Kekaya princess by whom he got a son named Bharata. There is reason to suppose that *Aśvapati* (literally, "lord of horses," "commander of the cavalry") was the name of a family of Kekaya kings and not the name of any particular ruler of Kekaya. A similar instance seems to be found in the name of the ancient Brahmadattas of Kāśī. That Brahmadatta was the name of a family and not that of a particular king has already been proved (Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 56; Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46). It is interesting to note that a traditional king (father of the celebrated Sāvitrī) of the Madras, who dwelt near the Kekaya country, on the western bank of the river Irāvatī (*Mahābhā.*, VIII, 44, 17), was also named Aśvapati. We do not know whether he actually belonged to the family of the Kekaya kings.

Inscriptions prove the existence of a ruling dynasty called Kekaya or Kaikeya in the Chitaldrug District of Mysore. It has been supposed that the Kekayas migrated to the south like the Ikṣvākus, Śibis and other North Indian tribes or families. The Southern Kekayas are known to have belonged to the Ātreya gotra and the Soma-vaṃśa (lunar race). We have seen that, according to the Purāṇas, the Kekayas belonged to the family of Anu, son of the celebrated Yayāti. According to the *Mahābhārata* (I, 95, 7), Yayāti was a king of the lunar race. Yayāti, son of Nahuṣa, is mentioned in early texts like the *Ṛgveda* (I, 31, 17; X, 63, 1). The Kekayas who belonged to the family of Yayāti-Nāhuṣya's son therefore could claim to have belonged to the Soma-vaṃśa. According to the Purāṇas (e.g. *Vāyu*, 28, 18–20), Soma (i.e. moon) was born of Anasūyā by Atri, one of the principal *gotrakārims*. The *pravaras* of the Ātreya gotra are Atri, Ātreya and Śātātapa. The Kekayas who claimed to have belonged to the family of Anu could therefore claim to have belonged to the Atri or the Ātreya gotra.

According to the Rāmāyaṇic tradition, the Kekayas of Girivraja were matrimonially connected with the Ikṣvākus of Ayodhyā. It is interesting to note that the family of the Southern Kekayas has also been described as *ikṣvākubhir=api rājarṣibhiḥ kṛt-āvāha-vivāha.*[1] This fact goes to show that princes and princesses of the Southern Kekaya family were married in the house of the Ikṣvākus. This Ikṣvāku family however seems to be the same as that to which the

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[1] *Āvāha* means son's marriage, while *vivāha* means the marriage of a daughter. These two terms occur in Rock Edict IX of Aśoka. See *Dīghanikāya*, I, 99; *Jātaka*, I, 452, 2; IV, 316, 8; VI, 71, 32; also Cowell's transl. of *Jātaka*, V, p. 145, note 1.

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great kings Cāṃtamūla I, his son Virapurisadata and grandson Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla II belonged. These kings ruled in the Kistna-Guntur region of the Madras Presidency about the middle and second half of the third century and are known to have had matrimonial relations with the kings of Ujjayinī and of Banavāsī. The reference to the Ikṣvāku *rājarṣis* in a Kekaya record of about the middle of the fifth century seems to suggest that the dynasty did not come to an end with the conquest of Andhrāpatha by the Pallavas of Kāñcī about the end of the third century. For the Southern Ikṣvākus, see my *Suc. Sāt. E. Dec.*, pp. 9–32.

Besides the Kekaya record discovered at Anaji in the Davanegere taluka of the Chitaldrug District, there are other inscriptions which prove the existence of the Kekayas in the Mysore region about the middle of the fifth century. In the Bannahalli grant (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 16) of Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman II, the king's grandfather Viṣṇuvarman, the eldest son of Kṛṣṇavarman I, has been described as *kaikeya-sutāyām=utpanna*. As we have shown elsewhere, Kṛṣṇavarman I who married in the family of the Kekayas possibly ruled about the middle of the fifth century. In another Kadamba record (*M.A.R.*, 1911, pp. 33, 35) Queen Prabhāvatī, wife of Mṛgeśavarma-Dharmamahārāja and mother of Ravivarma-Dharmamahārāja, has been described as *kaikeya-mahākula-prasūtā*. We have elsewhere shown that Kadamba Mṛgeśavarman possibly began to rule in A.D. 470. The Kekayas are known to have had matrimonial relations not only with the Ikṣvākus and the Kadambas, but also with the Pallavas. A Pallava chief designated Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-Pṛthivīvallabha-Pallavarāja Gopāladeva who was the son of Caṇḍamahāsena and was the lord of Payvegundūpura has been described as *kaikeya-vaṃś-odbhav-oddhata-puruṣa* in the Haldipur plates (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 173ff.) which have been palæographically assigned to the eighth century A.D. The passage *kaikeya-vaṃś-odbhava* has been taken to indicate that Pallava Gopāladeva was connected with the Kekaya or Kaikeya family probably on his mother's side.

The Anaji stone inscription (*Ep. Carn.*, XI, p. 142) belongs to a Kekaya chief named Śivanandavarman who is described as belonging to the Kekaya family, Soma race and Ātreya gotra. He was a *parama-māheśvara* and was devoted to his parents, and his family was connected matrimonially with the saintly kings of the Ikṣvāku family. The record refers to the loss of Śivanandavarman's own country and to a tumultuous battle fought between Naṇakkāsa (?) Pallavarāja and Kṛṣṇavanmarāja, and says that after the defeat of Kṛṣṇarāja's army, the Kekaya chief, with a sense of relief in his heart, made up his mind, lay on a bed of *darbha* grass and being

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unwilling to enjoy worldly pleasures became desirous of going to heaven.[1] Śivanandavarman is then said to have approached that position which is desired by all valiant men, and thereby spread the prosperity of his own family to last as long as the moon and the stars endure.[2] Even after going near that position, he performed some meritorious deeds with the idea that a man dwells in heaven so long as his glory is remembered on the earth.[3] The stone appears to have been engraved after the death of Śivanandavarman.

The inscription has been differently interpreted. Some scholars think (see Sewell, *Hist. Ins. South. Ind.*, p. 352) that Śivanandavarman was a son of Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman I, and that he turned an ascetic. The first part of the theory, as already shown by other scholars, is impossible in view of the fact that Śivanandavarman has been described as belonging not to the Kadamba family of the Mānavya or Āṅgirasa gotra, but to the Kekaya family which belonged to the Soma vaṃśa and the Ātreya gotra. The second part of the theory is also rendered untenable by the fact that he is said to have attained the position which is derived by all valiant warriors, to have prepared a bed of *darbha* and to have become desirous of going to heaven. It seems to me that Śivanandavarman became seriously wounded in the battle fought between the Pallava king and king Kṛṣṇavarman and, apprehending death, lay on a bed of *darbha*. It may be noticed that the words *avahāra* and *avaharaṇa* (cf. the verb in *abhyavahārayamāna*) signify 'cessation of fight' or 'removing from the battle-field to the camp'. The desire of Śivanandavarman to go to heaven and to attain eternal fame may suggest that he burnt himself to death.

It has been suggested by previous writers that Śivanandavarman's heart broke at the defeat of Kṛṣṇarāja's army. The passage *praśamita-hṛdaya* however seems to suggest that the Kekaya chief's mind was relieved of anxiety at the disastrous defeat of Kṛṣṇarāja who has been identified with the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarman I.

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[1] *Sivanandavarmā sva-deśasya kṣaye naṇakkāsa* (?) *pallavarāja-kṛṣṇavarmmarājayoḥ samare tumulini* (?) *pravṛtte kṛṣṇarāja-sainye bhagne praśamita-hṛdayaḥ saṅkalpita-saṅkalpaḥ kṛta-darbha-śayanaḥ pavitraṃ abhyavahārayamānaḥ cira-kālāvasthāyinīṃ kīrttiṃ abhilasan śruti-smṛti-vihita-śila-guni-gananaḥ (?) manuṣyabhoga-virakta-manās=svarg-āpti-kṛtekṣanaḥ indraloka-sukhaṃ akāmayata.* In place of the passage *kṣaye naṇakkāsa*, Govind Pai is inclined to read *kṣayena niṣkāsitaḥ*. If this suggestion is accepted the name of the Pallava antagonist of Kṛṣṇavarman I is not yet known.

[2] *Ācaṃdra-tarakaṃ ātmano vaṃśasya parama-śivaṃ vitanvan vīrya-śaurya-vikrama-pratāpair=vaśaḥ śaurya-karma-paraṃparā-ślāghā-viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣitaḥ śūra-gaṇānāṃ abhimataṃ abhigataḥ.*

[3] *Abhigamy=āpi sva-vaṃśa-sthāpaka-jana-puṇya-karmaṇā yukto Yāvad=yaśo loke vicarati tāvantaṃ kālaṃ puruṣaḥ divi nivasati pramudita-hṛdaya iti.*

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This fact appears to prove that, in the battle referred to, Śivanandavarman fought against Kṛṣṇavarman I. We have elsewhere shown that though Viṣṇuvarman I, born of the Kekaya princess, was the eldest son of Kṛṣṇavarman I, his claim to the throne was laid aside and one of his younger brothers, by name Devavarman, who was the favourite son of his father, was made Yuvarāja, i.e., heir to the throne. The fact recorded in the Hebbata grant that Viṣṇuvarman was installed by a Pallava king possibly suggests that he left his father's court and removed to the court of a Pallava king. It is interesting to note that the battle referred to in the Anaji record was fought between Kṛṣṇavarman I and the Pallavas. It is possible that Śivananda, the Kekaya relative (maternal grandfather or uncle ?) of Viṣṇuvarman, fought in the battle for the Pallava allies of Viṣṇuvarman and against Kṛṣṇavarman I. Otherwise Śivananda being *praśamita-hṛdaya* at the defeat of Kṛṣṇarāja's army seems to become meaningless.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

ĀCĀRYA VASUBANDHU, THE TEACHER OF STHIRAMATI

From Dr. J. Takakusu's 'A study of Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu and the date of Vasubandhu' (*J.R.A.S.*, 1905, pp. 33–53) and also from K. B. Pathak's 'Buddhamitra, the teacher of Vasubandhu' (I.A., 1912, p. 244) we learn that (Īśvarakṛṣṇa *alias*) Vindhyāvāsa (one who lived in the Vindhya forest), the author of the Samkhya Saptati (Karika) was successful in a dispute with Ācārya Buddhamitra, the teacher of Vasubandhu. From the Mankuwar Inscription of (Gupta) Samvat 129 during the reign of Kumāragupta I we know that Buddhamitra was so famous for his learning that no contemporary Brahmin scholar, however eminent, could venture to attack Buddhism. Hence Buddhamitra's defeat must have occurred after Gupta year 129. After Buddhamitra's defeat in the religious controversy with Vindhyāvāsa, King Vikramāditya gave the Sāṃkhya philosopher Vindhyāvāsa three lacs of gold as reward and transferred the royal patronage from Buddhism to Brahmanism. Vasubandhu on his return to Ayodhyā heard of the fame of his teacher and searched for Vindhyāvāsa. Finding that he was dead, Vasubandhu wrote a work entitled 'Paramārtha Saptati' in opposition to Vindhyāvāsa's 'Sāṃkhya Saptati'. As a result, the Siddhāntas of the Sāṃkhyas were all

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destroyed. This caused general satisfaction and King Vikramāditya gave Vasubandhu three lacs of gold. From a verse in Vamana's *Kavyalamkara Sutra Vritti* as discussed by K. B. Pathak in his 'Kumaragupta, the patron of Vasubandhu' (I.A., 1911, p. 170) we learn that the illustrious Buddhist author Vasubandhu was the minister of Kumaragupta I, the son of Chandragupta II. Now from Chinese and inscriptional evidence we learn that this King Kumaragupta had troubles during the latter part of his reign and abdicated (according to Somadeva's *Kathāsaritasāgara*, as discussed in Allan, Gupta Coins, p. xlix, f.n.) in favour of Skandagupta who restored the ruined fortunes of his family and who widely patronised those distinguished for literary merit. K. B. Pathak has shown very clearly from inscriptional evidence that Buddhamitra's defeat occurred after Kumaragupta I's rule. Both Pathak and Takakusu have shown very clearly that King Vikramaditya of Ayodhya who was first a patron of the Samkhya school and afterwards that of Buddhism was no other than Skandagupta Vikramaditya who sent his queen with the Crown Prince Baladitya to study under the famous teacher Vasubandhu. Vincent Smith also stated that Vasubandhu's patron Vikramaditya *must* have been Skandagupta Vikramaditya and his son Baladitya pupil of Vasubandhu must have been Narasimhagupta Baladitya (E.H.I., 2nd ed.). After the death of Vikramaditya, King Baladitya and his queen mother, both pupils of Vasubandhu, invited the latter to Ayodhya and favoured him with special patronage. Paramartha, the famous Buddhist author (A.D. 499–569) tells us that Vasubandhu died at the age of eighty during the reign of Baladitya (Narasimhagupta). Vasubandhu was, therefore, contemporaneous with three successive Gupta Kings, namely Kumaragupta, Skandagupta and Baladitya. Now from Chinese literary evidence we learn that Harivarman and Vasubandhu were contemporaneous. Harivarman's great work was translated by Kumarajiva (A.D. 383–412 in China) who also wrote a life of Vasubandhu not now extant and read the *Sata Sastra* of Vasubandhu before A.D. 380.

Now, Vasubandhu was the teacher of Sthiramati who wrote 'an "Introduction to Mahayanism" which was translated into Chinese about A.D. 400 . . . . hence Sthiramati must have flourished before A.D. 400'. (Watters, Yuan Chwang, Vol. II, p. 169). *Acharya Bhadanta* Sthiramati is mentioned in the Wala grant of Dharasena of Sam. 269 as having built a Vihara through Dharasena's father Guhasena (Sam. 240). Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era would make Sthiramati flourish about A.D. 560 (=G.E. 240). This shows clearly that Fleet's epoch is in error by at least a century and a half. Thus the date of the death of Vasubandhu can under no circumstances

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be pushed later than A.D. 370. That is, on Fleet's epoch Vasubandhu flourished during the reign of Samudragupta. But according to all Chinese accounts Vasubandhu was the teacher of the young prince Baladitya who was the son of Vikramaditya. In his attempt to uphold Fleet's theory, Vincent Smith opined that Vasubandhu was the teacher of the young prince Samudragupta who, it was '*quite possible*' had the *biruda* Baladitya (??) and his father Chandragupta I had the title Vikramaditya. Now Narasimhagupta Baladitya who defeated Mihirakula according to all Chinese accounts and during whose reign Vasubandhu died is assumed on Fleet's epoch to have reigned from A.D. 485 to 530. Whereas as has already been shown Vasubandhu's death cannot be pushed later than A.D. 370. This again shows that Fleet's epoch is in error by more than a century. In fact according to all available Chinese literary evidence taking the Chinese date—850 B.C. (current in Yuan Chwang's time in China) of the Nirvana of Buddha—most probably Kanakamuni Buddha whose memory was still fresh in Asoka's time in the 3rd century B.C.—it follows that the date of Vasubandhu and also of his master Manoratha or Buddhamitra was between A.D. 50 and 150 (Watters, Yuan Chwang, Vol. II, pp. 213 and 357) i.e., Gupta Vikrama Samvat 108 and 208, and we know during this period Kumaragupta, Skandagupta and Baladitya reigned. Thus it was quite natural for Vasubandhu's disciple Sthiramati to have lived in A.D. 182 = the Gupta Vikrama Sam. 240, during the Valabhi ruler Guhasena's time, which on Fleet's epoch is equivalent to A.D. 559 i.e., 377 years later. So that all these Chinese and Indian literary and inscriptional evidence shows as clearly as possible that the epoch of the Gupta Vikramaditya era is identical with the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. and that Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era is in error by 377 years.

DHIRENDRANATH MOOKERJI.

ONE BHĀṢA VERSE AND ITS BEARING ON THE BHĀṢA PROBLEM*

MM. Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri in his introduction to the Āścarya Cūḍāmaṇi (p. 25) quotes from Abhinavabhāratī, a com-

* Paper submitted to the 9th All-India Oriental Conference, Trivandrum, 1937.

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mentary on the Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra by Abhinava Gupta, the following passage, which contains one verse from Bhāṣa :—

अधुना रौद्रं लक्षयति। अथ रौद्रो नामेति। [1]नामग्रहणस्यायमाशयः। अन्याय-कारिता प्राधान्येन क्रोधस्य विषयः। तादृग्मि च जने सर्वोऽपि मनोरथैरपि रुधिरपानमपि[2] कुर्यात्। तथा चाह लोकः[3]। यदि लभ्येत, तत्तदीयं रुधिरमपि पीत्वा न तृप्येत[4]। महा-कविना भासेनापि स्वप्रबन्ध उक्तम्[5]।

त्रेतायुगं.....तद्धि न मैथिली सा
रामस्य रागपदवी मृदु चास्य चेतः।
लब्धा जनस्तु[6] यदि रावणमस्य कायं
प्रोत्कृत्य तन्न तिलशो न [7]विदंशगामी॥

This occurs with slight variations on p. 320 of the Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra, Volume I, in GOS., No. 36.

[1] आत्मग्रहणस्य... [2] मपि नामाद्रियन्ते।... [3] तादृशो यदि लभ्यते। [4] तृप्यते।... [5] उक्तः। [6] लब्ध्वा जनस्य। [7] V.I विदंशमेति।

Abhinava Gupta cites the verse as an instance of Raudra.

In deference to Prof. Dhruva's desire, as also to show that the context suggested by me is appropriate, I herewith append my rendering of the verse. No important emendations are required as proposed by Prof. Dhruva, and only slight changes, of a very formal character, are necessary. For the missing syllables in the first line, about which the text in the Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra, Volume I, is silent and shows the whole line without any lacuna, I read '**न खलु**' and propose '**नास्य**' for '**चास्य**' in the second line, and '**सुविदंशगामी**' for '**न विदंशगामी**' in the last line. I translate: That Tretāyuga is now no more—may be practically said to have come to an end (since Rāvaṇa is intent on outrage); that Maithilī is not at present the paragon (flower) of Rāma's love (since she is in great danger, though Rāma is alive). The heart of this man ('**अस्य**', i.e. of Rāvaṇa) is not soft (as owing to lust, he has become cruel). If this man ('**जनः**', i.e. **अयं जनः**—the speaker of this verse, whom I take to be Hanuman) were to catch hold (**लब्ध्वा**) of Rāvaṇa, he (i.e. the speaker—Hanuman) will not be satisfied unless the latter's (**अस्य**, i.e. Rāvaṇa's) body was cut to thousands of pieces. '**अस्य**' in the second and third line has been taken to refer to

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Rāvaṇa, and 'जनः' (in the sense of 'अयं जनः') to the speaker of the verse. I am doubtful about the word लब्धा.

Now, this verse is not found in any of the Trivandrum plays ascribed to Bhāṣa. Its context renders it probable, that the verse must refer to some Rāma play, and Prof. Dhruva, who rules the Abhiṣeka out of order as not coming from Bhāṣa, connects the verse with the Pratimā, after Bharata's speech—भरतः—कथम्। हृतेति। (मोहमुपगच्छति) Act VI, p. 115, l. 13. (Trivandrum Edn., 1924).

I do not think the verse fits in, with the sentiments of Bharata expressed in that speech or later on. Sumantra reports the news of the abduction of Sītā to Bharata, and after uttering, 'What! (Do you say Sītā has been) abducted?', the latter falls down unconscious. He has to be consoled, cheered up, and is in an unhappy mood; afterwards he expresses his wrath sarcastically, but he is angry with his mother, not with Rāvaṇa. It will be seen, therefore, that there is no occasion in Bharata's mood, for uttering the verse quoted by Abhinava Gupta, which Prof. Dhruva assigns to Bharata. It is only towards the close of his conversation with his mother, in which he is convinced, to some extent, of her innocence, that Bharata speaks of raising a huge army against Rāvaṇa.

I find a suitable context for the verse in the Abhiṣeka in the second Act after verse 15. Hanuman is gradually becoming enraged towards Rāvaṇa, so much, that after verse 15, he says that he cannot restrain his anger (न शक्नोमि रोषं धारयितुम्।) and he must have uttered the verse चेतायुगं, etc. after भवतु। अहमेवार्यरामस्य कार्यं साधयामि in the same context. It will be seen, that both Maithilī and Rāvaṇa are there; the latter is giving cause for Hanuman to express the sentiments contained in the verse (चेतायुगं, etc.) by his behaviour with Sītā; and further, Hanuman in the height of his anger, thinks of himself as performing the work of Ārya Rāma (अहमेवार्यरामस्य कार्यं साधयामि) and not being satisfied, till he had accomplished it, that is, till he had cut Rāvaṇa to thousands of pieces (तिलशः प्रोत्कृत्य).

Second thoughts, however, convince Hanuman of the futility of such a course being followed by him, as he says immediately afterwards :—अथवा।

यद्यहं रावणं हन्मि कार्यसिद्धिर्भविष्यति।
यदि मां प्रहरेद्रक्षो महत्कार्यं विपद्यते॥

(Abh. II. 16.)

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and so he reserves the task of killing Rāvaṇa for Śrīrāma. There appears to be a break between भवतु। अहमेवार्यरामस्य कार्यं साधयामि and अथवा; and the verse चेतायुगं, etc. must naturally come between the two, to give expression to Hanuman's uncontrollable anger.

If the above context, suggested by me be correct, Prof. Dhruva's objection as to Bhāṣa's authorship of the Abhiṣeka becomes answered. The fact that as many as two verses from the Abhiṣeka have been omitted in the क MS., and one in the ख MS., as used by Venkatarama Sarma (viz. p. 23, n. 4; p. 38, n. 4; and p. 75, n. 3 of the Lahore Edn.; or II. 7, III. 9 and VI. 20 from the Trivandrum Edn. of the Abhiṣeka) lends an added plausibility to the view, that the verse चेतायुगं, etc. might also have slipped from the Abhiṣeka. Another confirmation for the view that the text has been badly preserved may be found in दण्डितत्त्वं हि दण्ड्यत्वाददण्ड्यो नैव दण्ड्यते (p. 13 Lahore Edn.) Act I, which occurs as a prose passage, but is evidently a part of a verse.

Thus, this verse helps to connect the Abhiṣeka with Bhāṣa. I have elsewhere shown that the Abhiṣeka is inseparably connected with the works of Bhāṣa, which form a family by themselves. Hence this verse goes to prove that the Abhiṣeka contains at least one genuine Bhāṣa verse, and so must have come from Bhāṣa. This verse adds one more link to the chain supplied by Bāṇa, Vākpati, Jayadeva, Rājaśekhara, Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, etc. to prove the authenticity of the Trivandrum Bhāṣa plays. 'To ignore these coincidences' in the words of Dr. Keith, 'and to leave us with an anonymous dramatist of the highest Indian rank is to demand too much from probability'.

A. D. PUSALKER.

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REVIEWS

THE CHILD IN ANCIENT INDIA by Kamalabai Deshpande, M.A., Ph.D., Poona, 1936.

This is an excellent doctoral dissertation by one of the few women Indologists of India. It fully demonstrates that the author, who had worked under the late lamented Prof. Winternitz in Prague, has mastered the modern methods of research, and we hope that after this brilliant *début* she will continue to work in her chosen field of study.

The author has here exhaustively dealt with the *saṃskāras* connected with the life of the child, beginning with *garbhādhāna* and ending with *upanayana*, mainly in the light of the Gṛhyasūtras. All the published Gṛhyasūtras have been fully utilized for this purpose and their data collected and classified. But it is important to remember that hardly any other work has been taken into consideration. Even the epics and the Dharmaśāstras have been left rigidly untouched. This, I fear, will be regarded as a drawback, for the author's intention was obviously to try to give a picture of what the life of the child in ancient India was actually like, and not merely to register the shamanical prescriptions of the Gṛhyasūtras. Yet the latter are surely second to nothing in importance for the social history of ancient India, and the author is therefore to be congratulated on her very useful work in which she has collected all the relevant data from these texts.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

NIDĀNA-KATHĀ OR THE STORY OF THE EPOCHS, edited by N. K. Bhagwat, M.A., (Bombay University Publications, Devanāgarī Pāli Text Series, No. 1), 1st edition, Bombay, 1935, Price Re.1.

MAHĀVAṀSA OR THE GREAT CHRONICLE, edited for the first time in Devanāgarī character by N. K. Bhagwat, M.A., (Bombay University Publications, Devanāgarī Pāli Text Series, No. 2), Bombay, 1936, Price Rs.2-8.

DĪGHA NIKĀYA OR THE COLLECTION OF LONG SUTTAS, Part II, edited for the first time in Devanāgarī character by N. K. Bhagwat, M.A., (Bombay University Publications, Devanāgarī Pāli Text Series, No. 3), 1st edition, Bombay, 1936, Price Rs.2-8.

Prof. Bhagwat has edited all these works with great care and attention. Each edition has a useful introduction and different readings in the foot-notes. He has suggested some books for further study, but the great drawback of all these editions is that they are wanting in notes, indexes and parallel references from other texts. In future editions of Pāli Texts in Devanāgarī character, we suggest that notes on important words occurring in the texts should be given. As for the Mahāvaṁsa Text, the Mahāvaṁsa Ṭīkā now edited by Dr. Malalasekera and published by the Pāli Text Society, London, should be often consulted in order to solve some of the knotty points. The Mahāvaṁsa Text should be studied along with the Dīpavaṁsa to have a better understanding of the subject-matter. As for the Nidānakathā, the meaning of the term has been much discussed by scholars. Prof. Bhagwat has

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done well to translate it as the story of the Epochs, because the life of the Buddha as found in this text has been divided into three periods, *dure* (distant), *avidure* (not distant) and *santike* (near). As to the discussion of the Buddhist doctrines of Dhammatā and Pāramitā, I must point out that dhammatā is coined by the Buddhists as a special term to signify the essential nature of things, the normal condition and usual course as found in the Digha Nikāya, Vol. II, p. 12 foll. Pāramī or Pāramitā is employed as a synonym of Buddhakarādhammā, the virtues or qualities which tend towards making a Buddha, i.e., maturing the life of a Bodhisattva for the attainment of Buddhahood in his last birth. For a fuller discussion on the subject, vide my 'Concepts of Buddhism', Chap. II. I must congratulate the University of Bombay for all such important publications as they are very useful not only to students but also to scholars.

B. C. LAW.

IṢṬA-SIDDHI : with extracts from the Vivarana of Jñānottama. Critically edited with introduction and notes by Prof. M. Hiriyanna, M.A., Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LXV, pp. xxxvi + 697. Published by Oriental Institute, Baroda. Price Rs.14.

Here we have in the shape of a critical edition of Iṣṭa-siddhi a valuable contribution to Adwita Vedanta School. The book forms one of the four books bearing the name of 'Siddhi' and has decidedly a place of importance in the Literature of the Advaita Vedanta School. The other three books are Brahma Siddhi by Mandana Misra, Naiṣkarmya-siddhi by Suresvara and Advita-siddhi of Madhusudana. The work is very important from the fact that there are repeated references to it throughout the literature of the Vedanta School. The editor rightly observes 'that the work is valuable not only for tracing the development of the Adwaita doctrine but also for a proper appreciation of the speculative position adopted by Ramanuja in Śrī-Bhāṣya. The date assigned for the composition of the book is 850 to 1050 A.D. and we have in the body of the book a detailed discussion of the relative standpoints of the different schools of thought as regards the conception of truth and error and the validity of cognition. This was an age when the Idealists and the Realists of the Indian School of thought were fighting tooth and nail to maintain their respective position. This gave birth to varied discussion in the later ages which culminated in the production of Advaita-siddhi by Madhusadana Saraswati in the sixteenth century. The learned editor in his introduction has very clearly set forth the doctrines of the different contending schools of thought current at the time of composition of Iṣṭa-siddhi. The body of the book is divided into 8 chapters and discusses the various points of the Advaita Vedānta School and a considerable part has been devoted to the establishment of the doctrine of Māyā. The false arguments of Parināmavād and Anythākhyātivād of the Sāṅkhya and Nyāya Schools respectively have been critically refuted. The extracts from the commentary of Jñānottama although not exhaustive are not altogether disappointing.

NALIN BEHARI VEDANTATIRTHA.

NEW CATALOGUS CATALOGORUM (Provisional Fasciculus) published under the authority of the University of Madras, 1937. Edited by Profs. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, P. P. Subrahmanya Sastri and Dr. C. Kunhan Raja.

It is a very laudable work undertaken by the University of Madras under the guidance of well-known scholars. It will be a complete and up-to-date alphabetical register of Sanskrit and allied works and authors. As far as we have seen, Jain and

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Buddhist texts and commentaries have been sparingly used. On page 35, the name of the commentary, Manorathapuraṇī, should occur after the details of the text, otherwise it will be misleading. No translation of the commentary is available, nor the whole commentary printed in Roman script. It is too premature to pass any opinion unless and until the catalogue becomes complete. In this line, some of our Indian scholars, e.g., Rajendralal Mitra, Haraprasād Śāstrī, Chintaharan Chakraborty, have already done an excellent service to the literary world by their monumental works. We wish every success of this new venture.

B. C. LAW.

HISTORY OF KANAUJ. By Rama Shankar Tripathi, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), with a foreword by L. D. Barnett, M.A., D.Litt. Royal 8vo., 10×6¾, pp. xx+420. Indian Book Shop, Benares City, 1937. Price Rs.7 or 15s.

The impact of the Hūṇa invasion was severely felt by the Gupta empire. Though there is evidence that the rump of the empire was held on till the first half of the 6th century, yet there is ample evidence to show that it had to fight for bare existence against rivals who threatened its very foundations. The scramble for power which ensued, reduced the history of India into a state of flux. The emergence of Kānyakubja, as the successor of Pāṭaliputra, in the rôle of the imperial city of Northern India and the continuous struggle for its possession amongst various powers —the Maukharis, the Puṣpabhūtis, the Gauḍas, Yaśovarman of the lunar race, the Kārkoṭas, the Pālas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Pratihāras, and the Gāhaḍavālas, who for some time or other held sway over it,—carry the history of the Ganges-Jumna valley to the dawn of Muslim rule in Northern India.

For a long time a reliable and lucid survey of the history of this period was a desideratum. Dr. Tripathi of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Benares Hindu University, has removed a long-felt want in a worthy manner. His survey shows a complete mastery over the sources and a synthetic mind which without being perplexed by the conflicts of evidence has succeeded in firmly grasping the vital factors of this period. The author has, I am glad to add, discussed the views of his predecessors with courtesy and has always taken a commonsense view of the various incidents of History.

After devoting the 1st chapter to various introductory matters, Dr. Tripathi discusses in successive chapters, the Maukharis of Kanauj (Ch. II), Harṣa (Ch. III to VIII), Kanauj after Harṣa's death to the Pratihāra conquest (Ch. IX), Yaśovarman (Ch. IX), the Āyudhas (Ch. IX), the Imperial Pratihāras (Ch. X and XI), the Gāhaḍavālas (Ch. XII and XIII) and lastly Administration, Fiscal conditions, Religion, Group-life, etc. (Ch. XIV). The book contains six Appendices: these contain (i) A list of the Pratihāra inscriptions of Kanauj, (ii) Inscriptions of the Gāhaḍavāla Dynasty, (iii) Table of Maukhari genealogy, (iv) Genealogy of Harṣavardhana, (v) Line of Yaśovarman and that of the Āyudhas, and (vi) the Pratihāra kings of Kanauj. It also contains a fairly exhaustive bibliography and a useful index. We would welcome some maps in the second edition of this work.

H. C. RAY.

SIDDHĀNTAVINDU OF MADHUSUDANA, with the commentary of Puruṣottama, critically edited and translated into English with introduction by Prahlād Chandrasekhar Divānji, M.A., LL.M., Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LXIV, pp. 24+cxlii+93+306. Published by Oriental Institute, Baroda. Price Rs.11.

Siddhāntavindu is a commentary on Dasāsloki a small stotra consisting of ten verses by Śaṅkarācārya. There are other commentaries no doubt but this

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one is valued by all scholars on account of its real merit. The main intention of the author of Dasasloki is to give a correct idea of the Mahāvākya 'Tat tvam asi', 'That thou art'. Madhusudana Sarasvatī, who was a contemporary of the Emperor Akbar, was one of the finest exponents of the Advaita School. In fact, his 'Advaitasiddhi' is a monumental work and no scholar willing to have a clear understanding of the relative position of the Śaṅkar School of thought can do without it. In this book, the author Madhusudana has given hints for raising discussions on Advaita standpoint. The commentary is very lucid in exposition of the finest points. The present edition of the book is very much welcome from the fact that as the original book is very short and so also the commentary; the learned editor has spared no pains to acquaint the general reader with the main doctrines of the Advaita Vedānta School.

NALIN BEHARI VEDANTATIRTHA.

'SĀṄGI SAṂGRAHA, compiled by Mr. Puran Chand Nahar, M.A., B.L., and published by the Śrī Gulab Kumārī Library, 46, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta.

The late Mr. Puran Chand Nahar was a well-known Jain scholar, and a celebrated author of many Jain books. Jainism has suffered a great loss in his death. This book is a collection of dissertations on dāna, śīla, tapa, upavāsa, maṅgala, desanā, etc. The author's skill in selecting interesting passages is praiseworthy. His 'Introduction' tries to solve some of the knotty points of Jainism. He is perfectly right in saying that '*tapa*' is nothing but checking one's own desire (*icchārodhana*). It seems that the better expression would be *manovrittiko-roknā* which the author himself has pointed out. He has dealt to a great extent with the subject of observing *upavāsa* by the Jains; and he has shown the importance of the great Jaina festival '*Paryusaṇa*'. It is a very good collection, and should be studied by every Jain and by all those interested in the study of the history of Indian religions. The author has done well by quoting a māṅgalika śloka at the end, which runs thus :—

Maṅgalaṃ Bhagavān Vīro, maṅgalaṃ Gautama prabhuḥ ।
Maṅgalaṃ sthūlabhadrādyāḥ, Jaina dharmo'astu maṅgalaṃ ॥
Sarva maṅgala māṅgalyaṃ, sarva kalyāṇa kāraṇaṃ ।
Pradhānaṃ sarva dharmāṇāṃ, Jainaṃ Jayatu śāsanaṃ ॥

B. C. LAW.

EARLY SCULPTURE OF BENGAL (from the Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXX), by Sarasi Kumar Saraswati, M.A., published by the Calcutta University, 1937, pp. 85+24 plates.

This well-documented booklet by Mr. Saraswati ably deals with the pre-Pâla sculptures of Bengal from the standpoint of evolution and iconography. It is, as the author tells us in the preface, but 'a prelude to a bigger volume, which proposes to discuss the sculptural history of the province down to the Muhammadan conquest'.

Several sculptures of both Brahmanical and Buddhist pantheons from North Bengal, attributed to Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods mainly on grounds of technique, together with the Pâhâḍapura plaques representing various Brahmanical deities, constitute the materials for this booklet. The dress of two figures of Sûrya and of one of Viṣṇu is, according to Mr. Saraswati, distinctly Kuṣâṇa dress, and there are some other features about these sculptures which are believed to have affinities with those of the secular art of Mathurâ. It is, however, doubtful if Mr. Saraswati will find universal acceptance of his views on these sculptures, but his study of the Pâhâḍapura

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sculptures, careful and conscientious, have a title to serious considerations even by the most fastidious critic. It has led him to disagree with the identifications made by other scholars of some of the sculptures. Thus, according to him, a panel (fig. 8) in the eastern wall depicting an amatory couple, represents either Kṛṣṇa and Rukminî or Kṛṣṇa and Satyabhâmâ, and not Kṛṣṇa and Râdhâ; a bas relief (fig. 11) on the east wall which represents Śiva standing in a group is anything but the representation of the legend of 'the offering of the poison'; a panel (fig. 12) on the south-east side of the main temple with a male figure standing with his left elbow within the jaws of a demon in the form of a horse or an ass, is not the representation of Balarâma slaying the donkey-demon Dhênuka, but of Kṛṣṇa killing the demon Kêśin; a high relief (fig. 17) on the western wall depicting a fat male figure with two hands and one face is but the figure of Bṛhaspati and not of Brahmâ; and so forth. Except the first, his identifications are for the most part acceptable. We eagerly await the publication of the bigger volume promised by the learned author.

N. N. Das Gupta.

THE CŌḶAS, by Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Professor of Indian History and Archæology, University of Madras. Royal 8vo., 10×6¾. Vol. I, pp. 718, maps 5, plates 3, 1935. Price Rs.10 or 15*s*. Vol. II, Part I, pp. 552, maps 2, plates 6; Part II, pp. 553 to 934. Price Rs.10 or 15*s*. 1937. University of Madras.

We do not often realize that India is a subcontinent and that its history stretches over enormous periods; also that due to lack of adequate funds much of the sources for the reconstruction of its ancient past lies either buried under the earth or unseen in the vast spaces of India and the countries surrounding it. It is too early yet to think of planning 'an imposing superstructure and magnificent façade of History'. We must wait a long while, till scholars like Prof. Nilakanta Sastri with their unrivalled knowledge of local conditions and mind free from '*rāga* and *dveṣa*', gradually build up the foundations of India's past history. It is curious that though the publication of Kanakasabhai's work *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* (1904) created a good deal of interest yet even after the lapse of more than a quarter of a century, we do not find many North Indian scholars trying to acquire a first hand knowledge of the literary and archæological sources of the history of that portion of India which lies beyond the Kṛṣṇā, the Tuṅga and the Bhadrâ. In the south, however, the work of this pioneer was taken up by many of his countrymen with enthusiasm and industry and thanks to their efforts, the rough outline of the history of this land is visible. By the publication of his work on the 'Pandyan Kingdom' (1929) Prof. Sastri had already secured for himself an honoured place amongst these scholars. His present work fully maintains the standard of his earlier work.

The history of the Coḷas easily falls into five divisions, viz.: (i) the pre-Christian period; (ii) the age of the literature of the Śangam, (iii) the interval between the end of the Śangam period and the rise of the line of Vijayālaya, (iv) the period of the Vijayālaya line, and (v) the age of the Cāḷukya-Coḷa line of Kulottuṅga I. There are many lacunæ in this survey of Coḷa history and it is only when we approach the middle of the 9th century that we have an abundance of authentic material both literary and archæological for the full and correct delineation of political and cultural events of the 'Far South'. It is possible that with the advance of more systematic study of the architecture and sculpture of the monuments of these regions and further explorations this defect would be remedied. A

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more scientific treatment of the coins and the literary data might also lead to valuable results. But at present our trouble begins at the very start. What is the origin of the word Coḷa? We must for the present remain content with the remark that it is uncertain. Now we know from the writings of Megasthenes and Kātyāyana that organized society and culture flourished in the 'Far South'; but except inferences we have little to help us in reconstructing the history of the pre-Christian period. The author accepts the view that the literature of the Śangam Age must be approximately referred to the first three centuries or so of the Christian era. The evidence of the *Periplus* and *Ptolemy* together with these literary sources seem to be quite helpful. But a closer examination of the names of princes in this literature, even if it were possible to accept its early date, soon reveals that it is not possible to work them out into a connected history. Of course the name of Karikāla and Koccenaganan stand out prominently, also the continuous civil war between the Uṟayur and Puhar branches of the Coḷas. Our difficulties are not removed even when we pass on to the next period. To a rational mind like that of our author, it appears almost completely hidden from view by dense darkness. The period roughly from 3rd or 4th to the 9th century is called by our author the 'long historical night'. During this period the mysterious Kaḷabhras and then the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas rose on the ruins of the Coḷa power. Were the Kaḷabhras Buddhists? An interesting question raised by the author but difficult of final solution. The remains of the Coḷa power in the Kaveri valley probably saved itself from complete destruction by bending low before every storm while one of their branches migrated to the north in the Kurnoor and Cuddapah Districts (Renāṇḍu, 7000). Certain stone and copper plate inscriptions seem to refer this branch, by the evidence of their script, to the 7th century. The identification of this state with the Cu-li-ya of Yuan Chwang, first suggested by Cunningham, seems reasonable. The age of the line of Vijayālaya was ushered in by the pyrrhic victory of the Pallavas over the Pāṇḍyas at the battle of Sri Puṟambia (c. 879 A.D.). Āditya Coḷa who fought in the ranks of the Pallavas profited by this victory. His father Vijayālaya had already consolidated the position of his line by capturing Tanjore; the son soon overthrew his overlord the Pallava Aparājita and annexed Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Thus was ushered in the imperialism of the Coḷas which though often severely harried by the Karṇāṭaka Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Cāḷukyas survived to the middle of the 13th century when it was again swallowed up by the Pāṇḍyas. The achievements of this empire specially during the reigns of Rājarāja I and Rājendra I, when its victorious armies reached the Ganges and its navy extended its hegemony over the islands of the Indian Ocean, when its architects, and sculptors raised the magnificent and stupendous temple of Rājarājeśvara at Tanjore and its civil servants almost perfected a system of administrative practice and procedure, have left their permanent mark on the pages of the history of India.

In the delineation of the chequered history of the Coḷas, Prof. Sastri shows a rare combination of gifts, a mastery over all the varied and complicated sources and a balanced and acute judgment. In the first volume, he traces the history of the Coḷas from the earliest times to the accession of Kulottuṅga I (1070 A.D.). In part one of the second volume, the political history of the Coḷas is continued till the middle of the 13th century; he also deals with the Central and Local Governments, taxation and finance, population and society, agriculture and land tenure, industry and trade, education and learning and lastly religion and literature under the Coḷas. Part II of this volume contains only an appendix and index. A special feature of the work is that the two appendices in Vol. I and Vol. II (Part II) contain select list of inscriptions of the Coḷas and related dynasties (chronologically arranged). The 7 maps in the two volumes are useful; the indexes are exhaustive. We only miss adequate genealogical tables and bibliographies.

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The work does not offer many occasions for criticism. I only select a few points which do not directly bear upon the history of the Coḷas Nobody now seriously believes that the Pāla Dharmapāla (c. 769–815 A.D.) combined with Harṣa of the Candrātreya line to assist the Pratihāra Mahīpāla (c. 914–43 A.D.) to recover his throne. (See *Dynastic History of Northern India*, by Ray, Vol. I, pp. 271ff.; Vol. II, 672ff.). That Daṇḍabhukti is not Bihar and that it must be located on the SW. border of Bengal has been recently demonstrated by the discovery of the Irda inscription of Nayapāla which grants land in the Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala of the Vardhamana-bhukti (EI., Vol. XXII, pp. 150ff.). There is not the slightest evidence to prove that Govindacandra of East Bengal had become at any period a vassal of the Pāla prince Mahīpāla (see *Dynastic History of N. India*, Vol. I). In view of the fact that *Coḷa* is always distinguished from *Karṇāṭa* and for other reasons, scholars are no longer inclined to accept the view that the Senas of Bengal and the Line of Nānyadeva of Mithilā came with the army of the Coḷa Rājendra I.

The author deserves congratulation for the skill and ability with which he has completed his task.

H. C. Ray.

GAUTAMA THE BUDDHA (His Life & His Religion), by Sreemati Akshaya Kumari Devi. Published by Vijaya Krishna Brothers, 31, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Price Re.1.

This book consists of 10 sections. The first section deals with the ancient tribes and languages of Āryāvarta; the second, Gautama's ancestry and birth; the third, Siddhārtha's education and marriage; the fourth, Gautama's renunciation and wanderings; the fifth, the Buddha; the sixth, the Buddha's famous converts; the seventh, the Buddha's mission; the eighth, the last days of the Buddha; the ninth, the Buddhist scriptures; and the tenth, the Buddhist religious practices. The authoress has attempted in this book to give a connected biography of the Buddha. She says in the preface that she has avoided myths, fables and miracles woven round the Buddha. But in page 21 of the book, she writes 'High fever was burning in Māyādevī and no medicine could cure her'. May I know whether this is a fact or fiction? Irrelevant statements are found in pp. 10, 11 and 12. The authoress has failed to quote passages correctly from the texts (*vide* p. 51). The section dealing with the Buddha's famous converts is somewhat interesting. The book is deficient in scientific treatment, well documentation, the use of diacritical marks and correct spelling of words (as for example see p. 99). The book should be revised and re-written throughout before it is readable.

B. C. Law.

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